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THE FIRST LETTER BOOK
OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY:
1600—1619

Printed in a copy-right manner

The
Register of Letters &c.
of the
Governour and Company of Merchants
of London trading into the
East Indies

1800-1819

EDITED BY
SIR GEORGE BIRDWOOD MD KCIE
ASSISTED BY
WILLIAM FOSTER BA

Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή Iliad I 5



Bernard Quaritch
PICCADILLY LONDON

ANNO DOMINI MDCCCXIII

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London :
G. Horman and Son, Printers, Dart Street,
Covent Garden.

13-168391

TO THE
SETT PREMCHUND ROYCHUND,
HINDOO MERCHANT

OF

The Royal City of Bombay,

WHO NEVER LOST HIS HEAD IN PROSPERITY,
NOR HEART IN HIS ADVERSITY,
AND WHOSE SPLENDID ENDOWMENT
OF LEARNING AND CHARITY IN WESTERN INDIA
TIME, WHICH TEMPER AND PROPORTIONS ALL THINGS,
WILL LASTINGLY RECKON UNTO HIM
FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS,

I, EVER GAZING

WISTFULLY

EASTWARD

ACROSS THE SEVEN SEAS.

DEDICATE THIS VOLUME.

**" Omnis, in Arctois, populus, quicunque pruinis
Nascitur, indomitus bellis, et Martis amator.
Quicquid ad Eoos tractus, mundique teporem
Labitur, emollit gentes clementia coeli."**

LUCAN, *Pharsalia*, viii. 363.

**" Sero respicitur tellus, ubi fune soluto
Currit in immensum panda carina salum."**

OVID, *Amores*, ii. 11, 23.

**" God is mightier and wiser than we, therefore He does
with us according to His pleasure."**

GOETHE, *Maxims*.

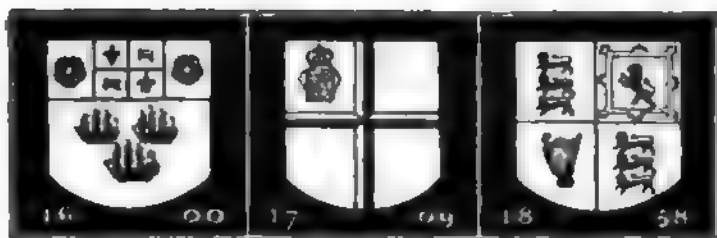
**" We sail'd wherever ships could sail ;
We founded many a mighty state ;
Pray God our greatness may not fail
Through craven fear of being great."**

TENNYSON, *Hands all Round*.

**" Worthless is the Nation that will not joyfully stake
its all for honour."**

SCHILLER, *Maid of Orleans*.





INTRODUCTION

"And Thomas eke with his beyete Of Yade."

Gower. *Confessio Amantis*, Liber v.

IN the preface to the second reprint, by Messrs. W. H. Allen & Co., in 1891, of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, after gratefully testifying to the admirable manner in which the Registry at the India Office had, since 1879, been rearranged, and its contents made readily accessible to the public, by Mr. F. C. Danvers, the Registrar and Superintendent of Records, and to the attention that was simultaneously being given by Mr. George Walter Forrest, B.A., Director of Records, Calcutta, to the custody of the state archives in India, I ventured to express the hope that means might be devised for reproducing those records in print more fully and rapidly in the future than had been found possible in the past. They have hitherto chiefly been used for the compilation of "Memoirs" on the history and organization of different Departments of the Government of India; and of "Selections," giving an account of the policy and procedure of the various branches of British Administration in India. The *Memoir on the Indian Surveys* prepared by Mr. Clements R. Markham, C.B., in 1871, and since followed by a continuing volume from the pen of Mr. C. E. D. Black, is a classical example of the former kind of official publications; while of the latter we have recently had a brilliant illustration in Professor Forrest's *Selections from the Records of the*

Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-85. There are, besides, Mr. Noel Sainsbury's five monumental volumes of *Calendars of State Papers : East Indies*, which include the two India Office series of "Court Minutes" and "Original Correspondence" from 1599 to 1634.

But the Government both at home and in India might, I contended, still further promote the diffusion of a thorough knowledge of the rise and progress of the British Indian Empire, by encouraging private enterprise, firstly, in the facsimile reproduction of such graphic documents in their possession, or in that of private persons, as those photo-lithographed by Mr. William Griggs of Peckham in the *Journal of Indian Art* for July, 1890, January and April, 1891, and July, 1892; secondly, in the publication, *verbatim et literatim*, of selected series of the records, such as the "Court Books" or "Court Minutes," and "Original Correspondence," after the manner of the publication, in 1886, by Mr. Henry Stevens, of Vermont, U.S., of the first volume [1599-1603] of the "Court Books," under the title of *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*; and finally, by extending the utmost possible assistance to trained scholars of recognized literary capacity, who would be found willing to rewrite the history of British India, or well-defined portions of it, direct from the stored muniments of Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and the India Office.

Through my innate delight in the handling of trade products and the study of their history, and through the lines in which my official duties have been cast, and the opportunities thus afforded me, as well as by the limitations of natural capacity, it is in the two first directions that I have personally been most interested in furthering the general utilization of the India Office records. It was, therefore, with the liveliest satisfaction that, about eighteen months ago, I received a letter from Mr. Bernard Quaritch, offering, in the most generous terms, to bring out a second fac-simile volume of the records, in series with Mr. Henry Stevens' *Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, if I would select the volume, and edit it for the press. I thought at first of the second volume of the "Court Books," but ultimately settled on the present volume; and chiefly because of the

obscurity it had lain in for three hundred years, whereas the "Court Books" had been made well acquainted and familiar to us through Mr. Noel Sainsbury's invaluable "Calendars." The volume was known to Thomas Rundall and used by him in his *Narratives of Voyages towards the North-West in search of a Passage to Cathay and India* [Hakluyt Society, 1849], wherein he entitles it "Court Miscellaneous Book" and "Court Miscellany Book"; and it was known to Mr. Bolton Corney, who, in *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton to Bantam and the Maluco Islands* [Hakluyt Society, 1855], reproduced, more or less completely, ten of the documents it contains, calling it "Court Miscellaneous Book." But after this it was lost sight of for about thirty years. It was certainly not handed over to Mr. Sainsbury when he commenced his "Calendars" of the India Office records; and when, on page 151 of his first volume, he comes across a reference [in the "Court Book" for 1607] to the present volume, he notes:—"This register is missing." It was overlooked by me when, in 1879, I examined and reported on the supplementary miscellaneous "Old Records" enumerated in the "Statistics and Commerce Departmental List No. 2397," and other Departmental Lists of the India Office; and the lost volume was only found again when these records were exhaustively explored and collated under the direction of Mr. F. C. Danvers, on his appointment as Registrar and Superintendent of Records in January, 1884.

The volume has been generally known as the "Miscellaneous Court Book," and that is the description inscribed on its label. There seems, however, to be little doubt that the proper title is the one now adopted, viz: "The Register of Letters, &c." of the Governour and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies. This is the title by which it is designated in the earlier "Court Minutes";¹ although later on it seems to have lost its original title and is referred to as "the booke wher y^e Commissions be."² It is in fact the first Letter Book and Register of the "London" or "Old" East India Company.

Nothing definite has been determined regarding the date, and

¹ See pp 152, 219, 236, 267, 305, and 307 *infra*.

² See p 446 *infra*

the copyists of the volume. It must of course have been in existence at the date of the first entry in the "Court Minutes" relative to it, viz 28th March, 1607;¹ but probably not before. The handwriting of the first portion of the volume would appear to be identical with that of the second volume of the "Court Minutes" or "Court Books," commencing from the 31st of December, 1606, and differs from that of the first volume, 1599 to 1603. The documents up to about 1606 were entered carefully, and one may presume leisurely. They are well written, with the initial words in "Old English" script. This, together with the fact that they are only rough drafts in order of date, suggests the hypothesis that they were entered up all at once, from drafts already on hand, rather than as they were from day to day received. On the other hand, the volume cannot have been begun later than about November, 1607, as it contains a document of that date, corrected and interlined, though first drafted in it, and corrected there; and a letter of the 21st of December, 1607, entered by another writer, who has also made a corresponding entry in the index. Probably the volume dates from the latter half of 1606. The only entry in the "Minutes" that may possibly militate against this conclusion is that of the 6th of July, 1607, ordering that "all letters be entred into a Booke and Coated for future memorie on occasion may fall out." This would seem to imply the existence of the present volume. But it may only mean that the "Adventurers of the Fourth Voyage" wished that their letters entered up with regularity and care, or, more probably, it may refer to a separate book. Certainly letters from the East Indies are entered in the present volume, but none from the East Indies.

The first half of the MS. is all in one handwriting, the rest seems to be in two or three, and soon gets more hurried and scrabbled; and it may plausibly be conjectured that the copyist of the first half was William Leighton, Secretary of the "Third Voyage" [1606-9], and presumably the official copyist of the second volume of the "Court Minutes" commencing

¹ See note, p. 152 *infra*.

December, 1606, the handwriting of which, as has already been said, is the same as that of the first part of the present volume. The objection might be raised that, in February and March 1609, when William Leighton was away from office, and a substitute was appointed to attend the Court Meetings in his place, no alteration is perceptible in the writing of the Minutes. We know, however, that the filed Minutes were not written at the time of the Court Meetings, but were entered afterwards from rough notes; and the probability is that the substitute took the notes of the Minutes, and that William Leighton wrote them in subsequently on his return to duty. So careful a caligraphist would never have willingly tolerated the interpolation of any inferior penmanship in the "Court Books" regularly kept by himself. Leighton seems to have been elected Secretary some time in 1606. He was re-elected in July, 1607, July, 1608, and July, 1609; and then he disappears from view. By a Minute of the 28th of August, 1607, he was ordered to have £162 a year from the "Adventurers in the Fourth and Fifth Voyages."

In reproducing the volume every endeavour has been made to present a rigidly accurate and literal copy of it; and with this end in view the original has been followed even in its blunders. Most of these are self-evident, but where they might possibly prove misleading an explanatory note has been appended. In the same scrupulous adherence to Mr. Henry Stevens' plan of reproduction the original punctuation has been preserved. In short, the only liberty taken with the text has been in, here and there, conjecturally supplying, within square brackets, an obviously missing word. Reproducing the volume in this way, *verbatim et literatim*, has of course involved the employment of a few types somewhat unfamiliar to modern eyes. They will, however, be readily understood. Thus: p means "per" or "par," as in "pfect," or "pticular"; b means "ber," as in "Robt"; p means "pro," as in "pfit" and "pvidence"; e is equivalent to a final "s" or "es," as in "merchaunte" or "damage"; while a mark over or through a letter, or a letter raised above the line, signifies the omission of an adjacent letter. Similarly, wherever the copyists have changed their own style of writing, in order to emphasize a word, or have engrossed an initial or

important word, with the same object, the alteration has been marked in the printed reproduction by a change of type as from "roman" to "italics," or from "small type" to "capitals." The only exceptions to these rules are that, in the marginal insets and the footnotes, no "peculiar" have been used, contractions being written out in full; and that in one or two instances in the text, such a word as "Robt" occurring in "italics" has been turned into "*Robert*." Both these deviations were followed simply because "peculiar" in the kinds of type used for the marginal insets, footnotes, &c., were unobtainable without having matrixes cut expressly for them, and it was not worth while going to this cost for so limited a use.

After William Leighton, until nearly the end of the book, the perfunctory copyists gave up engrossing the first word of each document in "Old English" letters; and, in accordance with strict rule, the ornamental first letter and capitals for the rest of the word ought also to have been dropped in the printed reproduction of the Register; but I found it impossible to so far sacrifice the lust of the eye to the witness of a consistently good conscience, whatever the consequences—

" Of every worldes cure
Fortune stant in aventure
Parauntur well, parauntur wo.
But how as ever that it go,
It shall be by my honde assaied "

—and I have accordingly continued the use of the ornamental letters and capitals for all the initial words to the end of the volume.

The notes are, for the most part, based on gleanings from *Purchas his Pilgrimes* and from the India Office records, in consulting which Mr. Noel Sainsbury's *Calendars of State Papers: East Indies* have been of inestimable service. For the rest, except in the case of obvious and well-known works of reference, full acknowledgment has been made, in each instance, of the sources of information.

The official value of the volume consists in the early date, and important character, of the documents it contains. Over one-fourth of them are of the first six years [1600 to 1606] of the

existence of "The London East India Company," commonly called "The Old East India Company," a period of which the records have hitherto been extremely meagre. Exclusive of the "Court Minutes," there are only fifty-four original MSS. in the India Office belonging to the period, and of this number forty-eight are included in the present volume; while of a large proportion of the one hundred and seventy-eight letters and commissions embraced in it, no other first-hand copies are known. The volume is especially serviceable in filling up the gap caused by the never-to-be-sufficiently-regretted loss of the "Court Books" or "Court Minutes" for 1603-1606, and 1610-14, and in thus sustaining the continuity of the contemporary official records for the first obscure years of the "Factory Period" in the history of the East India Company, extending from the formation of the "London" Company in 1600 to its absorption in the "English Company trading to the East Indies" in 1709.

This period of purely commercial operations may be divided into three well-marked sub-periods; the first from 1600 to 1623, the date of the "Massacre of Amboyna," during which the Company pushed its trade in the East Indies under the greatest difficulties, but without exciting much popular attention; the second from 1623 to 1660, during which, partly in consequence of the national solicitude aroused by the massacre of the Company's Agents at Amboyna, a general competition was rapidly developed throughout the country for a participation in the commerce of the East Indies; and the third and last, from 1660 to 1709, during which this disastrous rivalry at length resulted in the amalgamation of the "London," or "Old," and the "English," or "New," Companies, in the "United Company of Merchants of England trading into the East Indies," commonly known as "The Honourable East India Company;" whose great commercial Empire was sequestrated to the British Crown in 1858. The present volume, it will be found, throws a flood of fresh light on the home and Indian affairs of the Company during a considerable part of the first section of the great "Factory Period" of their career.

The volume, in short, covers all the years of the Company's "Separate Voyages," and the first seven years of their "Joint Stock Voyages."

Of the twelve "Separate Voyages," "The First," 1601, under James Lancaster, consisted of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, *Assention*, *Susan* and *Guift* ;

"The Second," 1604, under Henry Middleton, consisted of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector*, *Assention* and *Susan* ;

"The Third," 1607, under Keeling, consisted of the *Red Dragon*, *Hector* and *Consent* ; and William Hawkins, who commanded the *Hector*, left her at Surat, and proceeded to Agra ;

"The Fourth," 1608, under Sharpey, consisted of the *Assention* and *Union* ;

"The Fifth," 1609, was under David Middleton in the *Consent*, the only ship sent ;

"The Sixth," 1610, under Sir Henry Middleton, consisted of the *Trades Increase*, the *Peppercorn*, commanded by Nicholas Downton, and the *Darling* ;

"The Seventh Voyage," 1611, was under Anthony Hippon in the *Globe*, the only ship sent ;

"The Eighth," 1611, under John Saris, consisted of the *Clove*, *Hector* and *Thomas* ;

"The Ninth," 1612, was under Edmund Marlowe, in the *James* [James I.], detached from the "Tenth Voyage" ;

"The Tenth," 1612, under Thomas Best, consisted of the *Hoseander*, *Solomon* [i.e. James I. again] and *Red Dragon* ;

"The Eleventh," 1612, under Best in the *Solomon*, detached from the "Tenth Voyage" ;

And "The Twelfth," also in 1612, was under Christopher Newport, in the *Expedition* ; which was commissioned chiefly to carry Sir Robert Sherley [brother of Sir Anthony], Ambassador from Shah Abbas to King James I., back to Persia, where he died in 1628.

Of "the Joint Stock Voyages," "The First," 1614, under Downton, consisted of the *New Year's Gift*, *Merchant Hope*, *Hector* and *Solomon*, and is the only one on the Joint Stock account of any general interest. The fleet which sailed in January, 1615, under Peyton, took out Sir Thomas Roe, on board the *Lion*, as Ambassador from James I. to the "Court of the Great Mogol" [Jehanghier, 1605-27] at Agra. Another, under Benjamin Joseph, consisting of the *Charles*, *Unicorn*, *Globe*, *Swan* and *Rose*, sailed

in February, 1616, with Edward Terry on board the *Charles*, as "Chaplain to the Right Hon^{ble} Sir Thomas Row, Knt:". William Baffin served in the fleet, consisting of the *London*, *Hart*, *Roebuck* and *Eagle*, which sailed in February, 1620, under Shillinge. The latter was killed in an encounter with the Portuguese fleet in January, 1621, off Ras Jask, and was buried near the town of Jask; while Baffin died in January, 1622, of a wound received at the siege of a Portuguese fort on the island of Kishm, where he lies buried. John Davis, who sailed as pilot on board the *Tiger*, in Sir Edward Michelborne's independent voyage in 1604, was slain in December, 1605, in an encounter with a Japanese junk in the Straits of Malacca, and there found his watery grave within sight of the island of Bintang.¹

At home these twenty years were marked, in the general history of England, by the insurrection of Essex, the occupation of Kinsale by the Spaniards, the debates in Parliament on monopolies, which Queen Elizabeth consented to abolish, all of which events took place in 1601; the death of Elizabeth and accession of James I. in 1603; the treaty of peace concluded with Spain in 1604; "the Gunpowder Plot" in 1605; the first permanent English settlement in America, made at Jamestown by the Virginia Company in 1608; the commencement of the colonisation of Ulster by the English and Scotch, and the institution of the order of Baronets in 1611; the negotiations with Spain concerning the marriage of Prince Charles, and the landing of the first Puritan settlers in America in 1620, the same year in which the German Protestants were defeated at the battle of Prague; and the incessant quarrels of James I. with his successive Parliaments, namely, those of 1604, 1614 [the "Addled Parliament"], 1621 and 1624, the last finally declaring monopolies to be illegal: while in the particular history of the Company, these same years are notable for the grant of their first charter by Queen Elizabeth, dated the 31st of December, 1600, "to 1615," and of the twelve charters of James I., namely: (1) of 23rd February, 1604, licensing the

¹ See *The Life of John Davis, 1550-1605*. By Clements R. Markham, C.B., F.R.S. George Philip and Son, 1889.

transport of £12,000 into the East Indies; (2) of 9th August, 1606, permitting the Company to sell spices in bulk for exportation ungarbled; (3) of 5th January, 1607, and (4) of 8th February, 1608, licensing the transport of £20,000 in each of these years; (5) of 22nd May, 1609, licensing the Company to sell to other merchants ungarbled spices in whole packs, to be by them transported in whole packs; (6) of 31st May, 1609, making the monopoly granted by Queen Elizabeth "perpetual"; (7) of 4th December, 1610, providing that neither the Company, nor their merchandises, should be thereafter sued, vexed, arrested, molested, or disquieted in respect of their trading, with other privileges; (8) of 14th December, 1615, confirming the right of the Company to transport to the East Indies foreign silver, either as brought into the Kingdom, or coined anew in the Mint within the Tower of London; (9) of 11th July, 1617, renewing the licenses granted to the Company to sell ungarbled spices, and transport silver; (10) of 16th January, 1618, renewing the license to transport foreign bullion; (11) of 4th February, 1623, granting the Company the right to chastise and correct all English persons residing in the East Indies and committing any misdemeanour; and (12) of 11th October, 1624, pardoning the Company for certain offences, and granting to them such sums of money, and other goods and merchandises "as did belong to the King."

The above brief enumeration of the Company's "Voyages," and of their "Charters" or "Letters Patent" of Monopoly, Confirmation, License, and Privilege, during the first quarter of the seventeenth century, will serve to explain almost any document in the present volume, wherever it may be opened.

Although these years were "the day of small things" with the Company, the reaction of their narrow operations on the wider history of England was even then apparent, not only in the Parliamentary discussions on monopolies, but in the whole intellectual activity of the time, especially as applied to the consideration of the question of protection or freedom in commerce; which was not definitively determined for this country until 1846, and then not absolutely and unequivocally, for the correlated and subsidiary problem of combination or freedom in

labour still remains unsolved by us: the popular tendency of the moment seeming, indeed, to be to decide it violently, that is, by provoking the antagonism of political parties on the question, in defiance of those fundamental principles of economic progress, the unrestricted working of which has within fifty years made the words "foreign countries" an unmeaning phrase for Englishmen by making the whole world Britain.¹

The contemporary influence of the Company's early voyages is to be traced even in the plays of Shakespeare; and the uniform success of all the "Separate Voyages," excepting "the Fourth," at once stimulated those commercial and industrial controversies in which were gradually laid the solid foundations of the economic philosophy that found its first systematic, and, to the present day, its greatest, exponent in Adam Smith. It is in the second and third portions of the great "Factory Period" that these polemical

¹ Compare Spenser's lines in "The Ruines of Rome"; which are far more true of the proud commercial empire of the English people, than of the merely military conquests of "those antique Cæsars sleeping long in darke":—

"Who list the Romane greatnes forth to figure,
Him needeth not to seeke for usage right
Or line, or lead, or rule, or squire, to measure
Her length, her breadth, her deepnes, or her hight;
But him behooves to vew in compasse round
All that the Ocean graspes in his long armes;
Be it where the yerely starre doth scortch the ground,
Or where colde Boreas blowes his bitter stormes.
Rome was th' whole world, and al the world was Rome;
And if things nam'd their names doo equalize,
When land and sea ye name, then name ye Rome;
And, naming Rome, ye land and sea comprize:
For th' auncient Plot of Rome displayed plaine
The map of all the wide world doth containe."

We have, in truth, by means of the leverage of our free-trade policy, raised the whole world in company with ourselves, our colonies, and dependencies, to the highest pitch of industrial and commercial greatness yet reached by mankind.

The great evil that has grown up with free trade, as established in the United Kingdom, is the concentration of wealth, often of inordinate wealth, in the hands of a few, and the corresponding increase in the number of the unemployed poor; and the most pressing social need of our generation is the more equable distribution of wealth among all classes of the community: but this is not to be brought about by aggressive combinations of labour, with their direct corollary in universal commercial protection against foreign competition; a return to which would but hasten our emphatically trading empire to swift decay.

publications become more and more numerous and significant ; but already, between 1600 and 1623, the year of the Massacre of Amboyna, the following, all of recognized importance, had appeared :—

Gerard Malynes' *England's View in the unmasking of two Paradoxes*, 1603 ;

Tobias Gentleman's *England's Way to win Wealth*, 1614 ;

Britains Busse, by E. S., 1615 ;

Trades Increase, by J. R., 1615 ;

Sir Dudley Digges' *Defence of Trade*, 1615 ;

Thomas Mun's *Discourse of Trade from England to the East Indies*, 1621 ;

E. Misselden's *Free Trade, or the Means to make Trade flourish*, 1622 ;

————— *Circle of Commerce*, 1623 ;

Gerard Malynes' *Lex Mercatoria*, 1622 ; and

————— *Centre of Circle of Commerce*, 1623.

J. Hagthorpe's *England's Exchequer, a Discourse of the Sea and Navigation*, 1625, also belongs essentially to the same empirical stage in the development of economic doctrine reached by the rest of the writings on the sovereignty of the seas, state monopolies, private enterprises, the exportation of bullion and coin, exchanges, the balance of trade, *et cetera*, all published during the reign [1603-25] of James I.

If to these works we add François Pyrard de Laval's *Voyage to the East Indies*, between 1601 and 1611, with Pietro Della Valle's *Travels in Turkey, Persia and India*, between 1614 and 1626, and the logs of the early voyages of the East India Company preserved by Purchas, and all these to the present volume, and the rest of the contemporary India Office records, it becomes clear that there are now materials enough available for a complete and almost exhaustively detailed account of the twenty-three years of the obscure and carefully experimental beginnings of the East India Company. I only wish that Mr. Walter Besant would take up the period for illustration in one of his healthful historical novels. The scenes, the properties, the *dramatis personæ*, the authentic history, even suggestions of the love story underlying it, are all there ready to his creative hand ; and a secondary serio-comic

character, the double martyr to love and conscience, of unique originality. This was one of the Company's servants in India, whose letters to his principals are full of remorseful confessions of the influence over him of the alluring beauty of the Hindu women, and of his grotesque contrivances for resisting it.

"In eche of them he fint somewhat
 That pleseth him, or this, or that.
 Some one, for she is white of skinne,
 Some one, for she is noble of kinne,
 Some one, for she hath a rosy cheke,
 Some one, for that she semeth meke,
 Some one, for she hath eyen grey,
 Some one, for she can laugh and pley,
 Some one, for she is longe and small,
 Some one, for she is lite and tall,
 Some one, for she is pale and bleche,
 Some one, for she is softe of speche,
 Some one, for she can dance and sing,
 So that something of his liking
 He fint, and tho no more he fele
 But that she hath a litel hele,¹
 It is inough, that he therefore
 Her love, and thus a hundred score."

At last he can no longer withstand it, and writes to inform his employers that, rather than yield to the overmastering tempta-

¹ The Hindu women of the higher castes, or as it might now, under British rule, be more accurately said, of the wealthier classes, are remarkable for the perfect proportions and dainty modelling of their hands and feet, the classical beauty of which is enhanced in its effect on the beholder by the unrestrained ease and natural grace of their whole presence, demeanour and carriage, as they recline in statuesque repose, or move about, like the immortal goddesses of Homer, enwrapped in the long elegant folds of their bright flowing draperies. Their olive-tinted hands, passing into ivory white on the palms, moderately plump, and with straight firm fingers, tapering to the tips, are the sweet gracious hands of the Capitoline Leda, the hands attributed also by the Greeks and Romans to Pallas Athene. Their feet are the fair feet of the Medicean Venus, smoothly rounded, high arched in sole and instep, full and elastic in the tread, the toes all delicately dimpled at the articulations, the second being longer than the first, and the little toe "preternaturally small," as some modern critics have ignorantly affirmed of the masterpiece of Cleomenes [I.], and with the strongly knit round "heels of Atalanta," one of the lesser pulcheritudes ascribed to Aspasia. They are the "winged heels" of the poets, and, with the corresponding springy tread, are the result of the free exercise throughout unending generations of

tions to which he was exposed, he has subjected himself, by the topical application of a douche of molten lead, to a voluntary humiliation difficult to parallel anywhere in the heroical hagiology of Christendom. And there ends this strange, new *Confessio Amantis*.

The incident is a humorous illustration of the familiar relations always maintained between the Company and their servants in India ; based, as the present volume repeatedly indicates, on a devout sense of their responsibility in each other's well-being. When the Company was first founded, the feudal tradition of the affiliation of servants to their masters had not yet become obsolete in England, and, during the second half of the sixteenth, and the first half of the seventeenth centuries, it was, indeed, strengthened by the elevating spiritual significance given to all the conditions and concerns of our temporal existence by the prevailing puritanism of the times ; and notwithstanding that men have of themselves but little strength to rise above their natural frailties, the age was undeniably one of high religious profession and formality, touching and adorning the humblest details of

the naked, or the simply sandaled, foot. But now a-days, Hindu ladies, particularly in the Presidency towns of India, under the blighting influences of our western ideas of impropriety, are becoming more and more opposed to appearing in public with uncovered feet, and are rapidly accustoming themselves to the use of shoes and slippers. In Bombay they had already in my time almost universally adopted the Persian style of slipper ; and since then they have taken to English shoes, happily, made up in all sorts of coloured stuffs, and even, as I am informed, to stockings. It is saddening that in this way the healthful, picturesque habits of the ancient Aryas should one after the other be obliterated in their last surviving sanctuary, leaving the life of the modern world lowered to the dead level of the timid uniformity of the self-conscious West. But in spite of their going into shoes and stockings, and the scarcely less unwholesome abomination of gloves, the Hindu women will always retain an attractiveness, especially their own, in the automatic, rhythmical comportment, whether in rest or action, of their shapely hands and feet, which I can compare, in English art, only to the unlaboured freedom and refinement of the disposition of the feet and hands, as of the limbs generally, in Thomas Stothard's charming compositions of female figures. And after all for lovely woman is supreme over every detraction, the "glancing," beneath waving robes, of "many twinkling feet," all in their "finical shoes" of gayest dyes and spangled over with sparkling gold, will make a pretty picture anywhere, and is a sight to be constantly seen in the loftily shadowed streets, and among the spick-and-span suburban gardens, of the many-languaged Town and Island of Bombay.

public and domestic life; and the East India Company and their agents at least endeavoured to give as full effect to them in the practice of the amenities, charities, and moralities of the Christian faith, as was within the capability of contemporary humanity. The Company's servants of the period have, on account of the apparently extravagant eating and drinking that was constantly going on in the Indian factories, been held up to odium by superficial writers, as an ungodly set of gluttons, drunkards, and miscellaneous debauchees. But they were obliged to systematically keep open table for the entertainment of passing European travellers, in whose gratefully appreciative reports these unmerited reproaches have, for the most part, originated; while the truly fearless fashion of their hospitality was but part of the high Roman living of their day. Those read in the seventeenth century receipts for such dishes as "florendines," "battalias," "pulpatoons," "tansies," and even "an amulet of eggs," as then prepared, and for such "entertaining waters" as "cock-ale,"¹ know that it was an age "of lusty drinke and lusty mete." Moreover, as in northern Europe, the Phœnician receipts, received chiefly through the Romans, had gradually been modified by the addition to them of ever increasing quantities of solid flesh, so the same receipts received in India, chiefly through the Arabs, had been modified by continually subtracting from the original prescriptions of meat, and adding to those of vegetables and spices; and thus it came about that the cookery of the Company's factories, which continued to be more or less that of Anglo-Indians down to the suppression of "the Mutiny" in 1858, combined the aggravated solidity of the English cookery of the reigns of the Stuarts, with the fiery high-flavouring of the Indian cookery of the Mo(n)gol Empire. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, receipts for Indian "paloos," and for "mangoes" in the sense of "pickles," with the verb "to mango," melons, cucumbers, &c., appear even in our English cookery books. "That accursed Bombay punch," so named from its five [in Sanskrit *pancha*] ingredients, and thus

¹ "Cock Ale" is made by bruising an old cock, "the older the better," bones and all, with three pounds of raisins, mace, cloves, &c., and stirring it all thoroughly with two quarts of sack, digesting it for nine days in ten gallons of ale, and then bottling off, and leaving it "the same time to ripen as other ale."

stigmatised by President Gerald Aungier in his Letter of the 24th of January, 1675/6, was, after all, no "plausible invention" of the English factors at Surat, but probably an immemorial oriental beverage, similar, as pointed out in the first edition [1879] of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office*, to the *πενταπλόα* of Athenæus.¹ These simple, rude fellows, were, in short, average samples of the Englishmen of the middle classes of their time; a time of general elevation of the national character, to which the Company and their servants, in spite of the "bad bargains" among their number, contributed in a marked degree. There can be no mistaking the spirit of godliness to be traced throughout their business letters and other official documents, and which frequently finds formal expression in the valedictory style observed in their correspondence with each other. This simple natural piety of theirs has indeed become the noblest inheritance of the Indian services, ever growing, in depth of fervour and breadth of charity, with the growth of our Imperial responsibilities toward India. It is the true basis of the structure of our supremacy in India, as all who had the privilege of studying on the spot the men who suppressed "the Mutiny" of 1857 can never hesitate in acknowledging; and if, through the lowering social and political clouds at present overshadowing the Old World, we may still venture to contemplate with serenity the future of India, under the hegemony of the United Kingdom it is because no other rulers of the nations are more practically

¹ All the strong drinks of which the poets have sung may be traced back the East, not only chronologically, but, so to say, genealogically, or through the history of the descent of the receipts for them. Ambrosia, the drink of "immortality" of the Greeks, is the *amrita* [Sanskrit for "immortality"] of the Hindus; and although word originally had a purely physiological significance, it soon came to be identified with some heavily sweetened intoxicating "beverage of the gods of the Aryan Mead, the famous Anglo-Saxon brew, "brosce," or broth, of spirit and honey, similar to the "methygllyn" of Devonshire, was the Greek *μέθυ*, a honied wine, and the Hindu *madhu* [Sanskrit for "sweet"], the luscious liquor distilled from the fruit of the *madhuka*, *mahua* or "Mowra Tree," *Bassia latifolia*. Nectar, as Athenæus, was a Babylonian wine, and its name is obviously the comparative form Persian *ash*, "good," *i.e.* *ashkar*, "better;" used in its superlative degree of "best," in Europe as the name [generally said to be the Italian diminutive, *nettare*, of *nettare*, nectar, and, again, an adjectival form of nectar], of the variety of peach known as the nectarine, *Amygdalus Persica*, var: *B. Nectarina*.

impressed than those who administer the government of that noble country with the truth taught by all secular history, that, in "morall Gower" 's ancient diction :—

" There is a State, as ye shall here,
Above all other on earthe here,
Which hath the londe in His balaunce.
To Him belongeth the legeaunce
Of clerke, of knight, of man of lawe,
Under His honde all is forthdrawe,
The marchaunt and the laborer,
So stant it all in His power,
Or for to spille, or for to save."

The present volume is, if possible, even more useful than Mr. Henry Stevens' *Dawn of British Trade in the East*, for the information it affords of the measures taken by the Company to secure their trade with the Indian Archipelago and India, for it deals, not as the "Court Minutes" of 1599-1603 principally do, with the organization of the "First Voyage," but, for the greater part, with the instructions given by the Company to their agents regarding the actual articles of trade to be exchanged between the East Indies and Europe; and in the minuteness and comprehensiveness of these instructions, and the energy and perseverance with which they were carried out in every part of the Indies, we have one of the secrets of the Company's unprecedented success. Theirs was indeed the same procedure as is being adopted by the Germans in the present day, with the result that the latter are beginning to supplant us wherever, through our own supineness and neglect, we have given them an opening to the littoral and insular markets of the Indian Ocean. We seem indeed to be losing the art of seizing the opportunity of new markets for ourselves, and standing steadfastly by them. The other day when the British South Africa Company assembled in the City to hear Mr. Rhodes expatiate on their position and prospects, we were told that there was something very Elizabethan in the meeting. Save in coats, hats, and umbrellas, the scene was said to be identical with that presented at the preliminary meetings of the East India Company in the sixteenth century. It is something that pride should be taken in making the

comparison. But the East India Company never suffered itself to be deluded with the Will o' the Wisp idea that "Trade follows the Flag;" and the French have over and over again demonstrated for our edification that only too often it does not. The Company was even reluctant that our flag should follow their trade, as was inevitable; while, because our flag—at first the banner of St. George, then the "Union Flag" of 1606, and, finally, the "Union Flag" of 1801—cautiously waited on their trade, wherever it was at last planted in India there it remains to this day; and will remain so long as it is upheld as the sacred symbol of the unity of the British Empire under the paramount protectorate of the United Kingdom.¹ Again, some years ago, a promoter of the Imperial British East Africa Company, asking for some light to be thrown on their contemplated leap into the dark, and being advised to read the earlier "Court Books" of the East India Company, turned away, like Naaman, in contempt, protesting the philanthropic purposes of his abnormal adventure. But the East India Company, while always religiously observing the responsibilities of proprietorship, took infinite pains to first make sure of their property, and never in the whole course of their history attempted the practice of philanthropy at the expense of other people. The result of the contrary policy of vicarious benevolence is to be witnessed in the present deplorable condition of the Empire of Uganda, one of the most picturesque, luxuriant, and fertile regions of Central Africa, rich also in mineral wealth, but now reduced to inextricable anarchy and desolation by the wicked warfare waged along all its verdant uplands, and through

¹ "Also remember the cities, our colonies,
 out-lying States in the East and the West,
 Scattered about to a distance surrounding us,
 these are our shreds and our fragments of wool;
 These to one mighty political aggregate,
 tenderly, carefully, gather and pull,
 Twining them all in one thread of good fellowship;
 thence a magnificent bobbin to spin,
 Weaving a garment of comfort and dignity,
 worthily wrapping a People therein."—

ARISTOPHANES [by B. Bickley Rogers], *The Ly:*

all its umbrageous valleys, by the rival Catholic and Protestant sects into which its population of two million souls has been divided, thanks to the impotency of the East Africa Company to fulfil the most elementary duties of their lightly assumed vague sovereignty.

The highest value of the present volume is in the faithful record it has preserved of the character and conditions of the great secular trade between Europe and Asia at the very instant when England first entered on her now fulfilled possession of it; and its highest interest in reference to the consequences of the dexterous measures then taken by the East India Company to obtain a footing in it, involving as these did the whole future of the United Kingdom. The current of this trade, at first, and for four milleniums, through Mesopotamia and Egypt, and then round the Cape of Good Hope, and, after nearly four centuries, once again through Egypt, has, from its forgotten beginnings, determined the destinies of the historical nations of the Old World; and now we find it dominated by the United Kingdom not only along both its competing courses, but at all its perennial head springs, in the tropical fertility of India, Farther India, the Indian Archipelago, and the East Indies generally, from Abyssinia or "Middle India," to China or "Superior India." The history of the Old World has, in brief, been the history of its commerce in the dye stuffs, cloth, and spice, and gold of India; and it was the fame of the East Indies for their fresh spices, deep toned dyes, bright cloths, and precious stones, and wrought gold and silver, and sumptuary arms, that led Columbus on to the unexpected discovery of the New World of the Americas.

The elaborately broken coast line stretching obliquely from the British Isles gradually southward through a distance, as the crow flies, of from 8000 to 9000 miles, until it ends in the Indian Archipelago, naturally invited the population along its entire length to mutual commerce, not simply by the facilities it affords for inter-communication, but also by the infinite variety in the productions of the temperate and tropical zones they have to offer each other. Once settled by the human race, it was inevitable that a great commerce, having its inexhaustible sources in "the world's green end" of Homer's "blameless

Æthiopians,"¹ should grow up everywhere along this remarkable coast line. The renown of the riches of the trade with India, and the Indian Archipelago, was propagated from the earliest date all over Asia and Europe in the Legends of the Earthly Paradise, the Sea of Riches, the Land of Gold, &c.; and the geographical, mercantile, technical, and other myths of universal fable and folk lore, are the vague broken traditions of the immemorial trade, in its prehistoric origins, pursued for countless generations along all these shores of old romance. For centuries this commerce was carried on, not directly between one country and another, but through innumerable intermediate agencies, so that distant countries knew each other only by their productions and the strange "travellers' tales," that grew in wonder as they passed from mouth to mouth between the East and West. The very name of India² remained unknown among the nations of the Mediterranean Sea for centuries after its costly perfumes had been in daily use in the service of the Tabernacle at Shiloh, and afterward of the Temple at Jerusalem, and for milleniums after their earliest use for embalming the dead in Egypt.

This southern coast line of the continent we arbitrarily divide into Europe and Asia is interrupted between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean by the Isthmus of Suez; and as the peninsula of Arabia extends from this point about 1500 miles southward, the Isthmus of Suez really presents the length and breadth of Arabia as an obstruction to the direct transit of the trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean; and as it is twice as long from Suez to Aden as from th

¹ From the right bank of the Nile—

" Eastwarde, Asie it is algates
Till that men comen to the gates
Of Paradis, and then Ho! "

GOWER, *Confessio Amantis*.

² It is first used in this its Hellenised Persian form [Hindu] by Herodotus. indeed used still earlier by Homer in its Hellenised native Sanskrit form of *σι* but not as the designation of the country, but of its fine cotton stuffs, or *σι* the *śudhā* of a pre-Homeric cuneiform inscription of Babylonia, and *sadin* of t Testament. Compare "cendalum" and sendal, or cendal, the Low Latin a/ English names of old Indian silks, resembling the "Liberty silks" of the day; and also silk and serge, both these words being formed from the Latin "silken"-garments, literally (of the) "Seres," i.e. "Chineses."

Mediterranean Sea to the head of the Persian Gulf, the commercial advantages of the Red Sea route, even after the discovery of sailing to India by the monsoons, have always been nearly equalled by the comparative shortness of the route by the Persian Gulf and Euphrates Valley. Thus from "the deep backward and abysm of time" these two lines have competed on almost equal terms for the commerce of India, and the competition between them is the true key to the history of the successive states and empires that rose and fell along their course; rose as they gained the trade of India, and fell when they lost it.

So important are the positions in connection with the Red Sea and Persian Gulf that not only was there always a rivalry between the nations on the Persian Gulf, and those on the Red Sea, but it was a vital question among the latter whether the trade should go by the Gulf of Akaba, or the Gulf of Suez. The rivalry successively of Assyria and Babylonia with Phœnicia on the one hand, and Egypt on the other, and again between Jerusalem and Tyre, and Jerusalem and Petra, that finds such startling expression in the prophetic denunciations and lamentations of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, had largely for its origin the competition for the monopoly, or at least a share, of the profits of the commerce between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea. The overwhelming advantage of the Semitic races, and particularly of the Arabians and Phœnicians [for the Hebrews were unfortunately placed between the Idumæans and Phœnicians] was that from the dawn of history they were already in occupation of all the lands separating the Mediterranean Sea from the Indian Ocean. This gave them their start in the civilisation of the world. [The Phœnicians in the Mediterranean Sea, and the Arabians in the Indian Ocean, at once engrossed in their own hands the whole of the trade between the countries of the Mediterranean Sea and the countries of the Indian Ocean; the Arabians keeping possession of their share of it without interruption until Vasco Da Gama [A.D. 1497] opened up the trade to India by the Cape of Good Hope. Ultimately the Phœnicians and their colonies were forced to succumb to the rivalry of Assyria and Greece and Rome. Yet Tyre was not finally destroyed until taken by the Crusaders, who, behind their religious professions,

were chiefly influenced in their operations by the sordid interests of the commercial Italian States of the twelfth century.

During the three hundred years subsequent to Da Gama's enterprise the Red Sea and Persian Gulf routes gradually fell into disuse, but are now regaining their former importance; and to safeguard them against all danger as the future channels of the rapidly increasing commerce of Europe and America with Asia and Australasia has become one of the highest political obligations of the British Empire. Commerce always sets steadily toward the shortest routes, and under the pressure of the competition of the modern world, Egypt and Mesopotamia will become the chief commercial highways between the East and West. Commercial supremacy, the only sure foundation of political supremacy, is absolutely dependent on the opportunity of roads and markets, or on strategical points and communications as military men call them. Indeed war is only another form of commercial antagonism, seeking by violence the same advantages commerce often more surely secures by its slower, deadlier sap. It was of comparatively little consequence that the three successive Egyptian empires, and the Assyrian and Babylonian monarchies were overthrown, or that ancient Tyre was twice razed to the ground, for while the commerce of India still went by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf the people prospered; but when the Portuguese outflanked these routes by doubling the Cape of Good Hope, then Egypt became indeed "a base kingdom," and "great Babylon" "a refuge for the wild beasts of the desert," and Nineveh "a desolation," and Tyre "a place to spread nets upon." If

"Peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war,"

her defeats also are not less terrible and crushing, and are far more enduring in their disastrous results. The discovery of Da Gama made the whole of Anterior Asia a desert, and impoverished all the countries of the Mediterranean Sea, for more than three hundred years. Their revival, already notable in the instances of Italy, Greece, and Egypt, may be formally dated from the reopening of the overland route between India and Europe by Lieutenant

Waghorn in 1845, and was placed beyond all future hazards by the successful opening of the Suez Canal on November 17th, 1869, and the insurance of its freedom and neutrality by the British settlement of Egypt in 1882-3.

Modern research is gradually teaching us that it is impossible to give too early a date to the origin of this life-giving trade between the East Indies and Europe. In its primeval inception it was probably little more than an insensible interchange of productions maintained from the first migrations of the Caucasian races westward, in the wake of the daily revolving sun. It was in this way possibly that the saffron crocus, *Crocus sativus* [in Sanskrit *kamkama*, whence the Greek *κρόκος*, and Arabic *zafran*, and *kurkum*, Latinised as "curcuma," turmeric], found its way from Cashmere into all the countries of the Eastern Mediterranean. But it must have been by a regular trade, organized by the Sabæan Arabs and Chaldæans, that muslin, entered in early cuneiform lists under the name of *sindhu*,¹ in Greek *σινδών*, and teak, found among the ruins of the Akkadian temple at Ur,² and blackwood, discovered by Rassam among the ruins of Jamjama, both exclusively Indian woods, were carried into Babylonia; and by a regular trade, organized by the Arabians and Phœnicians, that indigo, the name of which, signifying the "Indian" dye, came to the Greeks [*Ἰνδικός*] and Romans [*indicum*] later through Persia, and cotton [Arabic *koton*], tamarind wood [Arabic *tamar u'l Hind*, "date of India"], and Indian garnets and carbuncles, and the Indian elephant and Indian bear, were imported into Egypt, before the date of the new Theban Empire founded by the 18th Pharaonic dynasty, B.C. 1700-

¹ The *sadin* of Judges xiv. 12, 13. Proverbs xxxi. 24, and Isaiah iii. 23.

² The only question is whether the teak was used in the original construction of the temple by the Akkadians, or in its reconstruction by Nebuchadnezzar, B.C. 605-562. Eutychius, the Patriarch of Alexandria, A.D. 933-40, records a tradition of *saj* timber, i.e. teak, the *saj* of Western India [Edrisi's "Land of Saj"], having been used in the building of Noah's Ark; and Theophrastus, who died B.C. 287, says that the ships of Tylos, or Tyros, in the Persian Gulf, mentioned in some traditions as the original seat of the Phœnicians, were made of a wood that lasted 200 years; and this could only have been teak, of which the Arabian ships on the Indian Ocean are still all built. The "gopher wood" of which, according to Genesis vi. 14, the mythical ark was constructed, is generally identified with the "cypress," *tirzah*, of Isaiah xlv. 14, but the term is translated *saj* in the Arabic version of the Pentateuch.

1400; and that ivory and tin became known to the Greeks by their Sanskrit names, ἐλέφας [Sanskrit *ibha*], and κασσίτερος [Sanskrit *kastira*], and cotton in the form of the χιτῶν [the Arabic tunic of cotton cloth], before the age of Homer. The "tripple-gemmed earrings," ἔρματα τρίγληνα, of the Iliad [xiv. 183] and Odyssey [xviii. 298] are also generally supposed to have been of Indian [Cingalese] pearls, but as they are described as "mulberry"-coloured, μορόεντα, they were probably of Indian carbuncles or garnets. In any case the Greek name for the pearl μαργαρίτης is the Sanskrit *maracata*.¹ The fragment of carved ebony found in "the Homeric Ilios" may have been sent from the Malabar Coast of India, or from Ceylon, or the Indian Archipelago, but more probably it came from Upper Egypt, or Inner Africa. The Hebrew Scriptures of the Old Testament are full of indications of the early importance of the Indian trade. The bdellium of Genesis ii. 12, and Numbers xi. 7 [*bdolach*, in Sanskrit *madalaka*, the βδέλλιον and μαδαλκόν of Dioscorides, in

¹ Some are of opinion that *maracata* is derived from μαργαρίτης, but the pearl is an Eastern product; and others that the Greek derivative from *maracata* is σμάραγδος, a word first used by Herodotus, and identified with either the aqua marine or the emerald; but although these gems are found in southern India and Farther India respectively, neither has an Indian name resembling *maracata*, while both are in Persian named *samarud*. In such difficulties the original derivation of the denomination of any articles that became famous in the great historical trade between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea may be determined with tolerable surety by the knowledge of the original place of their production; an indication never sufficiently regarded by oriental and classical scholars and philologists, but which, when duly considered, makes it clear that very few of the Sanskrit denominations of such articles are derived from Greek and Latin originals, and that the majority of the Greek and Latin denominations for them are derived from the Sanskrit, either indirectly, through the mediation of the Arabians or the Persians, or directly, during the intimate intercourse that existed between the Greeks and the Indians under Alexander the Great, and the Diadochi. The Greeks seem to have introduced many geographical and historical names into Sanskrit, and innumerable scientific terms, but not the denomination of a single commercial product, unless it be *mulva* [μόλυβος] "lead," nor of a single manufacture other than *kalinas* [χαλινός], "a bridle," industrial appliance excepting *surunga* [σῦριγξ], "a (mine) shaft." They also introduced the salutation *khera* [χαίρει], "hail!", and the words *loraka* [λόρωπηξ], a "fo" and *kameluka* [κάμηλος], "a camel," and this is the sum of their indisputable contributions, of the kind here discussed, to the vocabulary of Sanskrit; notwithstanding that plausible suggestions have been urged for the addition to it of *samida* [σεμίδα] "fine flour," i.e. "simnell," *kangni* [κίγχρος], "*Faniculum italicum*," *kasturi* [καστ of Dioscorides and Galen], "civet," and even *kastira* [κασσίτερος, as if compo-

Hindi *mukul*], whether it be bdellium, the gum resin of *Balsamodendron Mokul*, and other species of *Balsamodendron*, as is almost certain, or, as some¹ argue, musk, and the aloes¹ of Psalms xlv. 8, Proverbs vii. 17, and Canticles iv. 14 [*ahalim*, in Sanskrit *agaru*, the ἀγάλλοχον of Dioscorides and ξυλαλόη of Aetius], the eagle-wood, or aloes-wood of modern commerce, the coarser quality of which is produced by the *Aquilaria Agallocha*, and the finer, distinguished as calambac [Javanese *kalambak*], by *Aloexylon Agallochum*, are distinctive products of India and Farther India. The spikenard of Canticles i. 12 [*nerd*, in Sanskrit *nalada*, in Greek νάρδος], the root of *Nardostachys Fatamansi*, is exclusively a product of Nepaul at high elevations; and the cassia or, as it should be translated, costus of Psalms xlv. 8 [*ketzieth*, in Sanskrit *kushta*, in Greek κόστος], the root of *Aucklandia Costus*, exclusively of Cashmere; the original habitat also, as has already been noticed, of the saffron of Canticles iv. 14 [*karkom*, in Sanskrit *kamkama*, and in Arabic *zafran*]. The cassia² of Exodus xxx. 24,

of κατά and σίδηρος!], "tin." On the other hand Sanskrit supplied to Greek a long list of adopted designations of Indian trade products; viz.: ἀγάλλοχον and ξυλαλόη [*agaru*], "eagle wood," ἀργελλίον [*parikela*], the "cocoanut," βδέλλιον and μαδαλκον [*madalaka*], "bdellium," βήρυλλος [*Vaiduriya*], the "beryl," βούτυρον [*bhutari*], "butter," ἐλέφας [*ibha*], "ivory," ζιγγίβερις [*sringavera*] "ginger," Ἰνδικόν [*Sindhū*], "indigo," κάλαμος [*kalama*], "culm" of reeds, sedges, sweet flags, *et cetera*, καμφορά [*karphura*], "camphor," κάνναβις [*sana*], "hemp," κάρπασος [*karphasa*], "cotton," καρυόφυλλον [*kaduaphalla*] "cloves," κιννύβαρι [*kinhabari*] "dragons blood," κόστος [*kushta*], "costus," κρόκος [*kumkuma*], the "crocus" and "saffron," λάκκος [*laksha*] gum-"lac," μαλαβαθρον [*tamala-patra*] leaf of *Cinnamomum Tamala*, μαργαρίτης [*maracata*], "the pearl," μόσχος [*muskha*], "musk," νάρδος [*nalada*], "nard," ὀπάλλιος [*upala*], "the opal," ὄρυζα [*urithi*, in Tamil *arisi*], "rice," πέπερι [*pipali*], "pepper," σαγάλινος [*saka*] "teak," σάνταλον, σάνδανον, τζανδάνη [*chandana*], "sandalwood," σάκχαρον [*sakhara*] "sugar," σασαμίνον, σησαμίνον [*sisu*] "blackwood," and σινδών [*Sindhū*], "muslin." To Latin Sanskrit directly gave cinnabaris [*kinhabari*], "gum dragon" [later vermilion], curcuma [*kumkuma*], "turmeric," garyophyllum [*kaduaphala*], "cloves," indicum [*Sindhū*] "indigo," malabathrum [*tamalapatra*] leaf of *Cinnamomum Tamala*, sulphur [*sulvari*], "sulphur," "sacondas," "sacos," and "sapenas" [*saphena*], an unknown amethystine stone, and zingiber [*sringavera*], "ginger." It took from Latin absolutely but the two words *Romaka*, "Roma," and *dinara*, "denarius."

¹ This, the most precious of perfumes, must not be confused with aloes [Syriac *alwai*], the malodorous inspissated juice of *Aloe indica*, *A. socotrina*, and other species of *Aloe*. The aloes of the island of Socotra [Sanskrit *dviṣa Sakhadara*, "island of the Blest"] was known to the Greeks in the fourth century B.C. The *ahalim* ["lign aloes"] of Numbers xxiv. 6 refers to some unidentified tree.

² The ingredients of the "oil of holy anointment," Exodus xxx. 23, 24, are cassia

and Ezekiel xxvii. 19 [*kidah*], the bark of *Cinnamomum Cassia*, is a product of the Malabar Coast of India, and the cinnamon of Exodus xxx. 23, Proverbs vii. 17, and Canticles iv. 14 [*kinamon*, and with cassia *κιννάμωμον*], the bark of *C. zeylanicum* of Ceylon. The camphire of Canticles i. 14 [*copher*] is identified with *Lawsonia alba*, originally a native of the East Indies, and the well known *henna* plant of Egypt, north Africa and Cyprus; while the calamus¹ of Exodus xxx. 23 [*kaneh bosem*], Canticles iv. 14, and Ezekiel xxvii. 19 [*kaneh*], translated "sweet cane" in Isaiah xliii. 24 [*kaneh*], and by "sweet cane from a far country" in Jeremiah vi. 20 [*kaneh hattob*], is exclusively a native of India, and the source of the "grass oil," or "ginger grass oil" of modern commerce. The "almug trees" "from Ophir" of 1 Kings x. 11, 12, and "algum trees out of Lebanon" of 2 Chronicles ii. 8, and ix. 10, 11, have generally been identified with the sandalwood tree, *Santalum album* [*σάνδανον* of Aetius, in Sanskrit *chandana*] of southern India; while the ebony of Ezekiel xxvii. 15 [*hobnim*, ? ἔβενος ποικίλη of Theophrastus, calamander, *Diospyros dubia*], certainly refers to the ebony of North Canara [*D. melanoxylon*] or of Ceylon and the Moluccas [*D. Ebenum*], and not to African ebony, the botanical source of which is unknown. The word cotton is not used in the authorised English version of the Old Testament, but in the passage of Esther i. 6 :—"Where were white, green, and blue hangings," the Hebrew word translated green is *karpas*, the Sanskrit *karpasa* [*κάρπασος* of Dioscorides], "cotton" [in the pod], an aboriginal Indian production; and the passage should

[*kidah*], calamus [*kaneh bosem*], cinnamon [*kinamon*], and myrrh [*mor*]; and of the "pure and holy perfume" "put before the testimony in the tabernacle," verse 34, onycha [*shecheleth*], galbanum [*chelbenah*], and frankincense [*lebonah*]. The four first are all Indian products, and galbanum, though chiefly obtained in Syria and Persia, is sometimes also gathered up to the right bank of the Indus. Frankincense, long supposed to be the product of the *Boswellia thurifera* of India, I have shown, in my paper "On the Genus *Boswellia*," *Linnean Society's Transactions*, Vol. xxvii., 1871, to be really obtained from several species of *Boswellia* [*B. Carterii*, *B. Frereana*, *B. Bhan-Dajiana*, *et cetera*] in the Somali horn of Africa, and southern Arabia. Onycha is still imported into Bombay to mix with frankincense in the prepared perfumes used in the Hindu temples there. Myrrh is obtained from an unidentified African tree.

¹ The Sanskrit *kalama*, and its Greek derivative *κάλαμος*, with some qualifying adjective, designates a variety of sedges, grasses, and sweet flags; and possibly the palm *Borassus flabelliformis*. See note 1, page xxx.

rightly be read: "Where were white and blue [striped] cotton hangings." The peacocks mentioned with apes, ivory, silver and gold, in 1 Kings x. 22, and 2 Chronicles ix. 21, are true Indian peacocks, as is proved by the Hebrew word used for them, *tukkiyim*, being identical with the Sanskrit name *taki*; which seems to reappear also in the Greek name *ψιττακός* or *σιττάκη* of the parrot, the "Indian bird"¹ of Ctesias, *circa* B.C. 400. The Hebrew word *kophim*, here used for apes, is also the Sanskrit *kapi*; while the phrase *shen-habim*, literally "teeth of elephants," used for ivory, is based on the Sanskrit for elephant, *ibha*, the *habba* of the Assyrian monuments, and the initial source, apparently, of both the words elephant [*el-ephas*] and ivory. The gold imported by Solomon from Ophir [the Sophir of Josephus], now justly identified with Sopara, the capital of the North Konkan, B.C. 1500—A.D. 1300, is specified in 2 Chronicles iii. 6, as "the gold of Parvaim," a designation in which, through the Sanskrit *parva*, "the East" [literally "before" the worshipper of the rising sun, applied by the Hindus to all the countries east of the Ganges],² we may trace an indubitable reference to India³ or the Indies generally; including "the land of Sinim," of Isaiah xlix. 12, that is of the Indo-"Chinese" of Farther India, and southern China, the classical Sinæ. The classical fables of the "gold-digging ants," and of the Arimaspians who fought with the "gryphons"⁴ for the gold they guarded, both refer to the gold of Thibet guarded by the mastiffs [*gyake*] kept by the miners for the purpose. The horn of one of these "gold-digging ants," said by Pliny to have been preserved in the temple of Hercules at Erythræ, was simply the pickaxe of wild sheep's horns used by the Thibetan

¹ " ——— a caged green bird within an Indian ship."—WILLIAM MORRIS, *Life and Death of Jason*.

² Thus in Bombay a Hindu from beyond the Ganges is known as a Purbiya; a designation not to be confounded with that of Pardasi, from *para*, "another," and *desi* "country," *i.e.* "a foreigner," used in Bombay for any Hindu not belonging to the Presidency, but more definitely for a Rajput. Parbhu is a Mahratti word, and denotes the indigenous writer caste of Western India.

³ In Genesis ii. 11, 12, bdellium, a distinctive Indian product, and the onyx stone, also an Indian product, are associated with gold as products of Havilah, the quarter of the Garden of Eden wholly encompassed by the river Pison, which has always been identified with either the Indus or the Ganges.

⁴ See my article on "Indian Jewelry" in the *Graphic* of Nov. 26th, 1881, pp. 537-8.

gold diggers.¹ The peacock is represented in polychromy on the walls of Sargons Palace at Khorsabad, B.C. 722-705; and was already in the fifth century B.C. consecrated by the Greeks to Here, and kept at her celebrated temple on the island of Samos. The head and neck of the domestic fowl, like the peacock, an exclusively Indian [including Farther India] bird, appears as a stuffed curiosity, with the Indian elephant and the Indian bear, on one of the monuments of Thotmes III., "the Alexander the Great of Egyptian history," B.C. 1600-1566; again, with the head and neck arranged as a triskelion, on the reverse of the coins of Lycia, B.C. 700-500; while later the bird is seen fully figured on a Babylonian cylinder of the seventh century B.C., and on the Harpy monument at Xanthus in Lycia, circa B.C. 600-500; and on the reverse of the coins of Dardanus, and the obverse of those of Himera, both B.C. 480-400. The domestic fowl and aloes wood of Farther India, the musk, bdellium, saffron, costus, nard, borax or tincal and gold of northern India, and the hemp [in Sanskrit *sana*, the *κάνναβις* of Herodotus], salep, and poppy plants, together with the Balas [*i.e.* Badakshan] ruby, lapis Lazuli [*i.e.* Lajwardi, or "stone of Lajward"] and Turquoise [*i.e.* "Turkish" stone] of Central Asia, have probably, notwithstanding that some of them long remained anonymous to Europe, been current in the trade between the East and West from the earliest associations of the Caucasian races with northern India.

Passing from the Old Testament and the Iliad and the Odyssey, we find that of famous Indian products, indigo, sesamum seed [*σήσαμον*], castor oil [*κροτών*] and hemp [of Central Asia], are named, among the writers known to the West, first by Herodotus in the fifth century B.C.; rice [in Tamil *arisi*, in Arabic *aruj*] first by Strabo, and the diamond [*ἀδάμας*], opal [*ὀπάλλιος*, in Sanskrit *upala*] and black pepper [*πέπερι*, in Sanskrit *pīpali*] first by Theophrastus, in the third century B.C.; and gum dragon ["cinnabaris," afterward vermilion], long pepper ["piper longum"], turmeric ["cypira herba Indica"], ginger ["zingiber," in Sanskrit *sringavera*], cloves ["garyophyllum," in Sanskrit *kaduaphala*] *rusut* [lycium, *λύκιον* of Dioscorides], and rhubarb

¹ It is interesting in this connection to note that the alluvial gold of India, is from the form of its grains, named in Sanskrit *pīpilika*, "ant-like"-gold.

["rhacoma," from S. E. Thibet] first by Pliny in the first century A.D. Sugar [Sanskrit *sharkara*, Greek *σάκχαρον*] would seem to have been heard of, as a distant curiosity, by Herodotus and Theophrastus, but is first distinctly named by Dioscorides in the second century A.D. Indian *ghi* [*βούτυρον* (meaning, in Hipparchus and Galen, some salve), in Sanskrit *bhutari*], "Bombay blackwood" [*φαλάγγων σησαμίνον*, *sisu* of Bombay], gum lac [*λάκκος*, ? *ἤλεκτρον* of earlier Greek writers], *ύάκινθος*, ? the ruby of Ceylon, and cowries, if *ναύπλιος ὀλίγος* may be so translated, are first named in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*, attributed to Arrian, also in the second century A.D.; the beryl [*βήρυλλος*, in Sanskrit *Vaidurya*, i.e. of Vaidura, ? Ceylon] is first named by Dionysius Periegetes in the third century A.D.; and the cocoanut [*ἀργιλλίον*, in Sanskrit *narikela*] by Cosmas Indicopleustes in the sixth century A.D. These articles may all have possibly been imported into the countries of the Mediterranean for generations before they were named by the above writers; but the trade of the East with the West is not more remarkable for the antiquity of its origin than for the slowness of its continuous development. Even the precious diamond was not known in Europe until after the conquests of Alexander the Great, nor rustling silks, whether Indian or Chinese, before the time of Julius Cæsar.¹ Camphor [Sanskrit *karpura*, Arabic *kapur*]² was certainly unknown before the time of Aetius of Diarbekir, A.D. 545; who is the first to unequivocally name musk [*μόςχος*, in Sanskrit *muska* and also *madalaka*]. He also first names galangal, again named by Ibn Khurdabah A.D. 869-85; and zedoary, again named, with zerumbet, by Barbosa A.D. 1516, and Avicenna in 1563; and ambergris.³ His

¹ Such statements seem incredible in these days; but again the very first mention of Chinese tea [*sah*] is in the *Ancient Accounts of India and China* [Englished from the French translation of Eusebius Renaudot, and published by Sam. Harding at the *Bible and Anchor*, on the Pavement in St. Martin's Lane, 1733] written by the Mahomedans who travelled in those countries in the ninth century; and it is not again mentioned until by Ramusio about 1545; while the first mention of Chinese porcelain is not until late in the thirteenth century, from which date, however, it is in continuous evidence.

² The trees yielding it may be the *καρπίον* of Ctesias in the fifth century B.C.

³ The etymology of ambergris and amber [*ἤλεκτρον* and "succinum" of the Greeks and Romans] is unusually interesting. Amber is a fossil resin found chiefly on the Prussian coast of the Baltic; but also on the shores of several islands of the Indian

"nuces Indicæ" may be nutmegs, but they, and cubebs, by some thought to be the *μυρτίδανον* of Hippocrates [circa B.C. 450] are first unequivocally named by Masudi of Bagdad A.D. 915-20. Cardamoms may be referred to under the *ἄμωμον* and *καρδάμωμον* of Theophrastus, Pliny, Dioscorides, and Aetius, but they are first distinctly identified by Edrisi, A.D. 1099-1186, who is also the first to distinguish mace,¹ the outer shell of the nutmeg, from the kernel itself. It was the Arab traders who introduced bezoar² [Persian *pad-zehr*, "*chasse-poison*," "antidote"] and civet [Arabic *zibad*, Mahratti *javad*, Tamil and Malayan *kasturi*,³ the *καστόριον* of Dioscorides and Galen] into the West in the eighth and ninth, and Indian senna in the ninth and tenth, cassia fistula in the thirteenth, sappan wood in the fourteenth, and cocculus indica,⁴ nux vomica, and borax or tincal in the sixteenth centuries A.D. They also carried the orange [Sanskrit *narunga*] of Gurwhal, Sikkim, and Khasia, and the lemon [Sanskrit *nimbuka*, Hindi *nimbu* and *limbu*, Arabic *limun*] of Sikkim and Kumaon into Syria, whence the Crusaders helped to gradually propagate them throughout Southern Europe; and they were apparently the first to trade in gum-benjamin [Arabic

Archipelago, and along the East Coast of Africa, whence it was at one time exported in considerable quantity to the countries of the Mediterranean Sea by the Arabs through the mediæval emporium of Aden. Ambergris is a morbid excrement of the spermaceti whale [*Physeter macrocephalus*] found floating on the sea along the coasts of India and Africa. The Arabs call it *anbar* [they call amber *nikitriun*, *i.e.* electron!], and Aetius refers to it as "*ambar*, which we have first nominated oriental succinum." After this succinum having been for a time distinguished as *yellow* amber [*i.e.* yellow ambergris] gradually became known as amber *par excellence*, and then true amber had to be discriminated as *grey* amber or *ambergris*. See note 1, page lxviii.

¹ It has nothing to do with the "macer" of Pliny, and *μάκερ* of Dioscorides, which was the bark of an Indian tree.

² Bezoar is now almost any lithoid intestinal concretion, such as camel bezoar, horse bezoar, ox and cow bezoars, ibex bezoar [greenish and resinous] and pig bezoar ["*Lapis porci Ceylanici*," "*Lapis Malaccensis*"]. There is even a monkey and a dog bezoar. But the true bezoar is obtained in India and Persia only from the goat.

³ African civet is yielded by *Viverra Civetta*, and East Indian by *V. Zibetha*, and it is the Malayan name of this perfume, in its Latinised form, which is given to *Castor fiber*, the North American beaver, the source of castoreum. Both civet and castoreum closely resemble musk, yielded by the musk deer [*Moschus Moschiferus*] of the Himalayan mountains, and now generally known to the Hindus by the name of *kasturi*, and to the Malays by that of *jabat*, *i.e.* "civet."

⁴ It may possibly be referred to by the *ἐνδρον λόπους ἔχον* of Strabo.

luban-Javi, i.e. "Olibanum of Java"], the earliest undoubted reference to which occurs in the travels of Ibn Batuta, A.D. 1325-49. It may possibly have been included in the classical styrax, now almost wholly superseded in the Old World by rose-malloses [Malayan *rasamalla*], the sweet balsam of the *Liquidambar Altingia* of Java. Our knowledge of the Indian soap nut we owe to the Dutch; who were also the first to introduce a sample of gamboge into the West, although the first to offer it for public sale in Europe as "a drugge unknown here" were the London East India Company.¹ Catechu [cutch], although named by Barbosa in 1514, and by Garcia d'Orta in 1564, was first regularly imported into Europe by the Company in the seventeenth century. Gambir, a similar product to catechu, does not appear among the imports of the Company [now the United East India Company] until the beginning of the nineteenth century. "East Indian kino" [Hindi *kini*] was first prepared by the Company at a plantation near Tellicherry, on the Malabar Coast, and thence exported to Europe about 1844. The trade in jute fibre from Bengal commenced about 1828, but it was not until the Crimean War that the exportation of it gradually rose from 364 cwts. in 1828 and 275,578 cwts. in 1853 to 11,985,967 cwts. in 1891; or, as expressed in value, from Rs. 620 in 1828 to Rs. 100,839,720 in 1891. Gutta percha, prepared from the sap of *Isonandra Gutta* in Farther India, was first brought to the notice of Europe by Drs. Montgomery and Almeida at a meeting of the Society of Arts [John Street, Adelphi, London] in 1843.

The first great impulse given to the trade between the East and West was when Pharaoh Psammetichus I., about B.C. 671-617, threw Egypt, and Nebuchadnezzar III.,² about B.C. 605-562, threw Babylonia freely open to it; and from that time forward, for nearly two thousand years, it grew and prospered marvellously.

¹ See the Court Minutes of 13th Oct., 1615.

² The Assyrian King Sennacherib, B.C. 705-681, built sea-going ships, manned by Phœnicians from Tyre, for the purpose of trading, in competition with the Sabæan Arabians, directly with India; but Nebuchadnezzar the Great made the Mesopotamian trade with India, by way of the Persian Gulf, absolutely free, as Psammetichus I. had previously done for the Egyptian trade with India by way of the Red Sea; and in both cases it was at once appropriated by the Arabians, in whose monopoly it remained down to the apparition of the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean.

So intimate did it at last become that a temporary revolution was wrought by it in the religious life of India, where the system of materialistic atheism, known as Buddhism, became the predominant moral philosophy of the Hindus, until, as a direct consequence of the Mahomedan conquests of Asia Minor, Persia, and India, the overland communications established by Psammetichus I. and Nebuchadnezzar the Great were broken up, and the indigenous Brahmanism again became triumphant throughout India. Similarly Judaism under the humanising influences of this international intercourse became modified, as Christianity in Europe, and, later, as Mahomedanism in northern Africa and Anterior Asia. It was through this trade also that the historical nations of the Old World received their common alphabet, and current coinages. The Phœnicians carried the alphabet, originally derived from Egypt, all over Europe; while the Sabæan Arabs carried the same alphabet, as modified by themselves, into India, and all the countries of the Indian Ocean. And we may observe the civilising effects of this continuous overland trade, of nearly two milleniums, between the East and West, not only in the essential unity of the religions, alphabets, and coinages of modern Europe and Anterior Asia, but also in so trivial a circumstance as the use of saffron in the confectionery, and other cookery, of all the maritime people of the Old World from the coasts of Cornwall to the Coromandel Coast of India.

The first systematic review of this trade is given in the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* [*i.e.* Indian Ocean] attributed to the historian Arrian, who lived from A.D. 90 to about A.D. 180, and obviously founded on documents dating back to at least the time of Alexander the Great, B.C. 356-323. Confirmed as it is by the statements to be found in the *Universal Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who traded in the Indian Ocean between A.D. 530 and 550, it may be relied on as an authentic account of the ancient commerce between the East and West as it existed at the height of its activity from about 500 B.C. to 500 A.D., the millenium of the supremacy of Buddhism in India. It gives the imports and exports of every emporium in the Indian Ocean from Adulis, corresponding with the modern Massouah, the port of Abyssinia, to Masalia, the modern Masulipatam, on

the Coromandel Coast of India. I will only quote the Indian productions named. These are, among the imports of Adulis, "agate cups," "Indian iron," "plain and broad Indian cottons," "cotton for stuffing couches," "coverlids," "mallow-coloured cottons," "Indian muslins," and "gum-lac" [λάκκος χρωμάτινος];¹ at Abalites, Malao, and Mondus, places in the modern bay of Zeyla, "cloths of various sorts," "tunics" [χιτῶνες], "corn," "tin," "iron," "gold" and "silver," "cassia," "cinnamon," "gum-cancamum" [*decamali* of Western India] and μάκειρ; at Mosullon, or Berbera, "iron"; at Tabai, south of Cape Guardafui [*i.e.* "Aromata Promontorium"], "cassia" and "cinnamon"; at Opone, south of Tabai, "corn," "rice," βούτυρον [*i.e.* *għi*, the clarified butter of India], "oil of sesamum" [ἔλαιον σησάμινον], "cotton in the flock and in the web," "sashes for girdles and turbans," and "sugar"; at Moosa, the modern Mocha, "purple cloth," "brocaded and made-up clothes," "cloaks," "muslins," "quilts," "sashes," "saffron," and κύπερος [? "turmeric"]; at Kane, the modern Maculla, "cloths," "corn," "tin," στύραξ [? rose-malloes or else gum-benjamin], "specie"; and at Omana, some port of Baluchistan, "teak" [ξύλων σαγαλίνων], "ebony" [φαλάγγων εβενίνων], and "blackwood" [φαλάγγων σησαμίνων], "purple" and other "cloths," and "gold." Among the exports from India are named, at Barbarike, corresponding with the modern Karachi, "costus," "bdellium," λύκιον [*rusut*], "spikenard," "indigo," "silk," "cotton cloths," "furs from northern China" [*via* Thibet and Nipal], "jade" [λίθος καλλαινός], and "sapphires"; at Barugaza, the modern Baraoch, "onyx stones," "agate cups," "Indian muslins," "muslins dyed of a mallow colour," "a large quantity of ordinary cotton cloths," "silks," "silk thread," "spikenard," "costus," and "bdellium," λύκιον [*rusut*], "long pepper," and "ivory"; at Barake, near Musiris, the modern Mangalore, "pepper in great quantity," "pearls," "ivory," "fine silks," "spikenard," "betel," "all sorts of gems," "diamonds" [ἀδάμας],

¹ That is "stick lac," or lac with the dyeing matter, "lake" [the female *Coccus Lacca*], still retained in it. When the lake is washed out, the purely resinous residuum is "seed lac"; and this melted into masses is "lump lac," and, run into layers, "shell lac." Both these forms of gum-lac were probably included under the ἡλεκτρον [amber] of the later Greek writers. Lacquer is a varnish of lac. See note, page xlv., cochineal; and page 39 of my *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* [3rd Ed.].

“rubies” [ῥάκινθος], and “tortoiseshell” [from the Maldives]; and at Masalia, or Masulipatam, “a great quantity of the finest muslins.” The imports also at each of these Indian emporia include exports from other parts of the East Indies, as all sorts of Indian cottons, and clothing, and specie, gems, and aromatic gum resins at Barbarike, “brass” and “tin,” “lead,” “gems,” “glass” and στύραξ, *et cetera*, at Barugaza and at Barake. The imports from Egypt and Babylonia appear to have been chiefly of “gold and silver plate,” “brass vessels,” and “ornaments of brass for the legs,” “arms and wrought armour,” “graven images,” “purple cloth,” “sashes of gaily shot colours,” and other “richly coloured and figured cloths,” and “wine.” The Indian *sosni*, or quilted coverlet, decorated with conventional representations of the lotus lily, probably takes its name from Susa, or Shushan [so called from *shushan*, or *shushanah*, “lily”], the capital of Elam, at the head of the Persian Gulf, whence it was originally exported to Barbarike, Barugaza, Barake, and Masalia.

This is none other than the trade of the Iliad and Odyssey with the East in Carian “red stained ivories” and “ivory curiously carved,” “glittering arms” and “armour,” “copper” and “silver vessels,” and “parcel-gilt images of the gods,” “radiant zones,” “necklaces,” “pendants” and “bracelets,” “dazzling white” and “flowered veils,” “richly embroidered vestments,” and “saffron” and “purple mantles,” and “purple robes intertissued with gold,” “rich tapestries of inwoven gold,” and “carpets stiff with gold,” and wines and incense. It is, indeed, the trade of all antiquity in—

“Wrought gold and silver, gems, full many a bale
Of scarlet cloth, and fine silk, fit to veil
The perfect limbs of dreaded Goddesses;
Spices fresh gathered from the outland trees,
And arms well wrought, and precious scarce known wine,
And carven images well nigh divine.”¹

The New and Complete Guide to the East India Trade, published in 1775 by Robert Stevens, a merchant of Bombay, to whom the students of the history of commerce will always be under the

¹ WILLIAM MORRIS, *Life and Death of Jason*, xiv., 731-36.

deepest obligations, conclusively demonstrates that this ancient trade in—

“ Phœnician scarlet, spice, and Indian gold,
Deep dyeing earths, and woad, and cinnabar,
Wrought arms and vessels, and all things that are
Desired much by dwellers in all lands.”¹

continued essentially the same, in spite of the diversion of its route round the Cape of Good Hope, down to the last century, when the East India Company had attained to the plenitude of their commercial prosperity and power in India; and to the close of their monopoly of the trade with India in 1813, and with China in 1833. Notwithstanding, also, the changes that are being effected by steam carriage and steam machinery in the economic conditions of the East, this trade, in all its traditionary particulars, and picturesque local associations, remains to the present day, in every polytechnical and commercial centre of India, such as Ahmedabad, Baraoch, or Bombay, the characteristic local trade of

“ The merchant town's fair market place,
Where over many a changing face
The pigeons of the temple flit,
And still the outland merchants sit
Like kings above their merchandise,
Lying to foolish men and wise.”²

It was to secure the monopoly of this vast and opulent commerce that Egypt, Assyria, Babylonia and Persia each in turn sought to gain the political control of Judæa, Edom, and Phœnicia; that Alexander the Great, as the crown of all his conquests, founded Alexandria; that the Seleucidæ founded Seleucia in succession to Babylon, and the Parthian Arsacidæ Ctesiphon, the two towns forming the *al-Modayn* of the Persian Sassanidæ; and that the Saracen Arabs founded Bussora A.D. 675, and Baghdad A.D. 762, cities that rapidly rivalled the then still living fame of Nineveh and Babylon. During the supremacy of the Phœnicians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, Byzantines, and Saracens in the Mediterranean Sea, they each in turn flourished on the trade with India; and as the Saracenic power declined, Genoa

¹ WILLIAM MORRIS, *Life and Death of Jason*, vi., 326-29.

² *Ibid.*, xii., 369-74.

and Venice became enriched by it; and the Christian states of southern Europe all enjoyed such unbroken prosperity through it that at last the light of civilisation dawned upon the distant nations along the Rhine and the Danube, and on the Baltic Sea, and German Ocean. It was then that the Ottoman Turks began to enter on their career of devastation and anarchy; in succession subjugating Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, Syria, and Egypt, and blocking up, one after the other, all the overland routes of the commerce between the East and the West. But the European people of the Mediterranean Sea, who had become dependent on the trade with the East, and without it could not provide for the cost of their high state of civilization and improved organization, at once began to seek out, round the continent of Africa, the sea way to India; the tradition of which had been preserved in the countries of the Mediterranean from the time of the Carthaginians. The history of modern Europe really begins with the quest and invention of India in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the Portuguese; and it continues to the present day to be influenced by the rivalry of the different powers of Europe for a share, or, if possible, the monopoly, of the commerce of the Indies. The so-called "Eastern Question," the solution of which has been the chief problem before the diplomatists of Europe for the last hundred years, is simply the expression of the more or less latent rivalry of the seven great powers of Europe for the unquestioned command of the great commerce of the East, centering, as its keystone, in India. Whether at Constantinople and Cairo, or Candahar and Cabul, or in China, it is simply the question of how to obtain the control of the trade, navigation, and commerce of the Indian Ocean, for the purpose of exchanging, on the most favoured terms, the manufactures of Europe against the spices, perfumes, dyes, tans, oils and oil seeds, fibres, drugs, cereal and pulse grains, and woods, and other tropical productions of India, Farther India, the Indian Archipelago, and China and East Africa.

Da Gama's discovery changed the face of Europe from the Mediterranean Sea to the Atlantic Ocean; bringing Portugal, Holland, and England successively into the forefront of the line

of human advancement; and in the course of three hundred years made the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland the common emporium of the whole sea-borne merchandise of the world. The first English attempts to reach India were by the "North West Passage," and subsequently through Russia. The first Englishman who actually visited India was Thomas Stephens, of New College, Oxford, afterwards Rector of the Jesuits' College at Goa, whose letters to his father roused great enthusiasm in England for direct trade with India. But the papers of the *St. Philip*, a Portuguese vessel captured by Drake in 1587, afforded so much information as to the profits of the Indian trade, that they are considered to have at last fixed the determination of the English to establish direct communication with India. Then the destruction of "the Invincible Armada" in 1588 gave them great confidence in their own navy, and in their ability to cope with the Spanish and Portuguese on the high seas; and from this date the merchants of London, like those of Holland, began to earnestly devise measures for supplanting the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean. The Dutch were later than the English in attempting to get to the East, but, owing to their long established indirect trade with India through Lisbon, they succeeded in getting there before us, and it was on their raising the price of Indian pepper against us, from 3s to 6s and 8s a pound, that a meeting was held in London at Founder's Hall, with the Lord Mayor, Sir Stephen Soame, in the chair, on the 22nd of September, 1599, when it was agreed to form the Association which, on the 31st of December in the following year, was incorporated by Queen Elizabeth under the title of "The Governour & Company of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies." They prosecuted their twelve "Separate Voyages," A.D. 1601-12, and the "Joint Stock Voyages," undertaken between 1613 and 1620, with such discretion, energy, and success, that at once the effect was felt on the now rapidly declining overland trade between the East and West; and the latter year, 1620, is fixed in the history of commerce as the date when, through the general lowering in the prices of Indian commodities, the trade between India and Europe, by the old routes through the Red Sea and Egypt, and the

Persian Gulf and Euphrates Valley, sank at last into irremediable decay. What of it survived was very much monopolised by the French. Thus, in *The Present State of Egypt*, published by F. Vansleb in 1678, it is instructive to read of the port of Alexandria:—"The Trade of the *French Merchants* of this City is the greatest that they have in all the Eastern Parts, for there is no place in *Turkie* where so many *French* ships come as into this Haven. From the beginning of the year 1672 to the month of *June* there were no less than nineteen *French* ships that came hither, and in the month of *June* I reckoned fourteen. This is a considerable number, but not to be compared to the number of Vessels that visited the Haven heretofore, for Monsieur *Lucasole*, that did the Office of Chancellor of the *French* nation, told me that he remembered there had been at *Alexandria* in one Year ninety-four *French* vessels." Vansleb gives the following list of the exports and imports of Egypt at this time.

EXPORTS.

Gums.—Benjoin, bdellion, arabic, adragant [tragacanth] lack, turick [*i.e.* of Tor, a seaport of Arabia, near the Isthmus of Suez], myrrh of Ethiopia, frankincense in tears, and storax.

Juices.—Aloe cicotrin, aloe epatick, opium, indigo named Serquis [Sarkhej, near Ahmadabad, Western India, *see* footnote 2, page 287], indigo of Bagdat, indigo of Balluder [Valabhi, Balhara of Arabs, near Bhavanagar in Kathiawar, Western India, *see* footnote 4, page 287], cassanad, sugars in great loaves, sugar candy, sugar soltani, sorbet [sherbet].

Woods.—Sandal, citron, turbit, ebene, brasil.

Rinds. Cinamon of Conchi [*i.e.* Kanchi, now Conjeveram, in southern India], cinnamon of Malabari, cinnamon of Zeilani [Ceylon].

Fruits and Seeds. Cassia [*i.e.* *Cassia Fistula*], coco of Levant [kermes, also called, in the mediæval trade of the Levant, cochineal], coriander, coffee, dates, mirabolans kebus [*i.e.* Chebulic, or of Cabul], mirabolans Balludri, mirabolans citrir nutmegs, nuts to vomit [nux vomica], cardamoms, ben [nut of *Moringa aptera*], tamarinds, coloquinte, pepper, cloves.

Herbs. Flax, flax or hemp of Menuf, flax or hemp

Squinanti, black flax, hemp of Fium, hemp of Forsett, hemp of Oleb [Aleppo], hemp of the Besantins, sené [senna].

Flowers. Spikenard, saffron of Nambrosia, saffron of Said, cotton in *ramo* [? in pod], cotton in thread, ordinary cotton.

Roots. Hermodats [hermodactyl], sine [Radix Chinæ ("lignum sanctum"), *i.e.* of *Smilax China*], ginger, cretonart [zedoary, *see* footnote 2, page 200], rhubarb, salsepareille [root of *Smilax officinalis* and *S. medica*].

Teeth. Elephants. *Wool.*

Feathers. Austrich of the first and second sort, of the tail, of the back, of the "sharp," of the wings.

Fish. Green lizards, pearl shells, salt-fish. *Mommies.*

Salts. Ammoniac, nitre, rock alum.

Linen. Blue of Alexandria and Menuf, great blue of Inhab, little blue of Cairo, Alexandria and Col, painted, battanones, magrabines ["Westerns," *i.e.* for "Europe"], messaline [Mosuli, *i.e.* muslin, "messelawny" of other seventeenth century writers], lizarde, cambrasines [cambrics].

Stuffs. Of Cairo, Damietta, and Alexandria, girdles of Rosetta, ordinary girdles, fine handkerchiefs, ordinary handkerchiefs, still commoner ones.

Bladders. Musk.

Carpets. Fine and coarse.

IMPORTS.

Minerals. Agarick [native carbonate of lime], white arsenic, yellow arsenic, archifu [? litmus], orpiment, antimony, quicksilver, vitriol, vermilion, cinabar, salsepareille [sal-prunella, *i.e.* nitre], fine cine [crude potash].

Flowers and Herbs. Nardum celticum, spikenard.

Metals. Copper thread, beaten brass, white iron [tin], steel of Venice, lead, pewter.

Seeds. Cochenelle [*i.e.* kermes].

Paper.

Silks. Satin of Florence.

Clothes of London, of Bucioche [], of the Holy Bridge of Rome, of Holland fashion, scarlet caps of Marseilles, other caps, caps of perfect make.

Corrals. Of Messina, Taraille, corrals wrought of Cairo, white tartre, red tartre of Brasil, rock alum.¹

The establishment of the East India Company was, indeed, the first step in the extraordinary social and political development of England during the seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was the Company's possession of India, the tacit command its possession gives us of the trade with the East, that enabled us to successfully resist the European coalition organized against us at the beginning of the present century by Napoleon the Great; and the continued possession of India will be our chief stay in sustaining the manufacturing and mercantile preponderance of this country in the crushing commercial competition with which we have now everywhere to contend. As Lord Palmerston clearly foresaw, the opening of the Suez Canal has already seriously sapped our position of virtually exclusive proprietorship in the East. It has again thrown the East wide open to the countries of the Mediterranean Sea, and the normal increase of the trade of India, since this most glorious enterprise was accomplished, has been chiefly to their profit, our trade with that country having ever since remained nearly stationary. Whenever, also, the great powers of Europe shall have the courage of their

¹ The chief articles of exchange in the mediæval trade between the East and the West were: aloes; alum; amber; balm [*Balsamodendron Opobalsamum* and *B. Gileadense*]; brazil wood; camphor; canella [cinnamom and cassia]; cardamoms; cassia [*Cassia Fistula* (Dryden's "cassie sweet to smell," a well known perfume, is distilled from the flowers of *Acacia Farnesiana*)]; cloves; cochineal [*i.e.* "kermes," the Arabic *kirmij* "insect," the κόκκος βαφικῆς of Dioscorides, the female *Coccus Illus* found on the *Quercus coccifera* or "Kermes Oak" of Asia Minor, and not the cochineal, afterwards imported from Mexico, which is the female *Coccus Cacti*, found on the *Opuntia cochinitifera*, the "Nopal" of Mexico]; coral [the best being of Merz-el-Kharez near Cape Bon, and the second class of Messina, *et cetera*]; costus; cotton; frankincense; galangal; galls; ginger; glass of Venice, Hebron, Damascus and Irak-Arabi [compare the *traga* of Spain]; gold and silver thread [chiefly of Cyprus, Venice, Milan, Lucca, Genoa, and Paris]; gum tragacanth; gum-lac; indigo; ivory [chiefly from Africa]; ladanum; linen of Cyprus; mace; mallder; mastic; mummy; musk; myrobalans; pearls; precious stones [(1) Egyptian emeralds, distinguished as *bakri* ("maritime") for the riverine *ragas* and *sultans* of the Indian Ocean, and *magrabi* ("westerns") for the prelates and kings of Europe, (2) Persian turquoises and balas rubies, and (3) Indian diamonds, rubies (Ceylon), sapphires, topazes, cats-eyes, amethysts, garnets, *et cetera*]; pepper; long pepper; rhubarb; saffron; scammony; silk; sugar; textile fabrics [(1) "cloth of pall," *i.e.* velvet, of Venice, Pisa and Genoa, (2) baudekin, baldacchino, "cloth of tissue" or "cloth of gold" ! originally of Baldac, or Baghdad, and damaak,

humanity and enforce orderly government on Turkey and Persia, such as we have established in India, a still larger proportion of the trade with the East Indies will return to its old overland routes, and by the Euphrates Valley, as well as the Suez Canal; our only share in the profits of which will be derived from its accommodation at such British possessions in the line of its transit, as Aden, Cyprus, Malta, and Gibraltar, and, haply, Egypt. While it went by the Cape of Good Hope, there was no difficulty in our overcoming any competition for it. We enjoyed a forward position of unique advantage on the direct line of the ocean highway to the East; and in vain, therefore, did the Portuguese, the Dutch, and the French attempt to resist our supplanting them in the trade which has now been going by it for four hundred years. But in relation to the ancient overland thoroughfares between the East and the West, to which we are now rapidly reverting, most of the nations of Europe have the natural advantage of us. They are nearer to them than we are, and several of them are now simultaneously entering into competition with us for the commerce which must in each succeeding year more and more follow these reviving routes. Russia not only extends in an unbroken expanse from the North Sea to the Pacific Ocean, but

a richly diapered silk, originally of Damascus, (3) tartarium, tartaryn, ? or "cloth of Tars," a rich scarlet stuff, originally of Central Asia and China, (4) "zetani" (satin), originally of Zeytun in China, (5) camlet, originally of the white wool of the camels of North China, (6) siklaton (Persian *saqlatun*, Mahratti *saklut*, and English "scarlet") or cyclas, originally a gold brocade of Baghdad, Tauris, and Almiera, (7) camoca, *i.e.* kinkob (Persian *kimkha*) or gold brocade of Herat, Nishapur, Baghdad, Damascus, Beyrout, Alexandria and Famagosta, (8) sendal, or cendal, originally from India, *see* footnote 2, page xxvi. (9) samite, (10) taffeta of Tauris and Sultanieh, (11) fustian of Fostat, a suburb of Cairo, (12) buckram, originally from Bokhara, (13) cymars, scarfs of fine linen or lawn, "cloth of lake," in Florio, "zimarra" is "*an irish rugge, or such course garment*," (14) blatty, *see* page 79, or "purple," originally made at Tyre, and afterwards at Byzantium, but later the term was applied to any richly coloured, or wrought, stuff of any place of manufacture, (15) sarcenet, a slender silk, originally made by the Saracens in Spain, (16) gauze, a fine tiffany-like silk, or bombasin, originally of Gaza, (17) bordalisander, striped silks of Alexandria and Syria, and (18) carpets, always at this time of Persia]; tutia [oxide of zinc]; and zedoary. These were the principal items of the trade between the Mediterranean Sea and the Indian Ocean; and the gryphons, basilisks, lions, peacocks and elephants, decorating the richer stuffs enumerated, and which were provided chiefly for the use of the Catholic Roman and schismatic Greek Churches, demonstrate, as clearly as their commercial denominations, their oriental origin.

is rapidly advancing into immediate contact with India, and stretching out eagerly across Persia to the Indian Ocean. Austria is becoming sensible of the value to her, as to all the Danubian States, of the old overland routes from the Black Sea, through Asia Minor, Armenia, and the Euphrates Valley, to the Persian Gulf. Germany and Holland, France and Belgium, and Greece and Italy are fully alive to the opportunity the Suez Canal has given their manufactures in anticipating our own in the free markets of India and the Indian Ocean. At every point, whether in Egypt, in Syria, in Mesopotamia, in Persia, or in Afghanistan, along all these primeval overland routes to the Indies our path is closed by rival manufacturing powers. We may be sure, also, that so soon as Turkestan has been completely brought under the dominion of Russia, the old caravan roads between Eastern Asia [Scythia trans-Imaum] and Persia and Central Europe will be reopened, and take off some portion, at least, of the trade with China, now almost entirely sea-borne. It was this overland trade with China which, down to the time of the disastrous Turkish conquests made Central Asia and Northern Persia rich and populous.¹ Already our carrying trade in the Mediterranean seems to be passing away from us. The demand for tonnage in Bombay for Liverpool by the Suez Canal is steadily decreasing; and, since the opening of the canal, Liverpool has ceased to be the great emporium of Europe for Indian cotton. The bulk of the Bombay crop now goes to Havre, Barcelona, Marseilles, Genoa, Trieste, and Odessa. The cotton, and other products exported from India to the Mediterranean,

¹ The Chinese, who, according to Professor Terrien de Lacouperie, appear to have received the first elements of their civilization from Chaldæa, through immigrants from the south of the Caspian Sea, B.C. 2647-2282, repeatedly record the arrival among them, from B.C. 2205 downward, of overland trading parties from the West; and that this overland intercourse between Europe and "Far Cathay" was, until it was broken up by the Turks, safe, regular and intimate, is proved by the fact that a new coinage, of the type of that established in Lydia B.C. 750-700, was, in little over one hundred years, introduced into China. Persian coins also circulated in northern China down to the latest years of the Sassanian dynasty. On the other hand, the introduction of the Median quince tree [*Citrus Medica*] into southern China, by sea, B.C. 660, and the regular importation of Roman imperial coins into all the southern parts of China between A.D. 14 and 284, indicate the early and continuous extension to that country of the ancient trade between the East and West across the Indian Ocean.

are still chiefly carried in English bottoms, though they are not consigned to English merchants ; but the time must come when they will be carried in French, Italian, Spanish, Greek, Austrian and Russian ships, loading at Karachi, Bombay and Calcutta. It is quite true that the increase of our trade with the United States of America has, leaving out of view the effects of the recent and probably temporary MacKinley tariff, more than compensated for the want of any increase in our Indian trade since the opening the Suez Canal, but it is not prudent to rely altogether on our trade with America, North or South. It is of barely more than a hundred years' growth, and affords therefore insufficient evidence for forecasting its future development ; whereas we have a history of four thousand years on which to base with some confidence any anticipation of the probable effects of the loss of the Indian trade on the United Kingdom. But apart from this consideration, India, and the countries it commercially commands ; will always be the best market for British manufactures. Broadly speaking, the temperate countries of the world are more and more becoming dominant manufacturing powers, and the tropical countries mere agricultural territories, in direct industrial subjection, if not political subordination, to the temperate countries with which they are commercially linked. This is why the United States of America offer us no reasonable hope of any adequate extension of our future commerce with them ;¹ and why the development of our trade with India, and the countries of the Indian Ocean generally, in progressive propor-

¹ The future of the United States as a great self-contained, consolidated, empire, and not a merely magnified plantation, absolutely depends on their fostering their manufactures to the highest degree of perfection and productiveness, not only for their own consumption, but to command the trade with tropical North, Central, and South America, the control of which is as vital for the United States as is that of the trade with India to us. This is the true justification of the MacKinley tariff ; and it is the true explanation of the Chicago Exhibition, which is nothing more nor less than a prodigious appliance for advertising, and most successfully as will be found, the manufactures of the United States before the emotional people of tropical America, to the corresponding detriment of the United Kingdom and Germany. When their national manufactures have been firmly established, and the trade with tropical America secured, and there is a surplus of production to be disposed of elsewhere, it will be the proper time for the United States to adopt a policy of free trade ; and then the Old World, East and West, must beware, for with those who perish in that wasting competition it will be " Væ Victis," with a vengeance on't !

tion to the need for employing our rapidly increasing population in profitable manufactures, is of the most vital consequence to us. Every manufacturing state in Europe is beginning to feel the necessity for securing the markets of the East for its manufactures; and we in England are absolutely dependent on the freedom of those markets, not only for the maintenance of our industrial supremacy, but for the continuance of our very existence as an independent people. Large countries like France, Germany, and Russia, can be economically self-sustaining, but a small country like England can with difficulty support a rapidly increasing and energetic population, such as our own, except on imported food, for which it can pay profitably only by exporting its manufactures. We have warnings, in short, of every kind, historical, political, industrial, and social, that these islands are passing through a severe crisis in their fate. The time has evidently come when we can no longer neglect to make the best of every natural advantage we possess, and to diligently make up for every disadvantage with which we may be weighted. It is the sum of unobserved, unconsidered deficiencies and negligencies which brings about the deadliest forms of failure, and in these days of close international competition a serious catastrophe suffered by any one of the leading powers of the world could only with the greatest difficulty be retrieved, if at all. It is remarkable what a difference the slightest natural advantage makes in even the most artificial conditions of human society, and in the ordinary retail business of shopkeepers. In most northern cities every street has what those living in it call a "right side," and a "wrong side," the rents differing between the two sides so much as from 25 to 30 per cent. I have never met with anyone who could explain it, except that it had always been so. It will, however, be invariably found that the "right side" of the street is that on which the sun shines from the south and west, making a brighter show of the shop windows, and therefore attracting the greater number of people, and of casual buyers, to them. But every nation is a shop, and the oceans and the rivers are the high streets and the bye-ways of the nations; and when the busy traffic that always has subsisted, and always will subsist, between the East and the West went overland, the nations

situated along the Euphrates, the Nile, and the Mediterranean, made the first, and the whole profit of it. Then after it was diverted round the Cape, the nations fronting the Atlantic, and particularly England, which fronts at once India, Europe, and America, monopolized it, while the Mediterranean nations had, as it were, to put up their shutters and retire from business for nearly three hundred years. And now that this trade is gradually returning to its original overland routes, our disadvantage in relation to them is at once beginning to be seen, and would be still more clearly seen but for our immense present dealings with the Americas. Nevertheless, the Eastern trade is the great trunk trade current of the Old World, and France, with her unique advantage of having a frontage on both the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, if she ever seriously enters into the trade with the East Indies, will compete with us on almost equal terms round the Cape of Good Hope, and on more than equal terms in the Mediterranean, where her recent acquisition of Tunis, the cornerstone of her Algerian shop frontage, and the modern representative of Carthage, gives her a commanding commercial position throughout northern Africa: to be neutralized only by our exercising a perpetual protectorate over Egypt.

The greatest danger, however, threatening the future of these islands is that arising rather from the moral deterioration of our populations than any political weaknesses in our statesmen. Nothing short of some great physical convulsion can deprive them of the supreme advantage they enjoy of being placed at the very centre of the four continents of the globe, and across the direct track between the Americas and Northern Europe; and also in their coal and iron mines. The happy qualities of the dominant Norman and Anglo-Saxon races, especially their energy, steadfastness, and integrity, are also advantages on our side not to be despised. We may be tolerably sure, therefore, that we are, after all, very much the masters of our own destinies; and that, happen what will, honest and intelligent workmanship will always preserve for us the command of the markets of the world. The first essential is the honesty to do whatsoever our hands find to do with all our will and might. If our manufacturers, and their factory hands, and our artisans generally, would only

observe this rule in their relations with each other, and with their customers, and resolutely act on it, in spite of every temptation to ignore it, we might rely upon still being able to undersell every other country in all of our special manufactures, and with full profit both to the labour and the capital expended on them. It is certainly not the trade unions, nor the competition of foreigners, nor even the strikes, that are really injuring British trade, but emphatically the dishonesty of our manufacturers in wilfully supplying inferior goods and the dishonesty of our workmen in scamping both their work and time. After honesty, the second essential is intelligence, if indeed it is not the first; for dishonesty is nearly always the result of the want of intelligence. Respectable and trustworthy Englishmen have always had a good reputation among manufacturers on the Continent, but as workmen only. As men of business, and for general usefulness or superintendence, they are far inferior to the Germans, Austrians, French, and even the Swiss. These defects, which are not inherent but rather the results of defective popular education and culture, we must overcome, if, with the rise of temperate, honest, cautious, thrifty, laborious, and informed industrial and artistic populations in France, Austria, Germany and Italy, we are still to retain our traditional pre-eminence as manufacturers. As the more barbarous tribes of the tropics begin, with the prosperity their export trade in food stuffs and the raw materials for manufacture required by Europe and the United States of America is bringing them, to feel the desire to be provided with the comforts and appliances of a more civilized life, an almost limitless market will be gradually opened up in Africa, and throughout all the countries round the Indian Ocean, for European manufacturers. It is at present virtually our own, and our future command of it is endangered not so much by any political catastrophe that may befall us in the immediate future, as by the inartistic character, and too often inferior quality, of our manufactures, as compared with those of the continental Europe and the United States of America. The semi-savage, and the barbarous populations of Africa and the Indian Archipelago, possess, in common, at once a keen determination to have full worth for their money, and an instinctive taste for ornament, particularly that of bright, but harmonious colouring,

such as is found in the textile fabrics of India. In short, what they want are the enduring and brilliantly dyed goods still made in India and Persia, but which these countries will never be able to supply beyond their own wants, and the limited demand for them by cultivated persons in Europe and America. We can never supplant the sumptuary handicrafts of India. The demand for them in India, and elsewhere, can only be supplied by India, and any attempt to compete with the native production of them with machine-made imitations can only end in unqualified failure. But as the modern European type of civilization extends along the coasts of Africa, and among all the islands of the Indian Archipelago, and, as unhappily it may, into ancient India, an insatiable demand will gradually spring up for ordinary dyed calicoes, and silks, and woollens, which only machinery will ever be able to adequately supply. That market we may legitimately claim for our own; and our future commercial and political position in the world entirely depends on our securing it; while what is principally required to make it and keep it ours is that the cotton, woollen, and silken stuffs we provide for it should be of full measure, durable, free from sizeing, which is an abomination to all Hindus, and coloured with fast natural dyes. And a people cannot determinately give themselves up to manufacturing piece goods which fade in the sun, and stream with size in the rain, and to fabricating "shoddy" cloth, and "Brummagem" hardwares, without running the risk of gradually becoming dishonest and false in all the undertakings and institutions that constitute their national life, and individually, also, rotten to the core. The arts are the final expression of the whole moral and material condition of a people. Judged, then, by our art manufactures, what is the forecast we may form of the commercial and political future of the people of this country? That these considerations are at last being widely appreciated by our manufacturers is indicated by the growing attention given by them in recent years to the industrial arts of India. Once before, in the middle of the last century, the study of them, in connection with the trade, then at its zenith, of the East India Company, gave the stimulus to our manufactures in which their present extraordinary development

originated; and there is every hope of the renewed interest in them at the present time having as beneficial an effect in reviving the artistic excellence, and, perhaps, in still further promoting the productiveness, of our national manufactures.

The entries in the present volume, at pages 255, 337, 340, 406, and 410, of opium are among the earliest notices of the modern commerce in this drug with India; and it will probably come as a surprise on some of my readers to find that there is no mention in the history of the ancient trade between the East and West of a product now so intimately associated, as a universal dietetic indulgence, with the health and pleasure of the people of the Indian Archipelago and China, and so important, as the source of a practically illimitable external revenue, to the prosperity and contentment of the people of India. There is, however, nothing exceptional in this significant circumstance when we remember that the habitual use of tea, coffee and tobacco has been similarly spread, within the last four hundred years, from China, Arabia and America, respectively, over the whole civilized world, and simply owing to their satisfying a natural craving of the human appetite; this also being the explanation of the extraordinary development of opium eating, drinking, and smoking throughout southern and eastern Asia, immediately after the introduction of the drug, by the Mahomedan Arabs, from the countries of the Mediterranean Sea into those of the Indian Ocean. It has always been accepted that the word opium is the Greek word *ὄπιον*, the diminutive of *ὀπός*, juice [as in *ὀποβάλαμον*, the juice (balm) of the balsam trees], and there is not a Western or Eastern name for opium that is not a variant of this Greek word *ὄπιον*. It has, indeed, been suggested that the Sanskrit word *ahīṣana*, or *aṣana*, is an indigenous, and the original Indian name for opium; and inasmuch as Pliny mentions [xx., 76-80] a spurious opium-yielding poppy, called *aphron* ["foam," as in Aphrodite], that the Greek word opium may have been formed from the Sanskrit *ahīṣana*, and, in ignorance of its true etymology, fathered on *ὀπός*. But the word *ahīṣana* does not occur anywhere until it appears in a Sanskrit dictionary published at Calcutta about seventy years ago; and obviously it is the Sanskritized Arabic variant of *ὄπιον*, namely, *afīṣn*. The Greeks and Romans knew poppies

[μήκων, Homer's "Iliad," viii., 306], and opiate preparations from poppies [μηκόνιον, Hippocrates, B.C. 407-39], from the earliest ages of their history, and the φάρμακον νηπενθές, the praises of which, as a "grief-assuaging drug," are so rapturously sung in the Odyssey [iv., 220-1], was probably the primitive form of the Egyptian true opium ["opium Thebaicum"] of a later date. But it is very doubtful whether the first poppy known to them was the *Papaver somniferum*, from which alone true opium has ever been prepared; and it is more probable that the original opiate poppy, and the original opiate poppies everywhere, were certain species of red poppy, resembling *P. Rhæas*, which, from East to West, dye in blood red the midsummer plains of middle Asia and Europe. I believe one of these red poppies of middle Asia to be the original source of some primitive indigenous opiate preparation in China and India, as distinguished from the true opium introduced into these countries from Egypt, and Asia Minor, and Persia, through the intermediation of the Mahomedan Arabs, trading in the Indian Ocean during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The earliest form of opium expressly described by any Western writer is the μηκόνιον of Theophrastus [ix., 8, 2], which was an inspissated extract of the whole plant; and it is clear from Pliny that this "meconium," and similar opiate extracts, were made from a red poppy, as a spurious opium still is in the Himalayas and in China, as well as from the true opium poppy, *P. somniferum*, with which the Romans had already become acquainted when Pliny wrote [A.D. 24-79]. Dioscorides [A.D. 77] is the first to distinguish the true opium prepared from the κώδεια, or capsule of *P. somniferum*, from meconium, and down to the fifteenth century A.D. "meconium" was always distinguished from true opium, the "opium Thebaicum" of the time; and the difference between them was discriminated by the Abbé Raynal so late as 1770. The earliest Western notice of Indian opium is in the letter of Giovanni da Empoli in the *Archivio Storico Italiano* of 1511, in which he mentions the capture of "8 Guzzarate ships" laden with "arfiun," "for so they call *opio thebaico*," and other merchandise, worth 300,000 ducats. Barbosa, in 1516, states that the Chinese junks, on their return voyages from the Indian Archipelago, loaded

at Malacca with “much *anfiam*, which we call opium,” from Cambay, and, also, that it was imported into Calicut from both Cambay and Aden. Pyres, in his letter, written from Cochin, to King Emanuel of Portugal, in 1516, enumerates the opium of Egypt, and Cambay, and Cous [*i.e.* Kuch Bahar] in Bengal, adding “that the kings and lords eat of it, and even the common people.” Garcia ab Horto, in 1563, explains that the “*amfiao* of Cambaia comes for the most part from one territory called Malvi” [Malwa]. Linschoten, in 1598, informs us that “*anfion*, so-called by the Portingales, is by the Arabians, Mores, and Indians, called Affion, in Latin *opio*, or opium,” and that “it cometh out of Cairo in Egypt, and out of Aden . . . but most part out of Cambaia, and from Deccan.” John Chamberlain and Richard Hakluyt, in the reports furnished by them, in 1599, for the guidance of the London East India Company, both include opium among the rich merchandise of the East Indies. Tavernier, in 1676, writes:—“Opium comes from Burhanpur . . . between Surat and Agra. The Dutch go there and exchange their pepper for it.” Schewitzer, between 1675 and 1683, records the slaughter of “the flower of of our [Dutch] officers and 150 private soldiers” by a party of Javanese under the influence of opium, and the assassination of a Dutch sentinel at Batavia by Javanese under the same excitement. Kæmpfer, in 1688, remarks that the Javanese imported their opium from Bengal and the Coromandel Coast of India, and used it mixed with tobacco. Thomas Woolley, writing from Vizagapatam to the United East India Company in 1711, enlarges on the prophylactic uses of opium to the vegetarian people of India.¹ In the same year Lockyer tells us that the price of opium at Calicut was “160 *fanhams* per candy,” and the Emperor of China’s customs on opium from “1 mace to 3 tales per pecul.” Valentijn, in 1726, observes “that Java alone consumes monthly 350 packs of opium, each being 136 *catis*, though the [Dutch] East India Company make 145 *catis* of it.” In the same year Hamilton notes:—“The chiefs of Calcut for many years have vended between 500 and 1000 chests of *Bengal* opium yearly up in the inland

¹ His letter was published, from the India Office records, in the *Times* of July 27th, 1886

countries, where it is much used." The Abbé Raynal, in 1770, indignantly protests that the most considerable branch of the commerce of Bengal was in the manufacture and export of opium; that it was prepared both in the form of opium and meconium, and mostly in Bahar; and that "an excessive fondness for opium prevails in all the countries to the East of India." He continues:—"In vain have the laws of China condemned to the flames every vessel that imports, and every house that receives it; the consumption is not the less considerable. It is still greater at Malacca, Borneo, the Moluccas, Java, Macassar, Sumatra, and all the islands of this immense Archipelago." In connection with the reference made by Raynal to "meconium," it is interesting to note that Robert Stevens [of Bombay], in 1775, describes opium as "produced in Bengal, about Patna, being made of Poppy-Leaves," and that Hove, who was in Bombay about the same period [1787], says that opium was then extracted from the stalks of the *Papaver somniferum*; and that the Mogols "chew opium constantly," and "make it their common beverage." These quotations sufficiently dispose of the familiar allegation, meant by those who advance it to be opprobrious to the British administration of India, that the opium trade of India was first established by Warren Hastings, the Governor General of Fort William from October 20th, 1774 to February 8th, 1785. The fact is that the state monopoly of opium in India was organized throughout Hindustan and Central India [Malwa, *et cetera*] by the Mo[n]gol Emperors of Delhi, from whom we inherited it as one of their sources of revenue. The Board of Supervisors, sent out to India in 1769, received instructions to encourage the export of yarn, silk, and opium; but owing to the ship they sailed in foundering at sea, it was not until 1773 that the United East India Company undertook the supervision of the opium monopoly in Bengal and Behar; and their first regular exports of the drug were not commenced before 1796. In the following year they restricted the cultivation of the poppy to Behar and Benares, and discontinued it in Bengal.

The Chinese knew the poppy plant before the eighth century A.D.; and Dr. Edkins, in his scholarly and exhaustive *Historical*

Note on the Poppy in China, expresses the opinion that it was probably introduced with the rose, jasmine, and *henna* tree, by the Arabians, about the date of the death, A.D. 632, of the Prophet Mahomed, whose uncle died not long afterwards in China. Notwithstanding Dr. Edkins's high authority as a Sinologist, I believe that either the true *P. somniferum*, or some closely allied opiate *Papaver*, has been immemorially known to the Chinese; but be this as it may, all agree that about the ninth century A.D. the true opium poppy was cultivated in Szechuen, the eastmost province of the Chinese Empire. In the eleventh century A.D. it is noted as "found everywhere," and its narcotic properties are recognized as having been known by the thirteenth century. During the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the Chinese trade with eastern and southern India was as active as that of the Mahomedan Arabs and the Portuguese throughout the Indian Ocean; and Barbosa's statement, in 1516, that the Chinese junks, on their return to Canton and Amoy, always loaded at Malacca with Cambay opium has already been quoted. Moreover, it is now known that the Chinese had begun to manufacture opium for themselves for at least a century before Barbosa was, with his cousin Magellan, at the siege of Malacca; and that, in 1523, official instructions were issued for the more careful preparation of opium in China, which was, in 1589, protected by a duty placed on imported opium. Opium smoking Dr. Edkins considers to have been introduced into China with tobacco smoking, about the beginning of the seventeenth century. I would venture to conjecturally associate the introduction of this absolutely harmless use of opium with the smoking of hemp by the Scythian races of Central Asia from the most primitive times of their history. Still the fact remains that it was not until the seventeenth century, and almost contemporaneously with our own royal *Counterblast against Tobacco*, that the last of the Ming Emperors issued his famous edicts against tobacco¹ and opium smoking. His pietistic efforts, how-

¹ At this time the tobacco and opium were mixed together with arsenic for smoking, as is still done in Java, and elsewhere in the Indian Archipelago forming a preparation altogether distinct from "the smokeable extract" of opium now used in China and Western India.

ever, had no effect on a practice that had now become, and has ever since remained, one of the most characteristic national habits of the Chinese. Fresh edicts were issued against the practice in 1790, and the importation of the foreign drug was altogether forbidden in 1800. But, as the Abbé Raynal observed in 1770, these measures never for a moment put down the practice of opium smoking, nor the cultivation of the opium poppy in China ;¹ where, at the present time, nearly four times more opium is produced than is imported from abroad. In short, Indian opium is, as it always has been, the luxury of the rich in China, just as champagne is in Europe and America ; the only difference betwixt them being that, while the daily use of champagne, or other wines and spirits, malt liquors, *et cetera*, may prove deleterious, the smoking of the pure extract of Indian monopoly opium can, in itself, never be injurious to health, not even when indulged in, so far as the time and money wasted on it are concerned, to so-called "excess."

As to the effects of the habitual eating or drinking of opium my personal testimony is this. During the fifteen years of my later residence in Western India, I paid the closest attention to the subject ; and I had every kind of experience in relation to it, having at different times been in medical charge of the Southern Mahratta Irregular Horse, the 8th Madras Cavalry, the 3rd Bombay Native Infantry, a Battery of Artillery, the jail and civil station of Sholapore, and the steam frigate *Ajdaha*. Subsequently I was attached, for the remainder of my service, to the Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy Hospital, and was in succession professor of Anatomy and Physiology, and of Botany and Materia Medica, at Grant Medical College. I was also a justice of the peace and visitor to the jails of Bombay, and the year I was sheriff I regularly visited the jails. Besides this, I was probably more intimately familiar with all classes of the native population of the city than any

¹ Nor, indeed, the importation, by smuggling, of Indian opium ; out of which disorderly trading arose the so-stigmatized "Opium War" of 1841. But it was not any desire to force opium on the Chinese that brought on the war, but the wanton destruction, by the Chinese Commissioner Lin, of two millions sterling worth of Indian opium, the property of British merchants, at the very time we were negotiating with his Government for the regulation of the trade in the drug with China.

other European of my generation, while as an ever active journalist, I was mixed up in almost every discussion of this sort, during my time in Bombay. And, in all the experience, as here precisely detailed, and capable therefore of being checked at every point, I thus had of the indigenous life of Western India, I never once met with a single native suffering, or who ever had suffered, from the habitual use of opium; and, excepting cases of accidental or wilful poisoning by opium, I never knew of a single instance of death from its use. I have, moreover, never yet met with anyone who, in his own experience, has known of a case of death, or of injury to health, from the habitual eating or drinking of opium, as practised by the people of any part of India proper. So far as I can remember, in the printed tables used in Indian civil and military hospitals, there is no standing column for the "opium habit" nor for "deaths from opium." On the strength of my personal experience therefore I should be prepared to defy anyone to bring forward from their personal experience a single authentic record of death, or shortened life, from habitual opium eating or drinking in India. If anyone can, let him; for the means of verifying his or her statement, are always, within the current generation, accessible in India. On the contrary, so far as my experience goes, the healthiest populations of western India, are those distinguished for their, so stigmatized, excessive use of opium. I refer to the people of Gujerat generally, and more particularly to the people of the Kaira district, and also of the neighbouring district of Broach. This is true also, as is universally acknowledged, of the people of Rajputana and the Punjab. A good deal has recently been said in vague general terms of the evil effects of opium eating in increasing crime and insanity in Bengal; but Deputy Inspector-General Mouatt, one of the highest authorities on the criminal and medical statistics of India, has pointed out in reply,¹ that among the 302,374 native prisoners brought under his observation while Official Visitor of Lunatic Asylums and Inspector-General of Prisons, Bengal, in not a single case was the crime for which they had been condemned, or any disease from which they suffered, due to opium;

¹ See the *Times* of June 13th, and also, for Mr. F. Wyer's letter, of November 18th, 1892.

and that of the countless number of lunatics inspected by him in the same period, in no case was their insanity attributable, so far as he remembered, to the use of this drug. Much, also, has been made of certain statements in Sir Charles Aitchison's "Report on the Use of Opium in Burmah"; but in the appended "Note" Sir Charles Bernard states that neither in the gaols, nor in the opium shops, nor in the hospitals, nor in the streets, nor in the villages, save in Minbyin, did he come across actual tangible evidence of any ill effects of the prevailing opium habit. Again, in the *Report on the Administration of the Northern Shan States for the year 1891-92*, Mr. J. G. Scott, C.I.E., writes:—"The absurdity of the clamour against opium cultivation, and opium smoking, is nowhere more conspicuous than in Ko Kang. Everyone in Ko Kang smokes opium habitually, and at all hours. Burma and the Shan country are free enough from weaklings and deformed persons ['the Saturday-nights children' of this country], but in all Ko Kang, . . . I saw none who were not creditable, and few who were not stalwart human beings; they are athletic; they will carry the heaviest loads up the longest ascents without a halt, if they have an opium pipe at the top; they are energetic; they will travel several days' journey to sell a few loads of produce, and to buy some petty lengths of cloth, and they smoke opium all the way; they are intelligent and resourceful, as their methods of cultivation and their various farm devices show; and they know when to stop short of excess even in opium. Their women are buxom, and faithful, and fruitful, and all smoke opium."

As for opium smoking, I am satisfied, from my own experience of it, that it is as innocuous as smoking hay, straw, or stubble. It has not even the potency, although it has far more of the psychical charm, of the mildest tobacco smoking; that is as judged by my own use of it. I have, therefore, always presumed that the morphia in "the smokeable extract of opium" [*chaudu*] is all decomposed in the flame of the lamp at which it is lighted before the smoke from it reaches the lungs. But, be this as it may, we find in China, as in India, that nowhere are the native populations so robust, industrious, and thriving, as in the principal opium producing and opium consuming provinces of the empire. It is

enough to refer on this point to the report by Mr. W. Donald Spence, our Acting-Consul at Ichang, published in the Parliamentary Paper, No. 3, of 1882, p. 35.

Of course I know the *in terrorem* cases to be seen in the opium dens in Bombay, and elsewhere in the East. I well knew the Bombay den, and its keeper, and his customers, who were never more than a dozen at the most. But who were they? The dregs of the lowest outcasts of the greatest emporium of trade in the Old World outside London, and the sink of all the roving vagabondage of the Indian Ocean; and as for the real causes of their sufferings, I will only here say that, so far as I could ever ascertain, they had nothing to do with the opium-pipe, which seemed to be only the last palliative of their "distempered torment," until they were enfranchised of it by death. I hold the recipe of the *chaudu* sold in the Colbhat den in Bombay, and it is difficult to understand how, when decomposed in the flame of the opium lamp, the stuff could have the slightest physiological consequences on its smokers, other than the hypnotic effect of the fascinating act of smoking.

Opium, in brief, is one of the greatest gifts of Providence to the people of the tropics; and not simply as a soothing adjuvant to the digestion of a vegetarian diet, such as that used by the Hindus, and a prophylactic against malaria, through its specific action on the perspiration, the only secretion it stimulates, but, above all, because its use, like that of tea, coffee and tobacco, anticipates and allays the natural thirst of mankind for alcoholic stimulants, which certainly cannot be safely indulged in by the emotional people of southern Asia and Africa, except with the greatest circumspection and carefulness. Opium, furthermore, is one of the most economical of stimulants. The English drink bill for 1891 was calculated by Mr. Dawson Burns, in the *Times* of February 17th, 1892, at £140,000,000. Sir John Hart calculates the Chinese annual opium bill at £25,000,000; and were we in this country to substitute opium for wine and spirits, *et cetera*, our proportionate bill would be only £3,150,000, as against £140,000,000.

I am not entitled to discuss the administrative and economical sides of the question; but, surely, those who hold that

the habitual use of opium is harmful, should be the last to object to the state monopoly of the drug in India. I, on the contrary, holding that its habitual consumption is conducive to the health, wealth, and happiness of the inhabitants of the tropics, and more especially of those who are vegetarians, would freely throw the manufacture of it open to private enterprise, and raise as high a duty on its export as it could with safety bear in the intertropical competition with ardent spirits to which this drug seems predestined. And within thirty years the whole imperial, provincial, and feudatory expenditure of India might, in this way, be met out of the yearly increasing opium revenue, while the country itself would be left practically untaxed.¹

Before parting with the volume, I would offer some explanation of its ornamentation; of which the most important feature is the Colophon. This device originally marked the last page of a book, and contained the place and year of its publication, but was ultimately transferred, with these particulars, to the title page, where, chiefly through want of sufficient space, the Colophon gradually dwindled to a mere trademark, of the baldest, and, too often, most disfiguring kind. In the present volume it has been replaced in its proper position at the end of the book, its central geometrical elements only being repeated on the title page, and here in their consonant colours, on the very spot assigned in the highest usage to some personal badge, or to the arms, of the writer or editor of a work. Whoever may be the author of a book, its finisher is, after all, the much abused publisher, without whom it could not be brought to its fateful issue; and as the word "Colophon" is derived from the circumstance of the cavalry of Colophon, one of the twelve cities of the Ionian league, having always been kept in reserve

¹ See also my letters in the *Times* of December 6th, 1881, and January 20th, 1882; Sir Rutherford Alcock's lecture on "The Opium Trade," in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for January 20th, 1882; *The Truth about Opium*, by W. H. Brereton, 1882, second edition, 1883; *All about Opium*, by H. H. Sultzberger, 1884; *The Vindication of England's Policy with regard to the Opium Trade*, by C. R. Haines, 1884; Mr. George H. M. Batten's lecture on "The Opium Question" in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for April 1st, 1892; the article on Opium in the *Dictionary of the Economic Products of India*, by Dr. George Watt, C.I.B.; and the *Times* articles on "Indian Affairs" of May 5th and August 10th, 1891, and March 21st and June 13th, 1892.

by the allies to make the last charge and decide the battle [whence the Greek proverb, "He put the Colophon to it," τὸν Κολοφῶνα ἐπέδηκεν], it is doubly appropriate, in etymology as in ritual, that the publisher's distinctive device should be imprinted at large on, or opposite to, the last page of a book; and that, proportionately to its use and significance, the utmost art should be lavished on its colophon, or "finishing touch." The printer and binder are also each entitled to their personal stamp, and should take a pride in contributing it, draughted by the best designers of their time, to the consecration of every book of good faith in the preparation of which they have had a helping hand. They are, for the most part, men of substance, and can well afford to publicly prove in this reverential form that they not only know their trade, but love their art. In the present instance, Mr. George C. Haité, twelfth President of the brotherhood of "the Sette of Odd Volumes," founded by Mr. Bernard Quaritch in 1880, has taken the general plan and delineation of his design from the colophon of a *Catholicon* of the year 1497, in my possession; developing its full significance by collating it with similar symbolical figures in Indian art; and adapting it to Mr. Quaritch's family history. The specific charm of Indian, as of all ancient Asiatic, art is that, whether in the vague amplitude of the metaphorical descriptions of the theologised astrology of the Revelation of St. John the Divine, or the definite epitome of such traditional decorative types as the "knop and flower pattern," and the "cone pattern," it is everywhere the conscious reflection of the whole universe of things seen and unseen, the sanctified cypher, as it were, of the visible creation of forces and phenomena, and of their invisible, inscrutable Creator, the one God of all human faith, and love, and adoration. Thus it has, from the earliest times, in the ultimate types of its poetical and pictorial imagery, portrayed the cosmos as a virgin mother, a suffering and redeeming god-man, a holy mountain, a four-square heavenly city, and a garden enclosed, with its Paradisaical tree planted by the four-parted waters of eternal life.¹ The first Paradise, and

¹ See the chapter on "The Knop and Flower Pattern" in my *Handbook to the British Indian Section of the Paris Universal Exposition of 1878, and Industrial Arts of*

the first Tree of Life, were of direct physiological origination [compare *κῆπος* and "hortus"], and the most obvious exponents of the generative and reproductive principles of nature; the second Paradise was geographical, and its characteristic tree was ever its worshipful Tree of Life, as the date palm in Chaldæa, and the ash tree of the Norse nations in "Asgard" [the country about the Sea of Azov]; while the final, transcendental Paradise was the green earth itself, or, at least, its northern hemisphere, "the mountain of the Lord," rising above the 7 [or 9] hells of the southern hemisphere, and the final, consummate Tree of Life, the 7 [or 9] planets simulated as a date palm, or some other tree, deep-rooted in the earth, and carrying its 7- or 9-branched head into the highest heavens, and guarded by the mystical cherubim ["the Two Witnesses"], all encircled, or ensquared, by the twelve signs of the Zodiac, and their twenty-four deacons, the "flammantia mœnia mundi." It may be said that nearly all the traditional devices in decorative design are derived from this sublime Chaldæan presentment of the Tree of Life; and throughout their infinite permutations, they in Indian art retain, "void of all prophanation," their original sacramental significance, and still utter forth their hallowing voice of archaic praise: "Alleluia! for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! Alleluia! Salvation, Glory, Honour, Power unto the Lord our God!" In the colophon designed for Mr. Quaritch, the earth is indicated by a circle divided through its horizontal diameter into the nether world of night and winter, destruction and death, and the upper world of day and summer, light and life and glory; and the planetary tree by the Papal Cross, as the emblem of the historical continuity of the development of religious doctrine and ritual in the formulated Christianity of the Catholic Roman Church. The geometrical structure of the striking type thus obtained symbolizes the creative forces of nature with the ingenuousness

India, 1881; my article on "The Christmas Tree" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1882, and on "The Empire of the Hittites in the History of Art" in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for January, 1888; also my remarks on "The Breastplate of Aaron" in the *Journal of the Society of Arts* for March 18th, 1887; and my article on "The Collections of Indian Art in Marlborough House and at Sandringham Hall," in the *Journal of Indian Art and Industry* for October, 1891, and January, 1892.

of the corresponding *lingam-yoni* symbol of the Hindus, and I have emphasized this in transferring a reduction of it to the title-page by colouring it red in its active and blue in its passive element. The zodiac is conventionally denoted by the oak sprays, bearing between them twelve acorns and twenty-four leaves; and these sprays refer again to Mr. Quaritch personally.

The head and tail pieces used throughout the reproduction of "the Register of Letters, &c.," and for the Index, and the Table of Contents, have been selected from the ordinary stock of the printers; but those used for the Introduction are from pen and ink drawings by Mr. Foster; the head-piece representing the arms of the London or "Old" East India Company, of the United or "New" Company, and of the United Kingdom, and the tail-piece the shield suggested by me for the Indian window designed by Mr. Clement Heaton for the Imperial Institute. It is a variant of the Hindu and Buddhistic astronomical amulet known as the *nava-ratna* or "nine gems," that is, counting the waxing, full, and waning moon as three, of the nine planets. "These 7 are the eyes of the Lord, which run to and fro through the whole earth:"—

The Moon whose "disposicion "

" Upon the londe of Alemaigne
Is set and eke upon Britaigne ";

Mercury, whose "disposicion "

" Is most in Borgone and in Fraunce ";

Venus,

" The climate of whose lechery
Is most comune in Lumbardy ";

the Sun, who wherein

" Of all this erth he regneth most
As for wisdom it is Grece ";

Mars, who is

" Upon the Haly Londe so cast,
That there is no pees stedefast ";

Jupiter, the " Prince of Peace,"

" And fortunate to marchandry ";

wherefore,

" In Egipte of his offices
He regneth most in speciall,
For there he lustes over al
Of all that to this life befalleth ";

and, lastly, Saturn,

" His climate is in Orient,"

where

" Of chapmenhode he found the wey,
And eke to coigne the money
Of sundry metal."¹

It was half seriously asked some weeks ago, in a London evening journal, whether the destinies of the nations were indeed swayed by the stars? The answer is not to be sought only in cosmical physics. It is because the Chaldæans worshipped, above all other gods, the Moon-God Sin, who gives his name to "the secret top" of Sinai, that to this day the principal currencies of southern and eastern Asia are of his sacred metal, silver; and because the Phœnicians, and Assyro-Babylonians, and other Semitic nations of interior Asia, worshipped, as their supreme god, the Sun-God Baal-Samem, or Bel, that their currencies were further enriched by the introduction of his metal, gold;² and few things have disturbed the commerce

¹ GOWER, *Confessio Amantis*.

² The six ingots of silver, found by Schliemann among the ruins of Hissarlik, go to prove that the light Chaldæo-Hittite silver mina ["measure," *i.e.* "standard," compare "month," "moon," and Hindustani *maund*] of 8656 grs., "the mina of Karkemish," was already circulating in the Troad during the fifteenth century B.C.: and it was by this overland route that the silver shekel [172.9 grs.] of Mesopotamia was at last carried across the Hellespont into Europe, and there originated, at a reduced standard [150 grs.], the silver stater ["standard"] of Thrace. Similarly the light Assyro-Babylonian gold shekel or stater [130 grs.], carried into Greece from Samos, originated the Euboic silver stater [125 to 135 grs.], and later the Athenian and Corinthian silver staters. The Æginetan stater [180 to 194 grs.] was derived from the old heavy silver mina

between the Indian Ocean and the Mediterranean Sea, and the East and West generally, more than the fluctuations in the ratios of value between these two currencies. Nor have these perturbations ever been more felt, or with greater effect on the fate of empires than in the present day; when silver is turned to dross, and gold to a rod for our backs, and the modern prophets of Deus Lunus and Deus Sol have none of them availed anything to set the old balance between the two metals true again.

The vignette facing the Introduction is a presentment, compiled from more or less reliable data, of the *Red Dragon*, proceeding on one of her prosperous voyages into the East Indies,—

“ With all her bravery on and tackle trim,
Sails filled, and streamers waving.
Courtèd by all the winds that held them play,
An amber scent¹ of odorous perfume
Her harbinger.”

[15,600 grs. divided into 60 shekels of 260 grs.] of Mesopotamia, as modified by the Phœnicians [11,500 grs. divided into 50 shekels of 230 grs.], and carried by them from Sidon and Tyre direct, by sea, to Ægina; and the Macedonian [224 grs.] from the gold [and electrum] staters of Anterior Asia, carried by the Phœnicians from Miletus to the southern parts of Thrace. How early Indian gold entered into these coinages is shewn by the gryphon stamped on the gold staters of Panticapæum, in the Tauric Chersonese, of the fourth century B.C. The output of gold became so enormous about this time that in Sicily its value, relatively to silver, fell from 15 to 1 *circa* B.C. 375, to 12 to 1 *circa* B.C. 315. In Macedonia king Philip [B.C. 359-336] endeavoured by means of a bimetallic standard to keep up the silver value of gold, but it was all in vain; and when Alexander the Great obtained possession of the treasury of Darius [B.C. 331], although he still continued the Macedonian gold currency, the coins of that metal were really reduced to the status of tokens. The Persian daric [*daraga*, “degree,” or sexagesimal unit, and compare δραχμή, the word, in its Hebrew forms *adarkon* and *darkemon*, being translated “dram” in the authorized English version Ezra viii. 27, ii. 69, &c.] was also, like the Euboic stater, derived from the she [130 grs.] or $\frac{1}{8}$ th of the light Assyro-Babylonian mina [7800 grs.]; and this is the mina referred to in Daniel v. 25-28:—“*Mene, mene, tekel upharsin*”; the correct translation of the passage being:—“The mina (of this invoice) is the mint standard [*tekel*, compare ‘talent,’ ‘Altas,’ and the Hindustani *tola*] Parsis [or Persians].” But the exact interpretation of the obsolete cuneiform formula had been forgotten when “the Book of Daniel,” which was really written against Antiochus Epiphanes, under the mask of Nebuchadnezzar III., was B.C. 171-168.

¹ MILTON, *Samson Agonistes*. “An amber scent” here has reference to a See note 3, page xxxv.

Mr. Haité has been hampered in his treatment of the subject by my insisting on his turning this illustration into a rebus, for the special amusement of the brotherhood of the Sette of Odd Volumes. If this has in any way detracted from its artistic merit, the default is wholly mine.


The stamp on the cover is of the full blazon of the arms of the London, or "Old," East India Company, copied from one of the contemporary books of the Company. It does not exactly correspond with the few impressions of the Company's seals that have survived "the tooth of time," or the draughts of the arms on some of the Company's charters; and, unfortunately, the original illuminated blazon of the arms furnished by the Heralds' College has been lost. In the *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies and Persia)*, 1630-1634, just published by Mr. Noel Sainsbury, under the Court Minutes for November 26th, 1630, it is recorded that on the Company bestowing a hundred marks toward glazing the East window of the church of St. Katherine Cree, the parishioners resolved to set up the Company's arms in the window, "for a memorial of their love to so religious a work." But this window has also disappeared in the Philistine rage of the past and passing generations of Englishmen for church restoration; and I have, therefore, had nothing more authentic to guide me in the cutting of this brass block than the rare impressions of a similar block used by the "Old" East India Company on the backs of their leather-bound records in the seventeenth century. But there can be little doubt of its general accuracy.

In conclusion, I desire to convey, through these pages, the expression of my warmest thanks to all those who have aided me in the preparation of the present volume, three of whom I must particularize by name. I can never sufficiently acknowledge my dues to Mr. Frederic C. Danvers for the lively interest he has taken in the work, the progress of which he has done everything in his power to facilitate. Indeed, I could never have brought it to so speedy a completion without his cordial co-operation. I am under the deepest obligation to Mr. William Foster, of the India Office, who made the necessary transcript from the original MS. of "the Register of Letters, &c." and further relieved me of the trouble of seeing the work through the press.

I am also indebted to his intimate knowledge, both of the India Office Records and the history of the parishes of London, for some of the most interesting and valuable biographical foot-notes in the volume, as also for the notes identifying and dating the various documents, and for the quotations from the records elucidating and illustrating their contents. And, above all, I feel grateful to him for the keen personal solicitude he has shown in promoting in every way in his power the successful completion of the volume, of which he has proved a most loyal and efficient co-editor. Neither can I too highly express my appreciation of the generosity shown by Mr. Quaritch in undertaking the publication of the volume. It can never pay him, in the way of trade profits; and he has done it altogether for love, and the honour of England. It is only to be hoped that others of the publishing agents of the Secretary of State for India in Council may emulate his example, and occasionally bring out a volume of the "Old Records" of the India Office, uniform in size and typography, *et cetera*, with the volumes published by Mr. Henry Stevens and Mr. Quaritch, until the whole of them for the seventeenth century, or at least for the period between 1599 and 1623, have been reproduced in print.

If, also, the Spaniards have taken a just pride in celebrating the fourth centenary of the discovery of the Americas by Columbus, and the Portuguese are to follow them by celebrating the fourth centenary of the doubling of the Cape of Good Hope by Da Gama, is it too much to suggest that Englishmen should also begin to bestir itself for the celebration of the third centenary of the "Old" East India Company's "First Voyage" in 1601? Nothing else that could be devised would give so great a stimulus to the elucidation of the early history of the Company, and to the popular appreciation of the abiding debt of this country to them.

The discovery of the seaway to India round the south extended continent of Africa was in reality a far more courageous emprise than that of the Americas; for all the way across the Atlantic Ocean Columbus was in the northern hemisphere, and therefore in the guardianship of the same heavens familiar to him from his infancy. But the Portuguese and the Dutch and English who first adventured after them

down into the southern hemisphere, and round past the utmost horn of Africa, were still haunted, all through the fifteenth, sixteenth, and even seventeenth centuries, by the old superstition that they were descending into Hades; and they have left behind them repeated expression of the ghostly terrors they experienced as, in sailing ever southward, they night after night found their old heavens passing away, and that they were entering not only into unknown seas and lands, but among the alien stars of new heavens they had taken no thought of, and which perplexed and confounded all their spiritual bearings. Even to this day every passenger who sails by the Cape of Good Hope to Australia experiences something of this sensation, as of the very foundations of the world being out of course. In one of the old seventeenth-century Italian maps recently reproduced at Berlin in connection with the fourth centenary of the discovery of Columbus, the whole southern hemisphere beyond Africa is marked Patala, its Sanskrit designation, signifying Hell [literally, the "Wide"-place, or "Patent"-office]. Who also has not felt the strange gladness on returning into the Mediterranean from the Indian Ocean, of again seeing in all the glory of their ancient place and brilliancy, the Northern Star, and the constellation of the Great Bear, Benetnaksh, Mizar and Alioth, Megrez, Phad, Merak, and Dubhe, the heavenly heptarchy that first gave its sacredness to the number 7? Christopher Schewitzer, of the Dutch East India Company's ship *Asia*, trading in the Indian Ocean between 1675 and 1680, writes in his diary under date of July 23rd, 1680:—"At night: we saw again the Northern Star to our Great Joy: till then we had only the Southern Cross, which is a constellation of four stars which stand in this  order." And Surgeon Christopher Fryke, of the Dutch East India Company, in the narrative of his voyage between 1680 and 1686, to Batavia and back, writes:—"When we came more and more in sight of the North Star, we began to be very cheerful, and fell a Singing of the Hymn,

Hoe Schoon light ons de Morgen-Star."

Citations like these go to the heart of heart of Englishmen, and

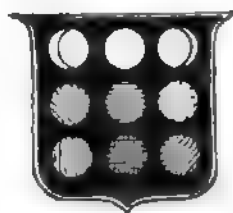
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should move us to hold in perpetual honour those middle-class citizens of London, who, nearly three hundred years ago, laid in the far-off Indian Ocean the first foundations of the now world-wide British Empire.

When I began to edit the present volume, it was my intention to undertake the self-imposed task of editing all the Court Books of the "Old" East India Company, following the volume published by Mr. Henry Stevens, down to 1623. But after sixty, every year adds rapidly to one's incapacity for the incessant labour of minute verification required for the proper discharge of so burdensome a duty. This has become painfully clear to me during the past twelve months; and for the future it is my purpose to allow nothing to interfere with the advancement, and, I pray God, the completion, upon my last tide, of the long delayed enlarged edition of my book on *THE INDUSTRIAL ARTS OF INDIA*.

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.

SAVAGE CLUB,
December 21st, 1892.





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The
Register of Letters &c.

THE
REGISTER OF LETTERS, &c.
 OF THE
GOVERNOR & COMPANY OF MERCHANTS OF LONDON
TRADING INTO THE EAST INDIES.

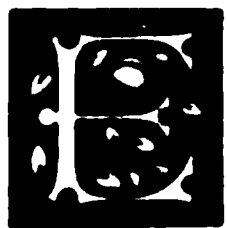


YPPON¹ complainte made the 17th by [the] new authorized
 Companie of m'chaunte preparinge to trade to the
 East Indies that certen psons wth heeretofore pmysed
 and assured by their subscrip^{co}ns when the saide
 voyadge was first projected to advanc[e] certen
 somes of money for the pceedinge in the same vpon confidence &
 assurance whereof the p'para^{co}n for the said
 voyadge hath been vndertaken and advanced to a
 full redines, and yet neverthesse that the said
 psons would since vpon some vndue p'tentes
 retract their former pmyses in that behalfe Whereof
 would ensue y^d by the want of their pmysed contribu^{co}ns the
 voyadge must breake. Their Lo^{ds}: vpon due Considera^{co}n

An order taken by
 the lres for such
 as haue promised &
 sett downe their Con-
 tribu^{co}ns & not
 brought the said con-
 tribu^{co}ns to the
 Treas

¹ At a Court held on the 9th Jan 160^o/1, it was ordered "that a present information
 "and complaint shalbe made to the LJ of the Councell of suche as have disapointed
 "the preparation of the voyage that they may be called before ther Lordshippes to
 "receave suche order as to ther honors shalbe thought meet." As the result of this
 application, the above order was issued, which was "read to the gen^{ty}lty" at the
 next meeting of the Company and entered at length on the minutes.

how greatelie it doth importe y^e hono^r of the realme and thestate of the present affaires thereof that the said voyadge should not be hindred or ou^rthrowne by any such default and indirect meanes, and Considering alsoe how weake allega^{ti}ons of excuse haue been made by the p^{er}sons refusers it hath been therefore this day ordered by their Lords that notwthstandinge the p^{re}tences of the foresaid p^{er}sons they shall wthout further delaie and namelie by Saterday next furnish their p^{ro}mised Contribu^{ti}ons or otherwyse that order shalbe taken by the fl^{ee} wth such as shall refuse the same to Committ them t[o] prison vntill they Conforme themselues & make satisfac^{ti}on accordinge to their subscrip^{ti}ons. the xjth of Ianuarie 1600.



ELIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England &c To o^r trustie and welbeloued Iames Lancaster¹ Esqier Greeting. Whereas diuers of o^r loueing subiecte haue been petitioners vnto vs for o^r Royall assent to be graunted vnto them that they att their owne adventures Costs and chardges aswell for the hono^r of this o^r Realme of England, as for the increase & advancem^{nt} of Trade and m^{er}chandize wthin the same, might Adventure and sett forth certeine voyages to the East Indies wth a Convenient number of shippes & pinnaces by way of traffique and m^{er}chandizeinge: Wee gratiousslie

Capt Lancaster his Comission gen^{er}all of the fl^{ee}te to the East Indies from the Queene.

¹ The name of James Lancaster is familiar as that of the successful leader of the Company's first venture to the Indies. Of his early life little is known. He is said to have been a native of Basingstoke, and to have been at one time in Portugal as a soldier, and afterwards as a merchant. In 1591 he took part in Captain Raymond's ill-fated expedition to the East Indies, of which he was one of the few survivors. He was next engaged in an enterprize to the coast of Brazil, where an attack was made on the Portuguese settlement of Pernambuco. He took an active part in the formation of the East India Company, and was one of the original directors, or "committees" as they were then called. Of the voyage now undertaken, as also of his two previous voyages, a full account is given in Mr C R Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society, 1877). On his return, Lancaster was knighted by King James; and thenceforward he appears as an active and trusted member of the Company, whose advice was constantly sought and listened to with the utmost deference. He died in June, 1618.

inclininge to their humble petiçõn in that behalfe and favoringe soe good a desier & honorable enterprize. Haue been pleased to giue lycence vnto oʳ said Subiecte to pceede in the said voiadge, & for the better inabling them to establish a trade into & from the said East Indies Haue by oʳ tres Pattente vnder oʳ greate seale of England beareing date at Westminster the last daie of december last past incorporated oʳ said Subiecte by the name of the Gouʳnoʳ & Companie of the mʳchaunte of London trading into the East Indies, & in the same tres Pattente haue geuen them the sole trade of theast Indies for the terme of XV^{teen} yeares wth diuers priuiledges & ymunnties mencioned in the said tres Pattente, as therein y^t doth & may appeare. And whereas by vertue of oʳ said lycence & tres Pattente soe by vs graunted to them, they haue prepared & furnished seuʳall shipps wth a Convenient number of mʳchaunte Mariners and other oʳ said subiecte to be vsed and ymployed in the said voyadge & haue chosen you to be the principall Gouʳnoʳ or generall of all the said mʳchaunte Mariners and other oʳ said Subiecte w^{ch} are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps. Wee graciouslie favoring the said enterprize & approueing & allowinge of their choise of yo^u to the said Gouʳnmente, being desirous to furnish you wth all fitt and Convenient power & authoritie to rule and Gouʳne all and everie oʳ subiects ymployed in this voyadge by a due obedience to be by them yealded unto yo^u, in the observinge & executing of all good orders & constituçõns as you shall thinke Convenient to ordaine & appointe for the furtheraunce of the said voiadge, to the ho : of vs and oʳ Realme & for the advauncment of the said trade we doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comaund all & euʳy pson and psons ymployed vsed or shipped or w^{ch} shall be ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge in the said fflower shipps, or any of them, to giue all due obedience & respect vnto yo^u, during the said voyadge, & to beare themselues one towards another in all good order and quietnes for any occasion that should breed mutinie, quarrells or discention amongst them to the hindraunce of the good successe w^{ch} is to be hoped for through Gods providence of the said intended voyadge & in default of such dutie & obedience to be pformed towards you, & for the Correcçõn & quenchinge of all such mutenie quarrells or dissençõns that shall or may

growe or be mooued by the disorder evill disposiōn or pversnes of any of the said psons. Wee doe heareby authorize you, to Chastice Correct & ponish all offenders, & transgresso^r in that behalfe according to the quallitie of their offence, wth such ponishment as are comonlie vsed in all o^r Armes by Sea when the offences are not Capitall, & for capitall Offences as wilfull murder w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of God, or any notable muteny w^{ch} is one offence that may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voyadge the same beinge trulie and iustlie proued against any the pson or psons aforesaid. Wee doe hereby giue you full power and auctoritie to vse & putt in execuōn o^r law called Marshall lawe in that behalfe. And theis o^r tres shall be therein yo^r sufficient warrant & dischardge for the doing and Executing of all & singuler the premisses. In witnes whereof we haue caused o^r tres to be made Patente, Witnes o^r selfe at Westminster the xxiiijth of Ianuarie in the xliijth yeare of o^r Reigne.¹



HEAREAS² we the Gou^rno^r and Companie of the m^cchaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies haue chosen you m^r Lancaster for the cheefe Gou^rno^r or gen^rall to gouerne or rule all such marchaunte, Mariners, officers & other her Ma^{ty} subiecte w^{ch} are ymployed by

The Commission to
Captaine Lancaster
to the East Indies
is shown to others.

vs or are or shall be shipped in any of the flower shipps by vs prepared and set forth for this present intended voiage towards the East Indies

And whereas the Queenes most excellent ma^{ty} approueing and allowinge of o^r choise of you to the said Gou^rnment and favo^ring the said enterprize hath by her gracious tres Patente vnder the greate seale of England the better to inable yo^u to keepe yo^r wholle Companie in good agreement one towards another and in obedience and due respect towards you, geaven you auctoritie to

¹ 1601

² This Commission "conceaved by the Comitties" was read at a General Court, on the 10th Feb 1601/2, and was "well lykd of and agreed to be written in fowre " severall partes and vnto everie part the Comon seale of the Companie to be added " to thered that in everie ship one of the said Comissions may be kepte in the handes " of the principall m^cchauntes of everie ship." (Court Minutes)

chastice and correct such offences as shall aryse in the said voyadge accordinge as in the said tres Patente att lardge appeareth w^{ch} tres Patente extendinge onelie to the generall gouernm^{te} of yo^r wholle Companie shipped in the said shipps, for their Civill behavio^r whilst the are abroad in the said voyadge and not unto the managinge & ordering of the trade of m^cchandize for w^{ch} the voyadge is principallie appointed and sett forth. Wee therefore by theis o^r present tres or Comission under o^r comon seale for the orderinge and disposeinge of all such m^cchandize, Gould, pearle Jewells and other Comodities w^{ch} are to be bought bartered procured exchanded or otherwyse obtened in this present voyadge doe for yo^r direc^{cion} and remembrance in that behalfe sett downe theis clawses ordenances and decrees heerafter followinge: declaringe heerby o^r purpose and inten^{cion} how we appointe and ordeine that the traffique of this present voyadge shall be ordered and caried: w^{ch} ordenances and decrees wee will and requier you to observe and keepe, and doe giue yo^r power and auctoritie to see the same executed and putt in vse accordinglie viz

We doe ordeine and decree that all the preparac^{ions} of moneys m^cchandizes and other provision for the said voyadge and all Comodities moneys Jewells and other marchandize retourned in the said voyadge shall be holden reputed and accompted and be carried managed ordered and handled as one entire Accompt and comen stocke of adventure wherein noe private traffique barter exchange or m^cchandizeing shall be vsed practized or admitted by any pticuler Gou^rno^r Capten marchaunte Agent ffacto^r m^r Marriner officer or other pson whatsoever imployed in the said voyadge or pmitted to goe in the same upon peine of the losse & forfeiture to the vse of the generall Companie and adventurers in this voyadge of all somes of moneys Jewells wares goodes or m^cchandizes w^{ch} shall be found in the said shipps or ells were carried forth or retourned home by any private or pticuler man and not conteyned and brought into the generall and Comon accompte & ioynt adventure of the said voyadge.

AND to thend this preiudice of private traffique may the better be avoided We doe ordeine and appointe that due Inquisi^{cion} be made in all and euery y^e severall shipps of the said voyadge and elswheare by search of all such Chestes, Boxes,

Packe, Packette, Bookes, writinge and other meanes whereby discouery may be made of the breach of this present ordenance.

AND we doe in like manner ordeine and decree for the avoideinge of all vnfaithfullnes, and deceipte to be vsed in the said voyadge in the defraudinge of the gen^rall adventure w^{ch} is p^rpared and set forth att the greate Coste and chardg^e of such as repose their trust and confidence in the officers and mynistors imployed in the said voyadge that what pson soever shall be found vnfaithfull and vniust in the said voyadge by imbecillinge or wthdrawinge of any the goodes wares m^rchandizes Iewells or other Co^modities whatsoeuer either belonging to the adventure sent out or being pcell of the retourne of the same w^{ch} was, is, or shall be either p^rpared bought or belonging to the Comon or generall stocke or adventure that such pson shall be barred & excluded to demaunde of the Gou^rno^r & Companie of the said merchaunte of London tradeing into the East Indies any accompte reckoninge or payment of any wage salarye contract or interteinement for his ymployment in the voyadge Wherevnto he was or otherwyse might haue beene interested yf such offence had not been Comitted. And further that euery such pson soe offendinge shall be psecuted by the said Gouerno^r and Companie of merchaunte of London tradinge to theast Indies accordinge to the qualitie of their offence in that behalfe by the lawes and statutes of this Realme.

AND furthermore we doe ordeine that yf vppon deliu^ry of her ma^{ties} tres to the Princes of those places where o^r shipps shall arrive you shall be peaceablie received and enterteyned as merchaunte to Commerce and traffique wth the people of those Countries or places, and be secured and warranted heareafter to frequent and visite those places. Then we doe ordeine and decree that you shall select out of the youngest sorte of o^r ffacto^{rs} and others intertayned by vs or voluntarilie suffered to goe in the voyadge such and soe many of the aptest and towardest of them as you shall thinke meete and as shall haue best approved them selues fit for such an ymployment to recide and abide in those places where you shalbe soe peaceablie received yf yo^{rs} may be pmitted therevnto, takeinge sufficient and carefull order for the defrayinge and supplyinge of their chardges untill those places shall be hereafter

visited wth another ffeete sent from hence, and leaueing wth them such advise and direcōn for their better informacon how to Carrie themselves in those places as by yo^r good discreōn wth the advise of such as you shall conferr thereof shall be thought meete & as time and experience of those places shall direct you.

AND forasmuch as the daies of mans lyfe are lymitted and the Certentie thereof for their Continuance and end onelie knowne vnto god Wee the said Gou^rno^r and Companie of marchaunte of London tradinge to theast Indies doe heereby ordeine and prouide that yf yt shall happen you the said Iames Lancaster to depte this mortall lyfe before the retourne of the said shipps then from and after the decease of you the said Iames Lancaster we doe by this o^r present Comission vnder o^r Comon seale constitute and appointe yo^r m^r Iohn Middleton¹ to be the cheefe Gou^rno^r or generall of the said m^rchaunte marino^r Officers and other her ma^{ties} subjecte by vs ymployed or otherwyse shipped in the said voyadge willing and requiring you and geving you like power and auctoritie to putt in execuōn the said ordenance and decrees conc^rninge the orderinge and disposeinge of the traffique and m^rchandizeinge of the said voyadge as we haue donne to the said Iames Lancaster and yf yt shall happen by Godes appointment that both you the said Iames Lancaster and Iohn Middleton shall decease in the said voyadge then we ordeine and appointe the Principall and gen^rall gouernm^{te} of the wholle Companie their in ymployed or shipped in this present voyadge unto you m^r Wiltm Brund² being alsoe one of o^r fflower principall merchaunte whome we haue chosen and interteined for the orderinge and disposeing of the marchandizes and traffique of the said voyadge requieringe you yf you shall fortune to surviue the said Iames Lancaster and Iohn Middleton to observe and keepe the same o^r ordenance and decrees before mencioned ordered and appointed by vs for the traffique and marchandizeing of the said viadge geueing you the like auctoritie to execute the same as is formerlie

¹ Brother to Sir Henry and David Middleton. He commanded the *Hector* in this voyage, and died at Bantam in the spring of 1603.

² Commander of the *Assention*. Accidentally killed on the outward voyage at the Bay of Antongil in Madagascar by the guns of the *Dragon* whilst a salute was being fired.

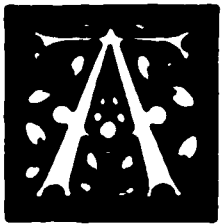
hearein geuen to the said Iames Lancast[er] & Iohn Middleton or eyther of them & yf you the said Wiltm Brund shall fortune to decease in the said voyadge then we doe appointe the imediate succession and execucon of the said chardge and gou'nm^{te} afore said vnto you m^r Iohn Havarde one other of o^r said Principall m^rchaunte requiringe you to see o^r ordenance and decrees to be kept and pformed geving vnto you the same power and auctoritie as we haue hereby geuen to the said Iames Lancaster Iohn Middleton & Wiltiam Brund or any of them.

AND yf yt should fortune that all the said seuerall psons ymployed by vs as o^r Principall m^rchaunte in this present voyadge to decease Then we ordeine the wholle gou'nm^t and chardge before mencioned to be vndertaken by one of you foure w^{ch} are of the second sorte of marchaunte or facto^r by vs ymployed in the said voyadge the same to be taken and executed successiuelie one after another as any of you shall happen to decease after the said chardge by the true meaninge hereof shall be cast vpon you w^{ch} chardge we doe ordeine shall succeede in this manner viz^t first to o^r second merchant shipped in the Redd Dragon next to o^r second merchaunte or ffacto^r shipped in the Hecto^r, thirdlie to o^r second m^rchante or facto^r shipped in the Assencon, and lastlie to o^r second m^rchante or ffacto^r shipped in the Suzan.

AND we doe further ordeine that as we haue appointed a succession o^r principall merchaunte and Gouverno^r of the wholle Companie imployed or shipped in this voiadge soe we doe order and decree that vppon whomsoeu^r the said gou'nment in succession shall fall by the decease of any the psons before named that he shall or may shipp or imbarke himselfe in the Admirall of o^r fflecte & inioye and receave such place Cabbin easment and Comaundm^t therein as o^r said generall and principall Gouverno^r formerlie didd.

AND lastlie wheareas her ma^{ty} by her Comission vnder the greate seale hath onelie appointed the generall Gouvernement of all her subiecte ymployed in y^r said voiadge vnto the said Iames Lancaster wthout any appointeinge of succescon by like warrant to any that is ymployed in the said voiadge and that yt lyeth not in vs to giue any warrant for the correccon of offences by penall

Lawes to be executed vpon the bodies of any her ma^{ties} subiecte we doe in that behalfe as to men haueing reason and discreõn and to men that feare god offer vnto yo^r good consideraõns the benefite of order and peaceable agreem^{ts} in matters and enterprises vndertaken for a Comon good, Reposeing in you o^r seuerall marchaunte and all yo^r o^r seuerall Officers appointed and interteyned in this voiadge a spetiall hope trust and Confidence that you will accorde & agree together and ioyne in freindshipp & amytie to doe & execute yo^r vttermoste endevo^r for the benefitt of the voyadge wthout contenõn, discorde or emulaõn to be vsed amongst you guideinge yo^r selues therein by that gen^lall regiment and Sea gou^{nm}^{ts} w^{ch} o^r English ffeete doe use when they sorte them selues together haueing a spetiall and due respect to him that is yo^r Principall or Cape m^{ch}ante. And soe we Comend yo^r and yo^r travels to gode pvidence who guide you wth his feare and defend you from all daungers.



AFTER¹ o^r heartie Comendaõns: wheareas vppon o^r tres heertofores written vnto yo^r touchinge her ma^{ties} likeinge of yo^r intenõn to sett forth a voyadge to the East Indies, & alsoe of her gracious allowance and assent to the proiect of Articles and Condiõns required for the pformance of the same wth an assurance pmysed you that the said voyadge shall receue no stay or interupõn, there hath beene sett downe as we are

From the Councell
to their louinge
freindes Alderman
Bannynge:² Alder:

¹ This is evidently the letter from the Lords of the Council, bearing date the 26th October, 1600, which was read at a General Courte on the 30th of that month, and in which "besides the warraunt of incoragem^t geaven to the Companie to "proceede It was notid unto them that the action vndertaken by them was a publike "action and not to be dallied wthall and therefore did require that the names of such "as did ether wthdrawe themselves or practise to wthdrawe others from proceeding "thein shuld be certefyed to ther Lorshipes that they might examine the reason of "ther discouragem^t."

² Paul Bannyng, Alderman, was prominent among the promoters of the Company, and was one of the original committees named in the Charter. One of the ships employed in the *First Voyage*—the *Susan*—was purchased from him; and from 1600 to 1602 he acted with Alderman Holliday as treasurer to the Company.

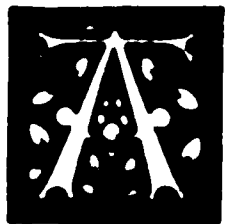
Holliday: ¹ Ald:
Smyth² & the rest of
the Adventurers in
the voyadge intended
to the east Indies for
going forward with
the voyadge without
feare of any lett.

geven to vnderstand soe many pticular somes of
aduenture vnder the handes of divers Contributors
as are thought a Convenient pporcōn or stocke to
be sett forth for yo^r first voyadge & there vppon a
pporcōn hath beene made of shippinge victualls &
other necessities, wherein greate somes of money haue been dis-
burced. Notwthstanding all w^{ch}, as we are informed there is some
stay made amonge yo^r selues of the pceedinge in this Action vpon
some reporte spread amongst yo^r selues, that the voyadge shall not
be pmitted to goe forward, wherein we wish you to be better advised
& not to be soe easilie drawne to make a doubt of her Ma^{ties} assent
and assurance soe late by vs Certified vnto you, w^{ch} cannot be
done without dishono^r to her ma^{tie} or iniurie to vs, from whom
you rec^d yo^r warrant to proceede: Lett yt therefore suffice that
there is noe iuste cause whie you should make any doubt of going
forward in yo^r intended voyadge: But rather that you should
therein vse all expediōn and possible speede to advance the same,
knowing that otherwyse you may much preiudice yo^r selues by yo^r

¹ Sir Leonard Holliday or Haliday, Alderman, was Sheriff in 1595-96, and Lord Mayor in 1605-06. From 1600 to 1602 he was one of the treasurers of the Company, and he was nominated in the Charter as one of the first committees. In 1603 he was knighted by King James I. Six years later, he was put in nomination for the post of governor of the Company, but failed to secure election. He died 9th Jan. 1611/12.

² Sir Thomas Smyth, the first Governor of the Company, was the second son of Thomas Smith or Smyth, of Westenhanger, in Kent, for many years one of the Farmers of the Customs. Thomas succeeded his father in this post, and became one of the leading citizens of the metropolis. He was an active member, and for some time Governor, of the Muscovy Company, and in 1604 was sent on an embassy to that country. He was also at various periods Treasurer for the Virginian Plantations, and Governor of the French, Levant, and Sommer-Island Companies, and of the Company of Merchants Discoverers of the North-West Passage. He is, however, best remembered for his long and prominent connection with the East India Company, of which he may be described as virtually the founder. He was named Governor in the Charter (1600), but early in the new year his fortunes underwent a temporary eclipse, and he had to resign the chair to Alderman Watts. He had been accused of participation in Essex's rash rebellion, and for a time he and his wife were held prisoners in the Tower. He succeeded in clearing himself from the charge, but it was not till the Queen's death that the Company ventured to place him again in the position of Governor. Henceforward he reigned supreme, being re-elected year after year, sometimes in spite of his protests. At last, in 1621, he insisted on giving up his post, much to the regret of the Company, and of all interested in maritime discovery or enterprise. He died 4th September, 1625.

staggeringe and delaies, and yf yo^u shall finde any knowne ympe-
diment or practise vsed by any, that shall either w^hdrawe him
selfe, or practise to w^hdrawe others from Contributinge that w^h
hath been once by him or them sett downe and agreed vppon to
adventure: wee wish you to advertice vs thereof that we may
receiue some good reason by aunsweare from them, that may
iustlie mooue them to haue lesse desier now, then they formerlie
had to pceed in the said voiadge, for that we hold it to be a
publicke Accōn not to be dallied withall att mens private pleasures:
And thus we bidd you farewell.



AFTER¹ MY hartie Comendaçōns wheareas by the
sufferaunce & assent of her ma^{tie} for the ho: of this
Realme and the good of the Comon wealth a voyadge
is p^rparing by c^rteine m^rchaunte^r of London towardes
the East Indies, And for the victualling of the ships ymployed in
the said voiadge w^h Biskett, meale & wheate &
other victuall the said m^rchaunte^r haue appointed
one Captaine Baker & Robert Pope to make
p^rvisions as they best cann w^hin the seu^rall Coun-
ties of Somerset Dorset & Devon & to shipp their provisions
frome porte to porte to be brought together to the Port^e of
Darthmouth or Plymouth to be taken abourde their shipps as
the shall come to the said Port^e or either of them Theis are
therefore to requier you to pmitt and suffer the said Capt: Baker
and Robt Pope & either of them, or the berer hereof in their
behalf^e from tyme to time vntill the said shipps be gon on their
voyadge, to lade into any shipp or vessell lieing in any the Port^e

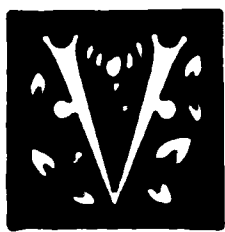
A warrant from the
ho: Thre for pas-
sadge of victuals
from porte to porte
for provision of the
India ships.

¹ For the providing of bread or any other necessities "there is appoynted to
"goe to Dartmowthe & Plymowthe, Thomas Baker and Robarte Pope to loyne w^h
"capteine Iohn Davies ffor providing all things there." (*Court Minutes*, 4th Oct. 1600.)
A commission to this effect is entered on the minutes of the 16th idem. Later on
(11th Nov. 1600) we find committees appointed "to make suyte to the Lord treasurer
"for a lycence to transport provisions in the west countrey according to a letter
"of M^r In^o Sandy," and the present document is, no doubt, the result of this
application.

wthin the said seu'all Counties, any Biskett meale or wheate provided for the said voiadge & to passe the same from porte to porte vppon Bondes taken of them to retourne dew Certificate of the arrivall of the same at such portē in the said seu'all Counties for w^{ch} the same shall be entred, by them or in their names. And in soe doeing this shall be vnto you sufficient dischardge ffrom Sackvile howse the 12th of Nouember 1600.

Yo^r loueing ffreind¹

To my verie loueing ffreindē her ma^{ties} Officers of the Portes & Creeke wthin the seu'all Counties of Som'set Dorsett & devon and eu'y of them to whome this doth or may Concerne.



PPON² Complainte made this day to their ffe by the Comitties of the East India Companie that the debtē of the present voyadge now by them sett forth amounteing to seaven thowsand poundes aboue the contribuōns sett downe by the adventuroⁿ are not paied the same growinge by reason of the backwardnes and froward disposiōns of divers psons that shew them selues remisse and vnwilling to furnish their promised contribuōns and alsoe their porōns of their supplies w^{ch} since att their generall meetingē att seu'all tymes haue been agreed on to yeald aboue their adventures a rate of iiij^s in the pound for the cleireing of the said debt. Their Lo^{ps} vppon due Consid^raōn how much yt importeth the hono^r of the state that soe publique an acōn should not receave scandall and shamefull imputaōn Haue this day ordered that forasmuche as the said debt in all or in parte is proportionable due to be satisfied by eu'y Contributo^r of the voyadge. That

The Councells second order for better paym^{ts} of adventures & supplies.

¹ Unsigned but evidently from Lord Buckhurst.—See p. 28.

² This "order from the LL. of her Ma^{ties} most honorable privie Councell" of the 10th April, 1601, was read at a General Court held on the following day. It resulted, as stated on page 18, in the names of three persons being "presented to the LL.," one of these made his peace with the Company, but the remaining two were disfranchised and others admitted in their places.

therefore the said Companie and every adventuro^r thereof shall w^hout further deley not onelie pforme and satisfie their full contribu^ons agreed vpon promysed and set downe under their hande But alsoe their proportionable supplies according to their agrement^e at their generall Court^e or otherwyse yf any pson or psons shall refuse to conforme them selues therevnto that then the Gou^rno^r deputie and Comitties of the said Companie or any fower of them shall by vertue of this their Lo^m order streightlie inioyne and Comaund the said psons to make their imediate apparance before their Lo: to thend their Lo^m may pceede to the punishinge of their contempt by refusinge to accomplish their owne agrem^t & promyse soe much imparteing the publicke as their obstinacie & pversnes shall deserve. *And to that end* direc^on is geven to a messenger of her ma^{ties} Chamber to attend the said Gouerno^r and Companie to bringe the said pties before their lle: .



ELIZABETH by the grace of God &c To o^r Trustie and welbeloued Thomas Knevet Esquier warden of o^r Mynte, Richard Martin Knight, & Richard Martyn his sonne mⁿ and workers of o^r Moneys w^hin o^r Tower of London and ells wheare within o^r Realme of England, & to Richard Rogerbe Comptroller Thomas Denham provost of o^r Mynte w^hin o^r said Tower of London & to all other the Officers & Mynisters of o^r said Mynte w^hin o^r said Tower of London to whome it shall appteine & to every of them greetinge. ffor asmuch as

A Warrant for the
Coyning^t of money
for the East India
voyadge.

¹ The following is the account of this coinage given in Ruding's *Annals of the Coinage of Great Britain* (London, 1817):—

“ By virtue of a Commission dated January 11, in the same year (43 Eliz.),
“ Money was made of a kind unknown to the British Mint either before or since
“ her time, for it was by law exportable, and intended for the use of the East
“ India Company. It bore on one side the Queen's arms, and on the other a
“ portcullis; and was called either Indian Money, from the purpose for which it
“ was struck, or Portcullis Money, from the device impressed upon it. The
“ weight of it was regulated according to the respective weights of the Spanish

we by the advyse of o^r Councell for c^taine causes and Considera^õns vs moueinge Haue fullie resolved and determined to cause to be now newlie made stricken and Coynd wthin o^r said Mynte c^teine money & Coyne out of Bullion plate and forreine sylver, to be made stricken and Coynd wth y^e pcullies on thone syde, & o^r Armes of England on thother syde at c^taine values and rat^e by vs appointed therefore & heerafter in theis present^e expressed or mencioned wth money and coyne is principallie by vs intended to be for thuse traffique and trade of c^teine o^r marchaunt^e latelie by vs incorporated by the name of Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies & the same money to be made of the ffines of Eleaven ounce twoe penny weight of fine sylver & eightene penny weight of allay in the pound w^t of Troy as is specified in certaine Indentures beareing date the 30th day of Ianuarie in the 25th yeare of o^r reigne, concⁿing makeing and coyning of certeine other o^r moneys of gold and siluer p^ticulerlie mencioned in the

"Plastre, or piece of eight Reas, and the half, the quarter, and half-quarter of
 "the same, though they are now usually called the Crown, Half-Crown, Shilling and
 "Sixpence. Some Coinage of this sort was necessary; for the Queen, when she first
 "incorporated the East India Company, would not permit them to transport the King
 "of Spain's Silver Coins to the East Indies, though she was frequently solicited by
 "the merchants. The reason which they assigned to induce her to grant this per-
 "mission, determined her to strike Coins for the particular purpose of circulation
 "in Asia. They represented to her Majesty, that her Silver Coin and Stamp were
 "not known in the East Indies, which they supposed would induce her to grant them
 "a license to send thither what Silver they pleased. The Queen and her Privy
 "Council replied, that, for the very reason alledged, it was her fixed and unalter-
 "able resolution not to permit them to send the Coin of the King of Spain, or of
 "any foreign Prince, to India; and that no Silver should be exported by her
 "merchants, but only such as should be coined with her effigies and picture on the
 "one side, and the portcullis on the other, of the just weight and fineness of the
 "Spanish pieces of eight, and pieces of four Rials. Her prudent reason for this
 "was, that her name and effigies might be hereafter respected by the Asiatics, and
 "she be known as great a Prince as the King of Spain."

Ruding notes that "notwithstanding this determination, the pieces have only
 "her arms on the Obverse;" and he further quotes a passage from Malynes' *Lex
 Mercatoria* to the effect that "of these pieces were coined in the Tower of London for
 "a trial (in January 1600 [? 1601]) some six thousand Pounds, which could not be
 "made current in the East Indies because the Spanish pieces of eight Royals had
 "been before that time counterfeited by other nations, which made the East Indians
 "to doubt of our Coin, although without cause."

same Indentures, w^{ch} Indentures are made betweene vs on the one pte, & the said Richard Martyn : now Knight by the name of Richard Martyn Cittizen and Alderman of London, then Warden & m^r & worker of o^r said moneys on the other pte, as in the same Indentures plainelie is expressed and contayned. And that alsoe the said money soe newlie to be made stricken & coyned by force of theis presentē, keepe in nomber a hundred and Nyne Testerns in the pound weight Troy aforesaid to be Coyned into Testerns of eight, Testerns of fflower, Testerns of twoe and single Testerns. And because o^r said printe & moneys aforesaid by vs and o^r Councell now as aforesaid intended to be newlie made strocken & Coyned for the intentē and purposes aforesaid, cannott continuallie be made according to the right stander in as much as some tyme in default of the said mⁿ or workers their deputie or deputies yt may be made to stronge or too feble by too much or too little in fines or in both We pondering & Consideringe the same, will therefore & straightlie Comaund you and every of you, o^r said Officers of o^r Mynte to whome yt shall appteine. That when the said moneys vppon the assay before the deliuerie thereof be founde too stronge or too ffeble, all onelie in weight, or all onelie in fines or in both by two penny weight, in the weight of one pound Troy aforesaid, after the ould Computa^õn of Twentie penny weight in the ounce & noe more, the w^{ch} two penny weight in that one, or two penny weight in that other, or two penny weight in both, shall be called remedie for the said mⁿ. That then such moneys be deliuered for good, soe always as the same default happen by casualtie and otherwyse not. But yf default be found in the said moneys in weight or in fines or in both over the said two penny w^t in the pounce weight aforesaid. That then the deliu'aunce of the said moneys soe Coyned & stricken cease & that money to be challenged lesse then the good, & at the Costē of the said mⁿ to be new molten & reforged, till yt be putt to printe as money deliu'able.

AND WE will That o^r said Warden in respect of the said moneys soe newlie to be made stricken and Coyned as aforesaid shall receiue & take for vs, aswell of o^r owne Bullion as of the Bullion of any other pson or psons whatsoever of everie pound weight of Troy soe made and Coyned Two and Twentie pence

starlinge by nomber out of w^{ch} xxij^d the said mⁿ shall receiue for their workmanship & for all other manner of wast^e, provisions & other necessities in & aboute the making of the said moneys xiiij^d by Tale, & soe shall remaine vnto vs vpon euery pounce weight soe Coynded viij^d, out of w^{ch} the said warden, Controller & other Officers of o^r said Mynte shall receiue their ffees by the hand of o^r said Warden, w^{ch} o^r will & pleasure is shall be paid in manner & forme as in the said mencioned Indentures beareing date the said xxxth day of Ianuarie in the said xxvth yeare of o^r Reigne & a scedule to the said Indenture annexed is lymitted & appointed, & that for the same o^r warden shall be chardged and accomptable to vs & o^r heires & Successo^r in such manner as he is & ought to be, for that w^{ch} is or ought to be cominge to vs by force of the said Indenture bearing date the said xxxth daye of Ianuarie in the said xxvth year of o^r Reigne of or for the Coynadge of the sylver moneys made & Coynded by vertue of the said Indentures. And o^r will & pleasure is & we doe straightlie commaund & chardge you & eu^y of you o^r said Officers of o^r Mynte to whome yt shall apptaine That from tyme to tyme you cause to be well and trulie entred & recorded in one Lieger & melting booke all such Bullion of Silver as from tyme to tyme shall be brought into the saied Minte to be Coynded by force of theis p^rsent^e, w^{ch} entrie shall comprehend the weight & ffines of the same Bullion, the pties name that brought yt in, & what day, & to be assayed tried & pixed & the rateing & the melting thereof don ou^rseene & vouched as by the said former Indenture bearing date the said xxxth of Ianuarie in the xxvth yeare of o^r Reigne is limitted & appointed to be don for the moneys of sylver therein mencioned. And that aswell we o^r selues, as alsoe the Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies shall haue & inioye all & all manner such & as ample libties benefitt^e & Advantages to all intent^e & purposes for and concerning the said fower new moneys of sylver soe newlie to be made strocken & Coynded by force of theis present^e and eu^y of them respectiuelie, rateablelie & p^rportionable as we or they should might or ought to haue by the intent & true meaninge of the said former Indentures for the moneys of sylver therein mencioned. And that the said wardens, Mⁿ, & all and euery of

o' said Officers of o' said Mynte shall in all thinge doe & pforme & cause to be don and pformed for & concerning the said fflower moneys soe newlie to be made stricken & Coynded by force of theis presentē as well towardē vs as towardē euery of o' said m'chauntē, all & all manner matters & thinge whatsoever, w^{ch} ought to be any way don or pformed by them or any of them, by their or any of their meanes by vertue of the said former Indenture for or concerning the moneys of Sylver therein mencioned & according to the true intent & meaneing of the same Indentures.

AND inasmuch as o' pleasure is, that diligent expediōn be had & don in that behalfe: We Will & Comaund you & eu'y of you to whome yt shall appertaine that from henceforth wth all diligence from tyme to tyme vntill such tyme as we declare vnto you the said Warden, mⁿ, woorkers Comptrollers & other Officers & Ministers of o' Mynte o' pleasure in writeing to the contrarie you doe make stricke Coyne and printe, or cause to be made, stricken Coynded & printed, into the said moneys soe newlie to be made stricken & Coynded by force of theis presentē. All such Bullion plate sylver in masse or otherwyse as shall be deliuered vnto yo' handē according to the true intent and meaning of theis presentē by a p'ticular Warrant to be signed by vs, or directed or subscribed wth the names of three of o' privie Councelloⁿ for the tyme being att the least whereof the Lord Threr for the tyme being to be one.

AND THE same moneys soe made stricken & Coynded to deliuer or cause to be deliuered to the Gou'no' and Companie of m'chauntē of London trading into the East Indies that shall bringe in the same their Attornes & deputies in such Convenient tyme & in such manner and forme as by the said Indentures for the moneys therein expressed is lymitted & appointed. And theis o' tres Pattentē wth the said warrant soe signed or directed as aforesaid for yo' workeinge of o' moneys in manner & forme aboue specified shall be aswell to you o' said warden mⁿ and workers of our said moneys, as alsoe to all & singuler other o' Officers in o' said Mynte yo' deputie or deputies sufficient warrant & cleare dischargd in this behalfe, any Couenante, graunt, article, clause, or agreem^t had made or exspressed in the said Indentures beareinge date the xxxth day of Ianuarie in the xxvth yeare of o' reigne

betweene vs on thone pte, & the said Richard Martyn knight on thother parte, or any other Acte, Statute, Ordinance or pmyse had or made to the Contrarie heareof in any manner of wyse notwthstandinge. In Witnes wheareof &c:



HEAREAS¹ you the severall psons herevnder named haue beene divers tymes required to bringe in yo^r promysed Contribu^{ti}ons towards the settinge forth of the East India voyadge, and haue not yett donne the same, we doe eftsoones requier you to giue yo^r direct aunsweare whether you will bringe into one of the Thr^{ers} of the Companie yo^r said Contribu^{ti}ons or not (yf not) then accordinge to your warrant of the 11^e of her Ma^{ties} privie Councell to vs in that behalfe geaven² we require you to repaire to the Courte and yeald to their Lo^{ps} a reason of yo^r refusall, and yf you will assent to paie yo^r Contribu^{ti}ons then to repaire to me the Gouverno^r of y^e Companie and to giue yo^r worde for the present payment of the same dated the 22th of April 1601.

A warrant.

Richard Champion³
Hugh Hamersley⁴

Robert Pennington
Richard Hearne

¹ "It is ordered at this Assemblie that a Warraunt shalbe sent to the persons heervnder named that have hetherto denyed to bringe in ther Contributions, subscribed under the hand of the Governo^r and 4 of the Comitties w^{ch} warraunt shalbe shewed vnto them by a Pursevant to thend that vppon ther refusall to pay they may be carried before the LL: or els vppon ther assent to pay they may be appointed to come to M^r Governo^r to geave ther Wordes to pay the same to the Threr the teno^r of w^{ch} warraunt doeth followe in these words videlt:" (*Court Minutes*, 22nd April, 1601). This measure seems to have had the desired effect, for only in three cases was it found necessary to "convent" the defaulters before the Council. One of these, Hugh Hamersley, made his peace with the Company and paid in his subscription; the other two, John Bate and Robert Bowyer, were disfranchised.

² See page 12.

³ These are the names of the persons to whom the warrant was addressed.

⁴ Afterwards became a prominent member of the Company, serving as a "committee" for a considerable number of years; and was nominated, but unsuccessfully, for the post of governor on the death of Sir William Haliday in 1624. He was Sheriff in 1619, and Lord Mayor in 1628; and was for some time governor of the Levant Company.

Wittm Kellett
Wittm Barrett
Barth: Huggett¹
Peter Helinge

Wittm Palmer
Robert Myldmay
John Bate
Robert Bowyer



LIZABETH² by the grace of God Queene of England
ffraunce & Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: To the
greate and mightie kinge of

A letter to the kinges
of the East Indies.

Whearas almightie God in his infinite and vnsearch-
able wisdom and gracious providence hath soe disposed of his
blessinge and of the good thinge of this world
created and ordayned for thuse of man, that the
same how ever they be brought forth & doe either originallie
growe and are gathered, or otherwyse Composed & made some
in [one] Countrie and some in another: yet are they by the
Industrie of man directed by the hand of God dispersed and sent
out into all the partes of the world, that his wonderfull bountie in
his Creatures may appeare vnto all Naçons, his Maiestie haueing
soe ordaned that noe one place should inioye (as the Natiue Como-
dities thereof) all thinge apptayninge to mans vse, but that one
Countrie should haue need of another, & out of the abundance of
the ffruit^e w^{ch} some region enioyeth the necessities or want^e of
another should be supplied: By w^{ch} meanes men of seu'all &

¹ Consul at Aleppo circa 1611-14. In a letter to the Company in August, 1613, he expresses his desire to do them service, "being a freeman of their charter though no adventurer" (O. C. 109).

² On the 4th Dec. 1600, it was ordered that "m^r Staper Capten Lancaster m^r Tho. Allabaster and Richard Wright shall conferre together touching suche lres as shalbe solicited from her ma^{ty} to suche princes and Potentates as are in the places of the Este wher trade shalbe sought;" and on the 12th Feb. 1601, a warrant was passed for the payment to "M^r W^m Segar one of the herraults for the wryting of her ma^{ty} Lres to the kinges of the East Indies the some of xliij^{li} vj^s viij^d and xij^d for a boxe bought by him to putt in the same lres." From another entry we learn that there were six of these letters taken out in the first voyage. They seem to have been in identical terms, with a blank left for the factors to fill in the name of the particular king to whom the letter was to be delivered. It will be seen that the text now given differs slightly from that printed in Bruce's *Annals*, vol. I, pp. 147-150, but the variations are of no importance.

ffar remote Countries haue comerce and traffique one wth another, & by their interchadge of Comodities are lincked together in amitie & freindshipp.

THIS CONSIDERation most noble kinge, together wth the ho: reporte of yo^r ma^{tie} for the well entertayninge of Straungers that visitt yo^r Country in loue & peace wth lawfull traffique of Marchandize, haue moued vs to giue licence to diuers o^r Subiecte who haue beene stirred vpp wth a desier by a longe and daungerous Naviga^{cion} to finde out & visitt yo^r Territories & dominions being famous in theis p^{te} of the world for honorable m^cchandizeing, & to Offer you Comerce and traffique in buying bartering and enterchadgeing of Comodities wth yo^r people according to the Course of m^cchaunte wth Commerce and enterchandging, yf yo^r [ma^{tie}] shall accept of & shall receiue & entertayne o^r marchaunte wth favo^r according to the hope that gaue them encouragm^t to attempt soe long and daungerous a voiage you shall finde them a people in their dealing & Conversa^{cion} of that Iustice & Ciuillitie that you shall not mislike of their repaire to yo^r dominions, & vpon furder Conference & inquisi^{cion} had wth them both of the kinde of their m^cchandize brought in their shippes and of other necessarie Comodities wth o^r dominions may afford: yt may appeare to yo^r Ma^{tie} that by their meanes you may be furnished in their next retourne into yo^r port^e in better sorte then you haue beene heretofore supplied, either by the Spaniard or Portugall, who of all other Na^{cion}s in the part^e of Europe haue onelie hitherto frequented yo^r Countrie wth trade of m^cchandize & haue been the onelie ympedim^t both to o^r subiecte and diuers other Marchaunte in the part^e of Europe that they haue not hitherto visited yo^r Countrie wth trade, whilst the said Portugalls p^ttended them selues to be the souereigne Lord^e & Prince of all yo^r Territories, & gaue yt out that the held yo^r Na^{cion} & people as Subiecte to them: & in their stiles and Titles doe write them selues kinge of the East Indies.

AND yf yo^r ma^{tie} shall in yo^r princelie ffavo^r accept wth good likeing this repaire of o^r m^cchaunte vnto yo^r Countries, resorting thither in peaceable traffique & shall intertaine this their first voyadge as an introduc^{cion} to a furder Continuance of League and freindshipp betweene yo^r ma^{tie} & vs & of Comerce & entercourse betweene yo^r subiecte & ours We haue geuen Order to this

o' principall Marchaunt (yf yo' Ma^{tye} should be pleased therewth) to leaue in yo' Countrie some such of o' said Marchaunte as he shall make choice of to recide in yo' dominions vnder yo' princelie & saffe pteccōn vntill the retourne of another ffeete, w^{ch} we shall send vnto you, who may in the meane tyme learne the language of yo' Countrie & applie their behavier as yt may best sorte to so Conuerce wth yo' ma^{tye} subiecte to thend that Amitie and freindshipp being intertayned and begunn, the same may the better be Contynued when o' People shalbe instructed how to direct themselves according to the ffashions of yo' Countrie.

AND because in the Consideraōn of the entertayning of Amytie & freindshipp in the establishinge of enterco'se to be contynued betweene vs there may be required on yo' ma' e behalfe such promyse or capitulaōn to be pformed by vs, w^{ch} we cannot in theis o' tres take knowledge of, We therefore pray yo' Ma^{tye} to giue eare therein to this bearer and to giue him Creditt in what-soeu' he shall pmyse or vndertake in o' name concerning o' Amitie & entercourse w^{ch} promyse we for o' pte in the worde of a Prince will see pformed & will be redie gratefullie to requite any loue kindnes, or fauo' that o' Subiecte shall receiue at yo' Ma' e hande. Praying yo' ma^{tye} for o' better satisfacōn of yo' kinde acceptaunce of this o' loue & amitie Offered yo' highnes you would by this bearer giue testimonie thereof by yo' princelie tres directed vnto vs, w^{ch} shall giue vs greate & wonderfull Contente And thus &c.



ARTICLES OF AGREEMENT¹ indented [and] made betweene
the Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunte of London trading
to the East Indies on the one pte and George Waymouth of
in the Countie of marriner on the
other pte the daie of Aprill 1602.

¹ George Waymouth was despatched by the Company in May 1602, to discover a passage to India "by the way of the Norwest." The voyage ended in ignominious failure, the vessels returning after having got no further than the south of Greenland. See *The Dawn of British Trade to the East Indies*, Preface, pp. xvi.-xxii.



HEAREAS the said Gou'no' and Companie of the m'chauntē of London trading into the East Indies vpon greate deliberaçōn had & taken of the longe & tedious course w^{ch} hath been hitherto houlden by all such as doe trade or sayle from theis ptē of the world into the East Indies alonge the Coaste of Europe and Africa by the Cape of Bona Esperansa and of the greate Aduentures w^{ch} are borne in soe longe a voyadge by many kindes of daungers offered therein & beinge moued wth greate hope that there is a possibilitie of discou'ry of a neerer passadge into the said East Indies by Seas by the way of the Norwest yf the same were vndertaken by a man of knowledge in Navigaçōn and of a resoluçōn to put in execuçōn all possibilitie of industrie & valor of the atteyninge of soe inestimable benefitt to his natiue Countrie & his owne ppetuall hono' Haue to that end enterteyned the saide George Waymouth aman in their opinion qualified & fitt to vndertake and attempt the pformance of this discouerie vnto whome they haue deliured beforehand the some of One hundred poundē to furnish himselfe wth Conueient instrum'tē of Navigaçōn accordinge to his owne choyse & vnto whose direcçōn the haue comitted two shippes the one called the Discou'ry the other the Godspeede beinge manned victualled prepared and ffurnished wth all thingē necessarie and convenient for such a voyadge and theirin bestowed and supplied all kindē of provisions according to his owne desier, whereby both the said George Waymouth and his Companie are prouided of victualls apparell and furniture for the space of 16 monnethes and haue alsoe Laden abourd the said shippes a Convenient pporçōn of seu'all kindē of m'chandize. In Consideraçōn whereof yt is agreed betweene the said pties to theis present in manner & forme following on the other side.

THE said George Waymouth doth promyse couenante and agree to and with the said Gou'no' and Company of the m'chauntē of London tradinge into the East Indies that he and his Companie shall and will be redie by the daye of next ensueing the date hereof to departe from the porte of London and as wynd and weather

The Covenantes
agreed vpon viz.

Capteine Way: &
his Comp: to sayle to-
wardes ffretam Davis
& soe forward by the
Norwest to the king-
domes of Cataya or
China or the backe-
side of America.

will pmitt shall & will directlie sayle towarde the
Coaste of Groineland into that pte of the Seas w^{ch}
is discribed in sundry generall Mapps by the name
of ffretam Davis and shall passe on forward in
those Seas by the Norwest or as he shall finde the

passadge best to lye towarde the parte or kingdomes of Cataya or
China or the backe side of America wthout geueing ouer the pro-
ceedinge on his Course soe longe as he shall finde those Seas or
any pte thereof navigable and any possibilitie to make way or

not to retourne of
one whole yeare att
the least.

passadge thorough them And shall not him selfe
retourne or voluntary suffer any of his Companie
to retourne backe againe vnto or towarde the

Coast of England for any lett or ympedim^{ts} whatsoeuer vntill he
and they haue bestowed one yeare att the least from the tyme
of their deptime hence in going forward seeking sounding and
attemptinge the pforme of this intended viage.

AND further the said George Waymouth doth promyse
graunte and agree to and wth the said Gou^rno^r and Company that
he the said George Waymouth shall and will not onelie well
enterteine & intreate: but alsoe quietlie pmitt and suffer such

Tolleracon of such
as y^e Companie shall
appointe to keepe
Registers of the
goodes & obseruacons
of their proceedings
in the voyadge.

marchaunte or Pursars as the said Gouerno^r &
Companie shall place or appointe to goe in the
said shipps or either of them, to keepe a register
and accompt of all such goodes wares m^rchandizes
pvision and furniture as are shipped and Laden in

any the said shipps how the same is bestowed bartered chandged
spent or otherwyse disposed & alsoe to keepe an Accompte of all
other thinge that shall be bought bartered exchanded or receiued
in Lewe of any thinge that shall be sold or made away & alsoe to
make note Iournalls & observacons in writeing of their Continuall
pceedinge in the said viadge vntill their retourne for England for
the direccon & helpe of posteritie that shall be occasioned or
willinge heereafter to make a new attempt vpon the same dis-
couery. And further that he the said George Waymouth shall
wthin 10 daies after his retourne into England whether he doe
pforme the said discou^ry or not wthout concealem^t of any thinge

A Iournall of their
proceedinges to be
deliuered to the Com-

w^{ch} he hath discou^red in the viadge deliuer a
declaracon in writinge vnder his hand vnto the

panie by the Capt:
within 10 daies after
his retourne.

Gou^rno^r of the said Companie, or his deputie conteyneinge a reporte of all & eu^ry his pceedinge in the viadge worthie of note or memory for the good of the Companie and for the helpe of such as shall be disposed heereafter to proceed in the same passadge, and shall be redie from tyme to tyme duringe the space of 40 daies after his arriuall & retourne to London vpon warninge and somons geuen him in that behalfe to come before the Gou^rno^r & deputie of the said Company for the tyme being & the Comitties & such others of the Company as yt shall please the Gou^rno^r & dep: to call vnto them & shall trulie relate vnto them such thinge as passed in the said viadge whereof they or any of them shall desier to be enformed wth out denyall

Not to discouer his
proceedinges in the
voyadge otherwyse
then to the Gou^rno^r
& Company.

or refusall in that behalfe & shall not discouer the secreet^e or course of his pceedinge in the vyadge to any other pson or psons whatsoeu^r then to the said Gou^rno^r deputie & Comitties.

AND the said Gou^rno^r and Companie of the m^rchaunte^e of London trading to the East Indies for them and their Successo^{rs} doe in considera^õn of the premisses promyse couenant and agree to & wth the said Georg Waymouth to satisfie & pay vnto the said

500^{li} graunted to the
said Cap: after
prooffe he hath dis-
coured the said
passadge.

George Waymouth or his Assignes wthin ffortie daies after his retourne into England and after sufficient prooffe and testimoniall by him made that he hath passed thorough the North west passadge into the East Indies and arriued at any porte wthin the dominions of the kingdomes of Cataya, China¹, or Japan the some of ffue hundred pounde of lawfull English money wthout fraude or Coven.²

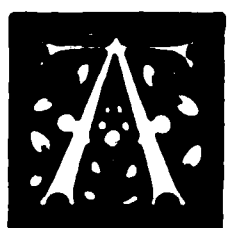
AND lastlie the said George Waymouth doth promyse and agree that vnles in this intended viadge he shall discour^r & passe thorough the same Northwest passadge & shall make sufficient prooffe and giue good testimoniall that he hath passed through the same passadge and arriued in some parte of the East Indies in

The said Capt doth
disable him selfe
from all demaundes
for his salary &
paines takinge yf he
discour^r not.

¹ It will be noted that China and "Cataya" are spoken of as separate countries. See *Report on the Old Records of the India Office* (W. H. Allen & Co., 1891), page 168.

² Fraud or deceit,—strictly an act of conspiracy between two or more persons to defraud others.

the dominions or kingdomes of Cataya China or one of them that then neyther he the said George Waymouth nor his Assignes shall or will demaund or requier of the said Gou'no' or Company or any of them any Salary wage or rewarde for his viadge or travell in the discou'y of the said passadge in reguarde the said viadge was vndertaken by the said Gou'no' & Company ptelie by his pswaçon and vpon his resoluçon to adventure his travell & lyfe therein for the good of his Countrie to w^{ch} his resoluçon the said Companie were content to add the Aduenture of the setting forth of the viadge to their greate chardge. In Witnes &c:



AFTER my hartiest Comendaçons: where[as] this inclosed petiçon¹ hath beene exhibited to the kinge ma^{tie}, his highnes finding that yt was a cause meerlie appteyninge to the Courte of Admiraltie referred the same vnto me to take order therein accordinglie, and forasmuch as there is an attachm^t made out of the said Courte of Admiraltie vpon c'teyne goodē in yo' handē att the suite of the petitioners who exhibited the said petiçon. Theis are therefore to praie & requier you to make staie of the said attached goodē in yo' handē vntill such time as the cause shall be examined by me accordinge to his ma^{ties} Comaundm^t or that you shall receiue further order from me touchinge the same Whereof requireing you not to faile I hartilie bid you ffarewell from the Courte of Wilton this 27th of October 1603.

A lre from m^r Doctor
Caesar to the Comp:

yo' verie loueing ffreind
*Julius Caesar.*²



¹ Not entered; but its contents may be gathered from the Company's answer on the next page.

² Mr., afterwards Sir, Julius Caesar, the son of a doctor of Italian extraction, who had settled in London, and had risen to notice as a Court physician, was appointed in 1583 judge of the Admiralty Court. Five years later he was admitted master of the chancery in ordinary, and in 1591 Elizabeth conferred on him the post of master



RIGHT wo^{ll} It maie please yo^u to be aduerticed that we receiued a tre from yo^r wo^p: wherein was inclosed a peti^{ti}on exhibited to his ma^{tie} by the m^r and Company of the Suzan one of the shipp^s latelie retourned from the East Indies, wherein the petitioners haue vntrulie sugested to his ma^{tie} that the East India flete weare Ioinctlie and in one coniunction & tre of Marte vnder the greate seale of England aswell for Civill gouernm^t as Reprisall bound for the East Indies, whereas indeede the same flete weare whollie and altogether set [out] for the discoury and trade of Marchandize and to that end weare furnished wth diuers Natiue commodities of the Realme and other provisions fitt to procure and settle a trade in those pt^e and all the Marriners w^{ch} were ymployed in the said voyadge weare hired and intertayned for wage by the Monneth as is vsuall in all m^rchaunt^e voyage. All w^{ch} shipp^s were at the dispoti^{ti}on & direc^{ti}on of their Generall then M^r Iames Lancaster and sithence graced by his ma^{tie} of a knight, who according to his Comission as generall Agent & directo^r of this voyadge and intended trade did vpon his arrivall in the East Indies dispose and appointe the m^r & Companie of the Suzan to goe in trade of m^rchandize to a place called Pryamon¹ in the said Indies & frome thence to retourne directlie for England The Gen^rall himselfe purposinge wth the other two shipp^s to visitt other partes of the said Indies and haueing notice of a Portugall Gallion that laye in the waye to those places which he intended to

The Answere to
Doctor Cæsars lre.

of requests. He was knighted by James I. on the 20th May, 1603. In 1606 he was made chancellor and under-treasurer of the exchequer, and in the following year was sworn of the Privy Council. Seven years later, he succeeded to the post of master of the rolls, for which he had long been waiting; and the rest of his life is one unbroken record of active state employment. He died 18th April, 1636, and was buried in the church of Great St. Helen's, Bishopsgate, where his monument may yet be seen. His legal knowledge appears to have been hardly adequate to the important posts he was called upon to fill, and this point did not escape the notice of his enemies; but even they were forced to admit the excellence of his private character. His charity was unbounded, and during his early career his generosity to impecunious suitors in his court was carried to an extent that threatened seriously to embarrass his own resources. He was Cecil's right-hand man at a time of great difficulty in regard to the national finances, and his whole career seems to have been that of a useful public servant.

¹ Priaman, a town on the west coast of Sumatra, north of Padang.

visitt as all the Marrinoⁿ of his owne shipp, & of the other two shippes in Companie wth him were hired by the monneth to pforme a Marchaunte voyadge and weare not to attempt any enterprize of reprisall vnlesse they were spetiallie compounded wth all did then make a contract wth all the Marriners of the Redd Dragon, the Hecto' and the Assen^{con} what shares the should haue in such prize as should be taken by them then in Consortshipp together, and afterwarde pceedinge in their voyadge did meete wth the said Gallion and did surprize her accordinglie.¹ By reson of w^{ch} Contract the said Generall since his arrivall in England did satisfie and paie all the Marriners of the said 3 shippes present in that service such shares and allowances as by Composi^{con} was agreed vpon betweene them together wth the monnethlie wage accordinge to their Continuance in the voyadge, w^{ch} monnethlie wage the said m' & Marrinoⁿ of the Suzan according to the tyme of their being in the voyadge haue likewyse receiued, and being not present at the said service or enterprize for w^{ch} a speciall Composi^{con} & Consortshipp was made weare not to ptake in the said Composi^{con}. And this we hope shall suffice to satisfie yo' wo^r: y^t theis men complaine wthout cause, and clayme an interest in that whereto y^e haue noe colo^r of right haueing alredie rec^d their wage according to agreem^t for the wholl tyme of their ymploym^t in the said voyadge.



AFTER MY very hartie Comenda^{cons} Wheareas I am aduerticed by the Officers of the porte of London that there was entred in the name of you and the Company to the quantitie of 1030000 pound weight of pepp w^{ch} was latelie taken out of those shippes come from the East Indies²

¹ See Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society, 1877), p. 91.

² They.

³ The pepper referred to is evidently that brought home by the ships of the *First Voyage*. The loss of the second Court Book prevents us from following in detail the course of events.

The L: Thers lre to
Sr Thom: Smyth
Gourner & the Comp:
the 5 of Nouem:
1603.

wherein you weare Adventurers and haue (as is affirmed) howsed and laid vpp accordinglie, fforasmuch as noe pte or pcell of the said pepp is to be sold before his ma^{ties} greate Masse of pepp now remayneing att Leaden Hall be first vttered and sold according to his ma^{ties} good plesure in that behalfe signified & expressed in my late tres sent vnto the said Officers. I am therefore to will and requier you vppon yo^r dutie and Allegeaunce to his ma^{ties} to Certifie me forthwth y^e seu'all names of them who weare in any sorte owners or interessed pties in the said pepp soe taken out & entered as aforesaid, and alsoe where the same doth now remayne to thend the sale thereof may be stayed and prevented till his highnes pepp be first vented & disposed of as appteyneth, ffor you are to knowe that his ma^{ties} maie by vertue of his princelie p^rrogatiue as his highnes hath beene advised by the learned Iudge of this Land & his owne counsell in the lawe iustlie staie the vent & vtterance of all other pepp vntill his owne be first sold & vttered & for yo^r better satisfacōn in this pointe yf you will reteyne and bringe yo^r Councell to Winchester at the begininge of this terme you & the both shall be heard, and his ma^{ties} Councell indifferentlie by the Iudge, & then I doubt not you will be well satisfied of his Ma^{ties} lawfull power and prerogatiue in this behalfe Soe not doubtinge of yo^r dew reguarde to be had herevnto I bidd yo^r hartelie farewell. frome my howse att Horselie this 5 of Nouember 1603.

Yo^r loueing freind

T: Buckhurst.¹



OUR HUMBLE duties remembred. It may please yo^r Lo^r: to be aduerticed that we haue accordinge to yo^r tre here inclosed a note of the names of all such of o^r Comp: as haue receiued into their hande any of the pepp w^{ch} is retourned in o^r shipps from the East Indies and doe humblie herewth informe yo^r lo^r: That we vpon the comeing home

¹ Thomas Sackville, Lord Buckhurst, afterwards Earl of Dorset, Lord Treasurer, 1599 to 1603.

The Companies
answere to yo^r L.
Thers bre yo^r 11th of
November 1603.

of o^r shipps being to paie vnto the Marriners re-
toured in this vyadge for soe much dew vnto
them the some of 30000 [] and haueing noe
meanes by the vente of o^r Comodities retoured to rayse any moneys
towardses the paym^{ts} thereof by reason of the present contagion &
mortalitie in the Cittie¹ After we had made tryall of makinge² vpp
of moneys vppon the Creditt of men of best estat^e in the Cittie and
could not obteyne yt at any rate weare driven to agree to deuide the
pepp amongst o^r selues thereby to furnish every man wth some
meanes to bringe in money towardses paym^t of this greate some
dew to the said Marrinoⁿ and towardses the setting out of o^r shipps
again^e to fetch home a good pte of goodes lefte in the Indies &
such ffactoⁿ and Marriners as are left behinde in the Country
W^{ch} meanes yf it shalbe crossed by any restraunte that the
Adventurers cannot vtter their pepp allotted vnto them after three
yeares forbearinge of their moneys in this vyage herevpon will
ffollowe the Clamo^r of Marrinoⁿ for not paym^{ts} of their wage^s a
Cessinge and giueing ouer of a new voyadge to be sett forth, the
losse of all the good^e w^{ch} remayne in the East Indies to be fetcht
home, and a losse of the liues of agreate number of o^r ffactoⁿ &
Marriners left there with the princes of those pte^s, wth whome they
be left as pledge for the retourne of o^r shipps thither again^e this
yeare: We are right Hono: easilie pswaded wthout Contradicōn
that his ma^{ty} by his princelie prerogatiue may staie the vent &
vtteraunce of o^r pepp retoured but yf his ma^{ty} shall vse his
prerogatiue in this case o^r trade standing in such extremitie,
herevpon will likewyse ensue an vtter desisting & giueing ouer of
a trade verie chardgable begonne verie likelie to haue proued
beneficiall to o^r Countrey & kingdome and disgrace fullie geuen
ouer wth the losse of the liues of soe many of his Ma^{ties} subiect^e,
w^{ch} otherwyse might be made men of spetiall vse in this Comon
wealth, haueing gaiened soe greate experience in trade & Navi-
gaōn. Besides yf the said Adventurers shall not be pmittid to
make sale of the said pepp the Companie shall be depriued of
meanes to paie his ma^{ty} the custome of the said good^e w^{ch} cometh
to 5000 [] or their about whereof yt may please yo^r Lo^{ps}: to

¹ The plague was then raging in London (see page 39).

² A mistake for "taking"?

haue Considera^õn and to afford vs the ffurtheraunce in o^r busines after this greate discontinuance of traffique in this Cittie w^{ch} may enable vs to doe service to his ma^{tie} and Comon wealth in o^r places and callynge. And thus humblie releyinge vpon yo^r Lo^{ps} good favo^r towardes vs Wee take o^r leaue of yo^r good Lo^p: London the vijth of Nouember 1603.



HAUING pvsed yo^r tres I impted the effect thereof vnto my Lordes And as it is iust and convenient that all resonable reguarde be had towardes you, who wth soe greate chardge and adventure doe aduaunce his ma^{ties} Customes & vente the Comodities of the Realme and speciallie that such paym^te as are of necessitie to be made by you should wth yo^r owne be satisfied (yf neither yo^r present store of money nor yo^r Credit be able otherwyse to dischardge the same w^{ch} seemeth somewhat straunge to be soe []), evensoe I doubt not but as you are wyse men and faithfull Subiecte to the Crowne and state, soe you will not be soe pciall to yo^r priuate [good] as altogether to forgett the publicke w^{ch} alwaies liueth in the pson of o^r kinge and Sou^reigne, and whose onelie prosperitie is the publicke wealth and benefitt of vs all. I maye not deny that many inconvenienc^e & clamo^r are like enough to follow yf yo^r Marriners should be vnsatisfied and an iniury to the kinge yf that his Customes should rest unpaied, but that there is noe way to satisfie the one and to paie the other but by this port sale of pepp soe ill for the kinge and (of all other the worst waye for yo^r selues []), that see I not any reason to beleue but on the other side you alsoe must confesse that yf yo^r pepp haue his sale before the kinge be vnterred¹ it will soe greatlie impeach his ma^{ties} markett, as either his must abide a longe time vnsold, or being presentlie offered will ryse to his extreame losse. And what hugh paym^te the kinge hath now to make (whereof a good portion might by a good sale of his highnes pepp be dischardged) & what Clamo^r & Complainte are daylie are made by

A lre from the
L Threr to the Com-
pany.

¹ A mistake for "uttered" ?

those to whome moneys are dewe & w^{ch} by reason of this generall Contagion (his ma^{ties} Rent^e Customes, debt^e ffifteenes & subsidies being not paied) cannot possibly by his ma^{tie} be dischargd of all w^{ch} Clamo^{rs} and inconvenienc^e thus falling likewyse vpon theis affaires of his ma^{tie} you must yf you will be indifferent¹ haue sence and feelinge of theis distasters of the kinge as of yo^r owne Wherefore to conclude the matter beinge of such importaunce both toward^e his ma^{tie} and yo^r selues and the king^e highnes in his most gracious & respectiue goodnes towardes his subiect^e being resolute to doe noe mann wronge, & most desireous to releiue his owne estate in a dew co^rse of right & Iustice, and yet wth as little losse as may be effected for you, I am vpon theis ground^e wished by my Lord^e first to requier you to staie sale of yo^r pepp vntill such order therein may be taken as may be both wthout preiudice to his ma^{tie}, and to yo^r good satisfac^õn besides. And next that since the effectinge hereof requiereth a speedie resolu^õn, that therefore you doe forthwth send hither to Winchester nowe while the lod^e: in respect of theis arraignem^t^e doe tarry heare a couple of discreete p^{sons}, or moe yf you soe thinke good who may be both authorised and instructed by you to debate deale and conclude for and on yo^r behalfe, wth such of the Lordes as by his ma^{tie} shall be likewyse aucthorised therevnto. And soe eftsoones prayinge you to doe y^t wth all speede possible for that the ll^e come hither the 14th daie & heere tarrie the 15 · 16 · 17 · 18 & on the Satterdaie being the 19 retourne to the Courte & on the 21 · 22 · remayne att Winchester againe. Soe as wthin the Compasse of this tyme theis p^{sons} insteucted & authorized must come. And soe I end wth all hartie well wishinge vnto you *Winchester.*²



¹ Impartial, just; as in the prayer in the English Church Liturgy, "that they " may truly and *indifferently* minister justice."

² There is no signature, but the reply shows that Lord Buckhurst was the writer, and also supplies the date,



RIGHT Hon: and my verie good Lo: vpon the receipte of yo^r hono^r tre of the xiiijth present, I caused a meeteing of soe many of the m^rchaunt^e Comitties & traders into the East Indies as weare p^rsent to be found wthin the Cittie & ympted vnto them yo^r hono^r pleasure wth the sight of yo^r tre but not being able at the present to finde soe many as might giue warraunt^e for the sending of such men wth Comission to Winchester as yt pleaseth yo^r Lo: to Comaund to giue their attendaunce vpon you and the rest of the Lord^e did determyne wth all speede to send into the Country being nigh vnto the Cittie for such Comitties as are absent to make their repaier. and soe we are most humbly to craue yo^r hono^r ffavo^r to p^don vs till we should be able to meete together and then p^rsent order shall be taken for that such men may be sent as yt pleaseth yo^r Lo^p: to wryte for w^{ch} shall be wth in the appoynted tyme lymitted in yo^r Hono^r tre all the Aduenturers relying vpon yo^r Lo^ps good favo^r toward^e them And soe I humblie take my leaue of yo^r good Lo^p: London the 15th of Nouember 1603.

yo^r Lo^ps most humble

att Comaund Th:

Bramley.¹



¹ Mr. Thomas Bramley was at this time Deputy Governor of the Company, having been chosen to succeed Mr. William Romney (see page 46) in that post on the 26th January, 1603.

The following extract from the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 139, continues the story:—

"1603, 18 Nov. London. Thos. Alabaster to Sec. Cecil. M^r Bramley and M^r Chambers sent by the East India Company to Court, through a letter from the Lord Treasurer, about liberty for sale of their pepper, which it seemed he would stay, unless they would buy the King's, or it were otherwise sold; the Company will give in their reasons. Intreats his favour towards them; the extreme scarcity of money prevents them buying it." (*Extract from Domestic Corresp., Jac. I., Vol. IV., no. 86, Cal., p. 54.*)

The correspondence is continued on page 42.

S^r IAMES Lancasters remembraunce left in the
East Indies.¹



IRSTE as soone as I am gone you shall pcure from the
m^rchaunte resident heare yo^r lading of such and soe
much goodē as they shall appointe you and by all
meanes after you haue taken them in pcure such
pvisions that they may be kept drie, for a little wett bringeth
in theis goodē much damadge. I doubt not you
will be carefull in this pointe.

A Remembrance for
Mr Keble m^r of the
pinnace.

YO^r lading being rec^d you are to take in m^r Towerson²
Thomas Tudd³ Witlm Chase⁴ & Thiūs Dobson⁵ and then sale
directlie for the Iland of Banda not touching in any place by
the waie wthout greate cause & wheresoeu^r you become trust
none of the Indians for their bodies & soules be whollie treason
and yt will be very daungerous to touch in any vnknowne place
therefore avoied yt.

WHEN god shall send you to Banda & [you] haue deliu^red
yo^r m^rchandizes yo^r maie laie vpp yo^r shipp and you and yo^r men

¹ Before leaving Bantam on the return voyage, Lancaster arranged that the pinnace should make a trading voyage to the Moluccas and endeavour to settle a factory there. Accordingly on the 6th March, 1602/3, the pinnace set sail, but after battling for nearly two months against contrary winds, was forced to return with its object unaccomplished.

² Became in 1605 chief at Bantam, and held that post till December, 1608, when he went home as captain of the *Dragon*. In 1611 he commanded the *Hector* in the *Eighth Voyage* under Saris, returning to England two years later. The following year he married the widow of Captain Hawkins, and shortly after was admitted a freeman of the Company gratis, in recognition of his long service. In 1615 he applied to be entertained for another voyage, but was refused. Two years later we find both him and his wife at Surat, having apparently been permitted to take passage in one of the ships of Captain Pring's fleet. He returned to England with Sir Thomas Roe in 1619 leaving his wife in India. In 1620 he was entertained as a principal factor for the Moluccas, and in the course of the voyage was placed in charge of the *Letter James* until her arrival at Bantam. He was then sent to Amboyna to succeed George Muschamp as agent, and there, with nine of his fellow countrymen, he suffered torture and death at the hands of the Dutch in what is known as the Massacre of Amboyna, 27th Feb., 1622/3.

³ Factor in the *First Voyage*, died at Bantam, 14th April, 1604.

⁴ Factor in the *First Voyage*; died in 1603 while on the voyage to Banda in the pinnace.

⁵ Died 17th July, 1603.

lie att the m^rchaunt^e howse & assist them in their busines all that you cann, but I thinke yt good to looke to yo^r shipp that she be not lost, but husband her soe that yf occasion should be proffered by any enymies a land you maie haue some helpe by her by the Sea.

AS my trust is in you, assist the m^rchaunt^e, and giue them all helpe for I haue placed you in the 4th place wth them. In this pointe be verie carefull as I hope you will be & hereby I doe acknowledge to haue Consorted wth you from the j of febr 1602. for as longe as you shall be in the m^rchaunt^e service for 8^{li} the monneth. Thus God send his blessinge upon yoⁿ in all yo^r affaires. in *Bantam* this 12 of ffebr 1602.

AS sone as o^r shippes be dispatched from hence wth as much Convenient speede as may be made, I would haue you to dispatch the Pinnace for the Moloccos to the Iland of Banda & lade in her of all sort^e of Comodities as you can learne to be vented there, onelie keepe yo^r narrowe & mallacoe fford^e: to furnish you here as yo^r most staple Comodities to trust vnto, you may lade in her some 60 ffordells, the most of blewes & checkered stuff^e, some fine Pinthadoes, & some store of Corse, some of yo^r Sian rowles: but not many, & some white Cloth & some browne & some of yo^r stuff^e, that be Checkered, in all theis thing^e vse yo^r good Iudgm^t^e onelie lett them be well furnished.

ALSOE lade in her 500^R of 8 att the least for yt may chaunce they maie haue neede to vse some money.

THE next business that most importeth is yo^r dispatch of yo^r howse yf yoⁿ could sett forward the one in dispatching the other

¹ Morgan died 26th April, 1603, and Starkie on the 30th June following. Edmond Scott lived to come home with Sir Henry Middleton in the *Second Voyage*, and to write an interesting account of the early years of the English settlement at Bantam, which is printed in *Purchas*. In July, 1608, he was elected a committee, but was removed on the 28th March, 1609, "for his public abuse of William Harrison on the Exchange." Then followed a wrangle with the Company as to moneys due to him, which was referred to arbitration but apparently without satisfactorily disposing of the matter. In 1619 he was made an auditor of the Company, and this is the last notice that can be traced of him.

yt would doe very well, onelie haue this regard in the building theis yt be as free from fire as chardge will make yt.

FFOR the sales of yo' Comodities, you must vse yo' owne discreçons alwaies holdinge this in mynde the tyme of the comeing of o' shipps and [procure] 20,000 bagge of pepp as neere as you cann to be in readynes agayst their comeing and asmuch money as will dispatch them here of chardge for this next accompte, I will not haue willinglie to be mingled wth any other, If yt please god to send me home I will wryte to you att lardge aboute this pointe for yt will ymport vs that are ymployed in this busines, myne opinion is to putt yo' selues out of Comodities as soone as you cann & putt yo' selues into pepps for in soe doinge you may chaunce to benefitt the Company in the defraying yo' chardge for they shall be at aboue 850^l the yeare chardge in theis parte.

WHEN you haue bought any store of pepp yf the Holland shipps come and the prise ryse you may take the benefitt & sell to the Companies most proffitt onelie haue a regard not to be vnfurnished at the expectaçon of o' shippinge. You haue the benefitt of 2 harveste, I doubt not but you shall furnish the next shipps in good sorte.

ALSOE I doe appointe you m' Wilm Starkey to be head & cheefe Commaunder ou' all in this place but to take the Councell and advise of Thomas Morgan & m' Scott in all matters that the Companie may be the better assured of all thinge that passeth.

AND yf yt please god [to lay his hand] vpon you m' Starkey & to take you out of this world I would haue you to giue ouer yo' chardge & accompte to Tho: Morgan. And yf you Tho: Morgan die then to m' Scott, & yf you m' Scott then to whom you shall thinke moste meete, alwaies leaueing yo' thinge in the best manner you cann & the playnest.

FOR such wage as shall be due to men y^e be here you may allowe yt by the yeare, or halfe yeare as you see mens necessities allwaies haue regard that you be not necessited for want of money lett not to haue 1000 R of 8 at the least att all tymes by you.

AND for the boyes lett them not waunt apparrell & necessaries that appteyne vnto them for soe they shall doe yo^r better service Lett the Cooke boye be bound for 7 yeares & to haue the ffreedome of London in his tyme accompte the 2 yeares y^e he hath served in o' shippe.

THUS I end desiering you to meete together in the Morninge & eueninge in prayer, god whom yee serve shall the better blesse you in all yo^r affaires. Thus I wyssh his blessing to be alwaies vpon you to p^rserue and keepe you & to putt his feare in yo^r harte. *Amen.*

FORGET not to husband yo^r Comodities that there be nothinge spoyled nor come to decaye vnder yo^r hande.

ASSOONE as the Pynnace is laden by the m^rchaunte resident here in *Bantam* of such and soe many fardells of Cloothes and Pynthados as they shall appointe yo^u shall imbarke yo^r selues in her & by the helpe of m^r Ketch & his Company saile directlie wth yo^r said goode for Banda vnlesse you touch in some place necessarie for yo^r refreshing and make no longe stay and haue espetiall care of yo^r saffetie and how you putt any man a land in any place for the people in those partes their wholle bodyes and minde be all treason & therefore open yo^r eyes in this behalfe.

A Remembraunce for
Tho: Tudd, Gabriell
Towerson, W^m Chasse,
and Thom: Dobson.

AND when god shall send you to Banda take a howse or howses for yo^r busines as you shall thinke most fitt for the Companies best proffitt and make sale of yo^r Comodities alwaies advaunceing the price the best you may.

IN yo^r provision you shall make in Nutmegge and maces haue you agreate care to receiue such as be good, for the smallest & Rotten nuttmegge be worth nothinge at home, soe that their ffraight and principall will be lost. of Maces the fayrest and best will be soonest sould and to best Rekoninge.

ALSOE be carefull to gett together all the Cloues you can and vse all diligence to pcure some 60 or 80 Tonns att the least & the rest of Nutmegge & maces. All theis thinge must be carefullie husbanded w^{ch} you must haue a spetiall reguard vnto.

I MAKE accompte the Companie will fraight some 2 shipps for that place of the burthen of 600 Tonns more or lesse & therefore haue a care to get their ladinge in tyme and aforehand, that yt may be redie by such tyme as the shipps be wth you w^{ch} I hope will be Michaellmas come tweluemonneth or before, Yt doth greatlie ymporte you to be carefull and pcure ladinge, for this is yo^r whole busines there & therefore ar yo^u sent.

ALSOE I would haue you to agree together loucinglie like sober men, for yo' owne discordes yf you suppress them not will be to the m'chaunte greate losse and hindrance and to yo' owne vndoing. Therefore Gou'ne yo' selues soc that there be noe brabbles amonge you for any cause.

I HAUE appointed m' Ketch to be an assistant to you in your busines and vse him as one of yo' selues ymploying him in yo' busines as you shall haue most neede.

IF you send him to any place lett yt not be farr of & wthout daunger of enymies for I would not haue him farr from you what-soeu' should befall, neither will I haue y' he putt himselfe in any daunger.

ALSOE I doe appointe Thomas Tudd to be cheef ffactor and principall and the rest to be at his Comaund in this busines, next him I appointe Gabriell Towerson, and next Gabr: Towerson W^m Chasse, & nex W^{thm} Chasse, Tho: Dobson, and you Tho: Tudd I would haue you to take councell of the rest in all this busines that eu'y mans advise may be geuen to the benefitt of the voyadge.

ALSOE my will is that yf yt please god to call you Thomas Tudd out of this world then Comitt the busines, and yo' place to m' Towerson and yf you Gabr: Towerson die Comitt yo' place to W^m Chasse, & yf yt fortune you W^{thm} Chasse to die Comitt the ffactory to m' Ketch m' of the pinnace, and yf he doe chaunce to die lett him Comitt yt to Thomas Dobson.

ALSOE I haue geuen order to the ffacto^r heare to supplie you wth 500 royalls of 8 because we knowe not what neede you may haue, & haue a care to yo' money & dispose yt not till greate occasion serue.

AND for the paying of yo' Companie their wage, doe yt sparinglie & remitt soe much as you cann till their retourne, but when necessitie requireth rather doe yt in Comoditie then money yf you in yo' discreçons see such occasion.

I WOULD haue you to paie noe wage to Thomas the barber, and fitt him wth Clothes meete not to excede in any thinge for he is an other mans prentise & seeketh onelie to wast his masters.

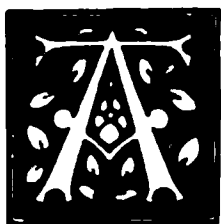
ALSOE I would haue you Tho: Tudd to keepe the Accompt^e of all such busines as shall passe.

p me¹ Tho: Tudd
p Ga: Towerson
p W^m Chasse.



LRES into the East Indies from the Company in December 1603.

Laus dei in London the 2 of decemb^r 1603.



AFTER o^r verie hartie Comendaçõs: yo^r seu'all tres of the 10th of Nouember & the 16th of ffebruarie 1602 the one dated at Achem, the other att Bantam, we haue rec^d wth the Accompt^e therein mencioed, wheareby we doe pceaue the state of o^r busines left vnder yo^r chardge, whearein we pray God to blesse & prosp you, to thend wth all good success & saffe retourne that we may therewth Congratulate yo^r comeing into yo^r owne Country and more pticulerlie be informed of the state of the trade wth mutuall Conference wth yo^u, then yt is possible we should be by the intercourse of o^r tres. At yo^r depture out of England you may remember the state of o^r Countrie was troubled in the Cause of the decessed Earle of Essex since whose death and yo^r depture hence God hath taken away o^r late Queene, & although therein he visited this kingdome wth a Capitall triall, yet he left vs not thereby in any garboile² or trouble, but instantlie vpon the death of the Queene, wth sollempne pclamaçõn first in diuers places in London & afterward^e in the seu'all Counties of the Realme was

To o^r loueing freind
Mr W^m Starkie Eng-
lish m^rchaunt Resi-
dent att Bantam.

¹ Lancaster's copy of these instructions (from which most probably the present copy was made), would have been signed in this way by the persons addressed, as an acknowledgment that they had made themselves acquainted with its contents.

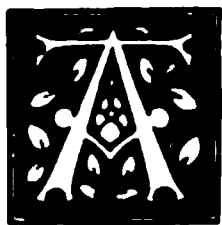
² Tumult or uproar.

"Look here, and at thy sovereign leisure, read
The garboils she awaked."—(*Antony & Cleopatra*, Act I, Sc. 3.)

proclaimed kinge of England Iames the first before kinge of Scottē wth soe generall a Consent that noe oppotitiōn or question was once pticularlie made to the Contrarie, & theirby this kingdome soe peaceablie established that this wonderfull blessinge of god upon vs, was Admired by all the neighbo^r kingdomes adioyninge: Notwthstandinge since as tymes haue their chandgē and as god doth many tymes humble his people lest they should forgett themselves in prosperitie, yt hath pleased him to chastice this kingdomes wth greate sicknes & mortalitie in diuers place thereof espetiallie in the Cittie of London where there hath died betweene the 7 of December 1602 & the first of december 1603 .38138. people, wthin the Cittie of London & the liberties & subvrbes of the same, & as may appeare by the Bills of the weeklie reporte of people deceased their died in one weeke in the Cittie liberties & subvrbes 3385 psons by occasion of w^{ch} mortalitie trade hath vtterlie ceased wthin the Cittie for almost this halfe yeare, & m^cchaunte & all others of any estate and Accompt haue depted into the Countrie: yet now god be thanked, doe resorte vnto the Cittie againe the Contagion being well seased, soe as the number that now die of al diseases in the Cittie & subvrbs are aboute 200 a weeke The w^{ch} sicknes and Contagion, as yt hath pleased God in some good measure to abate soe we beseech him for his m^ccies sake vtterlie to take away & remoue in his good tyme. And touching o^r shipps they are all God be thanked retourned in saffetie, & their goodē in good Condiōn, howsoeu^r the tyme & greate quantitie of goodē of the same kinde brought from the Indies by the Hollenders yealdeth but slowe sale and vtteraunce of them. But we hope for better oportunities of sale when men may freelie and saffelie resorte to the Cittie. The meane while our trade being to be Continued & followed, we are preparing wth all speede o^r fower shipps to retourne againe to the Indies and to set forward in their voyage, aboute 2 monnethes hence by godē assistaunce at the furdest, therefore doe vse the oportunitie of this Conveyaunce¹ to pray you to pforme all care and expediōn that such lading as is or shall be prepared by the order of S^r Iames Lancaster our late generall left wth you att Bantam for the

¹ These letters were taken out by a Dutch fleet. which reached Bantam in December, 1604.

reladeing of o^r shipps homeward may be made redie that the shipps be not occasioned to staie for their ladeinge, and that you pvse dilligentlie his instrucōn sent herewth, and that you will be carefull that the pepp Cloues & Nuttmegge be well clensed of dust before the be laden abourd for the dustines of them beside the pesteringe and chardginge of the shipp wth vnproffitable dust, the Comoditie is disgraced by the vncleannes of yt, and we are desirous that reguard be had as farr as possible may be, that the pepp be lardge and smooth & that the Nutmegge be clensed from Rumps, & that noe Comoditie be brought from soe longe avoyadge, that shall not be cleane & Comend yt selfe. And thus much together wth yo^r good care wherevpon we relie shall suffice for advise touching the p^rparinge of the goodē to be retourned. And as conc^rning yo^r pticular moōn wherein you referr yo^r selfe to o^r Conference wth m^r Wiffms & Raph Allen, we purpose to take a tyme before the comeing away of o^r shipps to Confer wth them therein before the comeinge away of o^r shipps, who haue beene all this tyme of sicknes in the Countrie, & are not yett retourned to London. And thus for this time we forbeare any further to enlardge, onelic wishinge you both for yo^r owne pticuler to haue a reguard to the climate wherein you liue & soe to haue a care of yo^r health, & to remember & admonish others that are wth you, to doe the like, & soe comend o^r selues & all you and yo^r busynes to the prouidence of God whose guide you and yo^r acōns in his feare Amen.



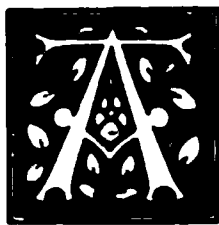
To o^r loueing freind
m^r Tho: Morgan
English marchaunt
Resident att Bantam
the 3 of December
1603.

FTER o^r hartie Comendaōns. Yo^{rs} of the 17th of februarie 1602 We haue rec^d o^r shipps being all retourned thanke be to God saffe & their goodē in good Condiōn. The tyme heare by reason of agreat mortalitie & Contagion of the plaggue in diuers places of the Rcalme, & espetiallie in the Cittie of London hath beene verie vnseasonable for trade all marchaunte & others of any accompt haueing depted the Cittie all the sommer in w^{ch} tyme there died betweene

the 17th of December 1602 & the 10th of December 1603¹ to the number of 38138 psons wthin the Cittie liberties and subvrbs thereof, But god be thanked the Contagion is very well seased, & there dieth not now of all diseases aboue 200 a weeke whereas there died in one weeke this sommer to the number of 3385 psons & neare the number of 3000 dyvers weekes together. Beside this visita^õn [God] tooke away vpon the 24th of March last o^r late Queene yet did he not leaue vs wthout a souereigne for even the same daie was proclamed o^r kinge Iames the first before kinge of Scott^e whose proclama^õn had noe one mouth that gaine said him, an entraunce and succession admired by all the kingdomes aboute vs, god blesse him & giue him a prosperous reigne ou^r vs. The state of o^r trade being by Godes prouidence thus prosperously begunn, & we purposeing by God^e grace to retourne o^r 4 shippes back agayne for the fetching home of the rest of o^r good^e & to Continue further trade into the p^te of the East Indies according to the ffactory begunn by o^r Generall S^r Iames Lancaster we haue thought yt meete to giue you to vnderstand that o^r shippes shall godwillinge be redie to departe hence att the furdest wthin theis 2 monnethes, & therefore we pray [you] according to the direc^õn and remembraunce left wth you by the said S^r Iames & now renewed by him in his tres sent by this Conveyaunce, to prepare & make redie the good^e appointed for their retourne, that the shippes be not occasioned to stay longe vpon their ladinge. And for such good^e as are prouided as pepp of the smoothest & lardgest sorte Cloues & Nutmegg^e we pray you to haue acare to clense them & free them as much as ys possible from dust & the nutmugg^e from Rumps that the Comodities w^{ch} shall be retourned be cleane, w^{ch} doth much Comend the sale of them, & beside yt doth free o^r shippes of an vnproffitable burthen w^{ch} would fill vpp the bulke that might bestowe in place there of Comoditie of value. You may conceiue our desier w^{ch} is y^t o^r good^e be laid abourde cleane & in good Condi^õn wherein we referr o^r selues to yo^r care thereof. And for yo^r mo^õn touching yo^r entertaynem^{te} and Continuance in o^r ymploym^t we would willinglie haue aunsweare[d] yo^r desier by theis o^r tres, but m^r Kenton being by reason of the sicknes not

¹ These dates differ from those given in the preceding letter.

yett retourned or setled in the Cittie we could not haue tyme to Conferr wth him therein, but must referr you vntill the comeing of o^r shipps by w^{ch} we will advise what hath passed in o^r Conference in that matter And being desierous to giue you all good Contentm^t, doe purpose to send you such provysion of Oile & wyne for yo^r health & Comforte as you haue writt for. Praying you to be carefull of yo^r selfe and to haue a reguard to the Quesines of that Clymate & aire. And soe wishing you all good successe in yo^r busynes we Comitt you to God.



AFTER¹ o^r hartie Comendaçõs whereas there hath beene alredie proponed by me the L: Threr in the behalfe of the kinge ma^{tie} to you the Gou^rno^r & Company of Aduenturers trading [into] the East Indies theis three thinge Ensuyng, first that although his ma^{tie} by vertue of his princelie p^rrogatiue maye lawfullie restraine the sale of yo^r pepp latelie brought frome the East Indies vntill his owne Bulke & Masse of pepp now remaineing att Leaden Hall be first sold and vented, as by his ma^{ties} learned Councell his highnes hath beene fullie resolved yet neu^rthelesse such is his ma^{ties} gracious favo^r & inclinaçõn towardes you, haueing respect to yo^r soe worthie Adventure made & greate Chardges susteyned in this last longe voyadge by you sett forth, soe much for the Hono^r of his ma^{tie} & the publique good of the Realme as he is pleased to forbear the vsinge of his p^rrogatiue for this tyme, & to omitt his owne proffitt to giue meanes of benefitt vnto you. Secondlie that there should be a ioynt sale of his ma^{ties} pepp and a like quantitie of yo^rs, & soe to be vttered & sold together equallie & not otherwyse. Thirdlie yf you should thereof mislike then you to buy his ma^{ties} pepp at some reasonable rate to be agreed vpon. Now for as much as we vnderstand that like as you doe humblie and thankfullie acknowledge his ma^{ties} greate favo^r towarde you, in not pressing his said prerogatiue

A lre from the Lo:
Threr the last of
Nouember 1603.

For the previous correspondence see pp. 27-32.

vpon you. Soe you haueing considered of the two other offers, you doe wth all humblenes and thankfullnes embrace the second, namelie to conioyne in sale wth his highnes being not able as you pretend to proccede wth the latter, w^{ch} is to buy the whole, Theis are therefore to signifie vnto you that his Ma^{ty} being informed of theis thinge, is well pleased to allow of yo^r said choise namelie of a Ioynt sale aswell of his ma^{tyes} pepp as of yo^r in a pportionable quatitie together. And for the better accomplishing of the same aswell for the kinge benefitt as yo^r owne behoofe, wee haue thought good to recomend the whole ordering and manageinge of this busines to yo^r good diligences, Cares, & discreõns praying and requiring you to assemble yo^r selues together, & to Consider of some such Course for the Carriage of the same as may produce good effect of some spedie & reasonable benefitt vnto both, ffor the fflurtheraunce of w^{ch} wee thinke y^t requisite first that there be an Inhibition gen^{all} that noe pepp should be brought into this kingdome, by either English or Straunger vntill the said pepp proportionable agreed vpon as is aforesaid to be sold be first vented, Secondlie y^t all such pepp as is alredie brought in either by Straungers or English out of the lowe Countries or from the straighte should be sequestred lykewyse from sale. Thirdlie that a present Survey be made of all such pepp as you the Adventurers haue alreadie deliu^{ed} or shall deliu^r vpon the diuident to pticular Adventures of yo^r Company wth spetiall chardge that noe pte thereof be sold vntill his ma^{tyes} pte And yo^r pportionable be first vttered. Prouided alwayes that yt may be lawfull for any to transport pepp out of this Realme at their pleasure. And yt seemeth alsoe most iust & reasonable that strict order be taken wth the Grocers that they buye noe pepp but his ma^{tyes} and yo^r the same being whollsome & saleable pepp & to that end that a present surueie be made of such store & quantitie as the said grocers now haue vpon their hande. Theis pointe we haue thought ffit to remember vnto you & that we maye wthall speede be adu^tised from you aswell of yo^r opinion in theis thinge as of such other matters whatsoeu^r as you shall thinke requisite to be further added and deuised for the better accomplishinge of this service, whereof soe soone as we shall haue signifiçaõn we shall p^{re}sentlie giue order for the speedie expediõn thereof as

appteyneth Soe we bid you hartelie farewell from the Courte att Wilton the the last of Nouemb^r. 1603.

Yo^r verie loueing freinde

Suffolke
Cum^bland
HHoward
Stanhope

Buckhurst
Devonshire
Ro: Cecill
I ffortescue

E Worcester
W: Knollys
E Wotton
I Popham



RIGHT hon: o^r duties most humblie remembred: we haue accordinge to yo^r Lo^s: Commission to vs directed mett and Conferred together of some course to be taken touching the sale of his ma^{ties} pepp & haue examined the meanes ppounded by yo^r LL: [(]being pleased to forbeare to put in vre his ma^{ties} p^rrogatiue) how the said meanes will sorte wth the sale of his ma^{ties} pepp & vpholdinge of the Companie. W^{ch} we finde must eyther stand or fall by such a modera^õn as is to be carried herein, and fallinge into Considera^õn of the first offer of favo^r to the said Companie mencioned in yo^r l^{ps} Lres w^{ch} was that a ioynt sale of his ma^{ties} pepp wth a like quantitie of the Companies pepp should be vttered and sold to gether equallie & not otherwyse. Wee finde in the Examina^õn of that Course theis p^ticuler ympedim^te followinge first agreate quantitie of the Companies pepp alredy disposed into many hande by a gen^ral diuident agreed vpon amongst them selues before yo^r ll: tres came to o^r hande, beside other great quantities of pepp brought out of the lowe Countries and both of them soe passed from hand to hand from the m^rchaunt to the Grocer & from the Grocer to the Chapman in the Countrey that by this meanes there is sufficient pepp alreadie deliu^red out abroad in the Cittie and Countrey, to forbeare any further sale for one yeare att the least, soe as the vent of his ma^{ties} pepp by a ioynt retayling sale wth the remaynder of the Companies pepp cann noe way aduance any some of money in Convenient tyme to his ma^{ties} vse, worthie the attending the Event of this course. W^{ch} being soe then their resteth onelie the other meane w^{ch} is the sale of the kinge pepp to the Com-

The Companies
answeare to th:
ll^s lre.

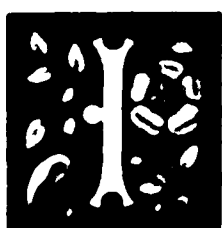
panie, wherein we they Comitties on the said Companies behalfe doe humbly informe yo^r t^t that the said Companie haue vpon their hande alredie soe greate a masse of pepp, that allbeyt eu^y Adventurer thereof hath free lib^tie for the bringing in of 100^l of money to take out vC^l worth of pepper vpon his stocke to set forth a new voyadge to the East Indies to fetch home the remaynder of their good^e there yet in regard there is noe present sale thereof there is such drawing backe in p^rformeinge of this supplie that the voyadg hath not that expedi^cō w^{ch} weare Convenient. Wherevpon we thinke that soe many p^rticuler men of soe diuers condi^cō will hardlie be drawen to ingage them selues for their seu^rall propor^cōns of their adventures to inlardg anie furd^r some to buie a Comoditie that is like to lie soe longe vpon their hande. Vpon the Considera^cō of w^{ch} difficultie, and the vnlikelihood that the Generallitie of the Companie will be drawen to enterteyne this bargaine, we thought yt not meete to call the Companie together to propound this mo^cō vnto them, least yt should not onelie receiue a deniall, but being a matter putt into soe many distasted humo^r would be hardlie receiued and spoken off. We therefore seing noe present course to be followed that would bringe forth either benefitt to his ma^{ty} or the Company, though[t] fitt to shewe to yo^r hono^r vpon what ym^pedim^e we rest, desyreing to be furd^r directed herein. And we the Comitties for the Company doe humbly adu^rtise yo^r t^t that yf the prepara^cō of the voyadge be any way crossed by vrging the gen^ralitie w^{ch} further supplies of chardge, or hindring them in the vtteringe of their pepp diuided & to be deuided amongst them before the deptyng of the flecte w^{ch} will be aboute the end of ffebruarie, the voyadge will whollie be ou^rthrowne w^{ch} may by yo^r Lo^{ps} fflavo^r be vphoulded both to the benefitt of the kinge and the good of the Comon wealth by this small tollera^cō & the shipps being once sent away the Company will be redie in all dutie to submitt them selues to any Course that shall seeme beneficiall to his ma^{ty} for the venting of his pepp. And thus humbly resting at yo^r ll Comaundem^t & service we take our leaue London the 8th of Decemb^r 1603.

W^m Rider

Yo^r Lo^{ps} humble att Comaund
Thomas Smyth gou^rno^r

Tho : Middleton
 Samu : Saltonested
 Jo : Wolstonholme²

W^m Romeny¹
 Tho : Bramley dep :
 Tho : Cordall.



JAMES by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland
 ffrance and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: To
 the greate and mightie kinge of Bantam, & of the
 dominions & territories adioyning greetinge. Whereas
 the right of inheritaunce & possession of theis o^r kingdomes of
 England ffrance & Ireland by the decease of o^r
 late deare Sister of ffamous memory is discended
 vpon vs, & ioyned to o^r other principalities &
 kingdomes w^{ch} we form^{lie} enioyed, we being
 established & setled in the possession thereof haue received into

A lre from his ma^{tie}
 to the kinge of Ban-
 tam in the East
 Indies by Sr Henric
 Middleton.³

¹ William, afterwards Sir William, Romeny, or Romney, haberdasher, was one of the original adventurers, and in September, 1599, was appointed treasurer of the proposed voyage. He was named a committee in the patent, and at the beginning of 1601 was chosen Deputy Governor of the Company. Two years later, he resigned this post on being made an Alderman. He was Sheriff in 1603-4, and in July, 1603, was knighted by King James. By the end of 1606, he had become Governor of the Company, but the actual date of his appointment is not known. His tenure of the post ended in July, 1607, when Sir Thomas Smyth became Governor. Romeny was nominated again in 1609, but was not elected. He died 25th April, 1611.

² John, afterwards Sir John, Wolstenholme, born in 1562, was a farmer of the customs, and a well-known merchant, being especially active in the promotion of voyages to the North-West. His name occurs in 1612 as a committee in the charter of incorporation of the Company of Merchants of London, discoverers of the North-West Passage; and two years later he is mentioned as having, in conjunction with Sir Thomas Smyth, paid Wright, the mathematician, to deliver courses of lectures. He was an original member of the East India Company, and in 1619 was made a committee. In July, 1628, he was nominated for Governor, but excused himself. He died 25th Nov., 1639.

³ Sir Henry Middleton, brother of David and John Middleton, was in the *First Voyage* a factor "of the second sort." At Acheen Lancaster made him captain of the *Susan*, and sent him to Priaman, whence he carried home a cargo of pepper. He commanded the *Second Voyage*, and was knighted on his return in 1606. Four years later, he took command of the *Trades Increase* as general of the *Sixth Voyage*, from which so much was hoped. Much time was wasted in the Red Sea, where, for a time, Middleton was a prisoner at Mocha; and even after he had escaped and had carried his ships to Surat, he returned to exact compensation for the ill-

o' hande vpon the retourne of S' Iames Lancaster & other of o' subiecte from yo' ma^{ties} kingdomes & territories wth their shipps & marchandize, not onelie yo' Princelie tres directed and sent to o' said deceased Sister, but alsoe yo' kinde present w^{ch} did accompanie the same holding o' selfe after her deaceased interessed therein by the right of o' Crowne & Septer. Vpon the pvsall of w^{ch} tres we weare possessed wth noe small ioye, that yo' ma^{tie} had soe gratuslie accepted the Comeing of o' subiecte into yo' dominions and kingdomes & soe fauorable and Royallie delt wth them whilest they aboade & Contynued theare in traffique wth yo' subiecte: Of all w^{ch} ffavo^r & other yo' ma^{ties} princelie pceedinge wth them o' said subiecte, S' Iames Lancaster hath made vnto vs verie lardge & ample rela^{cion}. This Introduc^{cion} being made into a mutuall amitie & entercourse betweene yo' ma^{tie} & vs, we are desirous to Nourrish & Contynue the same by all good meanes and oportunities that may be thought vpon or conceiued on o' pte. And to that end we haue geuen lycence to diu's of o' subiecte to prepare & sett forth a new voyadge towarde yo' Countries and kingdomes, amongst w^{ch} manie of them w^{ch} were in the former voyadge are desirous for the good & honorable vsadge they formerlie founde by yo' princelie favo^r to visitt the same againe: others vpon their reporte are encouradged, notwthstanding the longe & daungerous Nauiga^{cion} to see the state & manner of behavio^r of people in Countries farr remote. Theis Considera^{cion}s moueing both vs & o' Subiecte to visitt yo' ma^{ties} Countries with lawfull & peaceable traffique of m'chandize, we doubt not but your ma^{tie} will be well pleased therewth, & not onelie soe, but wth the Continuanc[e] of an entercourse from yeare to yeare of o' m'chaunte wth their shipps & goode into yo' kingdomes; whome we dare be bold to Comend to

treatment previously received. After an ineffectual blockade of the Turkish ports, he was compelled to abandon his purpose, and sailed for Tecco, in Sumatra. Thence he proceeded to Bantam, from which port Downton was sent home with the *Peppercorn*. The *Trades Increase*, which had excited so much admiration at the time of her launch under royal auspices, was by this time worn out and leaky, and had to be beached at Bantam, where she was afterwards set on fire by the natives and completely destroyed. Middleton, who had remained at Bantam after Downton's departure, died there on 24th May, 1613, worn out and "hartesore" at the ill-success of his expedition.

yo^r ma^{tie} for a people Civill and iust in their dealeing and trade & euery way as able to furnish yo^r ma^{tie} & yo^r people wth all such Comodities w^{ch} this parte of the world doth yeald, or affordeth as any Na^{ti}on or people whatsoeu^r w^{ch} heretofore haue made trade or traffique wth yo^r people. And because a Capitula^{ti}on & establishing of Amitie, [and] entercourse to be contynued betweene yo^r ma^{tie} and vs cannot convenientlie be p^{er}formed by discourse of tres o^r seu^{er}all kingdomes being so farr distant & remote thone from the other. We therefore pray yo^r ma^{tie} to giue eare therein to this bearer & to giue him Creditt in whatsoeu^r he shall vndertake or promyse in o^r name concerninge the same w^{ch} we promyse for o^r p^{ar}te in the worde of a prince shall be p^{er}formed, and will be redie gratefullie to requite any loue kindnes or favo^r that o^r said Subiecte shall receiue at yo^r ma^{ties} hande. And in token of o^r Princelie loue to yo^r ma^{tie}, we send you by this bearer a remembraunce & kindnes, w^{ch} we pray you to accept as from one that wisheth vnto yo^u all good successe, & happines. And soe Comend yo^r ma^{tie} to the tui^{ti}on of the most highe God.

Note that the kinge writeth him not brother. And that another tre was now alsoe written from the kinge to some other Prince in those p^{ar}te of The teno^r of that form^{er}lie from Queene Elizabeth.¹



AMES by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: Trustie and welbeloued Henrie Middleton Esquier & to o^r trustie and welbeloued xpofer Colthurst² Gentleman greetinge. Wheareas diuers of o^r loueing subiecte att their owne Adventures Costes and chardges aswell for the hono^r of this o^r Realme of England as for the encrease and aduancem^{en}t of trade & m^{er}chandize

A Comission from
his ma^{tie} to Sr Henry
Middleton

¹ See page 19.

² Commanded the *Hector* in the *Second Voyage*. At Bantam he was transferred to the *Assention*, in which he made a successful voyage to Banda, and subsequently returned to England in company with the *Dragon* and *Hector*.

w^hin the same did heeretofore sett forth a voyadge to the East Indies w^h c^teyne shippes and Pynnace by way of marchandizeinge, by w^{ch} shippes & Pynnace they haueing discour'd and begun to settle a trade in some pte of the said East Indies. And their shippes being retourned from thence laden w^h sundrie marchandize brought from those partes they the said m^chaunte intendinge to frequent those Countries of the East Indies by Continuing the trade alredie discour'd and begon & endevo'inge further discour'y of trade of those parte for the more ample vent of the Natiue Comodities of o^r kingdomes, & retourninge from the places of their discour'y of such necessarie Comodities as shall be of spetiall vse & benefitt both to vs & o^r subiecte are in hand to prepare and make redie their said shippes latelic retourned from the East Indies & and to sett them forth againe for a new voyadge. And wheareas the said m^chaunte haue chosen you the said Henrie Middleton to be principall Gou^rno^r, or Generall, and you the said xpofer Colthurst to be Leiuetenaunte Generall of all the m^chaunte Marriners and other o^r subiecte w^{ch} are or shall be shipped in any of the said shippes. We graciouslie favo'ing their intended voyadge, & approueing & allowinge of their choyse of you to the said Gou^rnm^t being desierous to furnish you, w^h all fitt & Convenient power & aucthoritie to rule & Gou^rne all & eu'y o^r subiecte imployed in this voyadge by a due obedience to be by them yealded, vnto you in obserueing & executeinge of all such good orders & Constitucons as you shall thinke Convenient to ordeine & appointe for the ffurtheraunce of the said voyadge to the hono^r of vs and o^r kingdomes, & for the aduancem^t of the said trade. We doe heereby straightlie chardge and Comaund all & eu'y pson & psons ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge, in any of the said ships, to giue all due obedience & respect vnto you dureing the said voyadge, & to beare them selues therein one towardes another in all good order & quietnes for avoideing any occasion that might breede Mutinie, quarrells or discention amongst them to the hindraunce of the good suckcess w^{ch} is to be hoped for by Gode prouidence of the said intended voyadge, & in default of such dutie and obedience to be pformed towardes you & for the correccon & quenching of all such Mutenie quarrells or dissention, that shall or maye growe or be moued by the

disorder, euill dispotiōn or pversnes of any of the said psons. We doe heereby aucthorize you Henrie Middleton Gen'all dureing the said voyadge or dureing soe longe tyme as you shall liue in the said voyadge. And in Case of yo' decease w^{ch} God forbid, we doe then likewyse hereby aucthorize you the said Christopher Colthurst to chastice correct and ponnish all Offenders and Transgresso^r in that behalfe according to the qualitie of their Offences wth such ponishm^t as are Comonlie vsed in all Armyes by Sea when the offences are not capitall. And for Capitall Offences as wilfull murder w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutenie w^{ch} is an offence that maie tend to the ou'throue of the said voyadge, the same being trulie & iustlie proued agaynst any of the pson or psons aforesaied. We doe hereby giue vnto you the said Henrie Middleton during all the tyme of the said voyadge, or dureing soe long tyme as you shall liue in the said voyadge. And in Case of yo' decease we doe giue to you Christopher Colthurst full power and aucthoritie to vse and putt in execution o' lawe called Martiall in that behalfe and theis o' tres shall be vnto you sufficient warrante and dischardge for the doing & executeinge of all & singuler the p'misses. And foras-much as at this present tyme wee are in Amitie wth all xptian People & are vnwilling that any of o' subiecte should giue occasion of breach or hindraunce of that league or Amitie w^{ch} we hold wth any o' Confederate ffreinde or Allies and because we are not ignorant of the Emulaōn and Envie that doth accompany the discour'y of Countries and trades, & of the quarrells and contenōns w^{ch} doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiecte of diu's Princes y' meete the one wth the other in fforaine and ffarr remote Countries, in the Course & psecuteinge of their discour'ies, and being desirous y' o' subiecte should forbear to moue or begin any quarrell or contenōn vpon the subiecte of o' Confederate ffreinde or Allies either in the pceedinge or retourne vpon or from any of their voyage. Wee therefore doe hereby straightlie chardge & Comaund you Henrie Middleton & you xptofo Colthurst, & all others vnder yo' Gou'nm^t, that neither in your voyadg outwarde or homeward nor in any Countrie Iland Porte or place where you shall abide or come during the tyme of yo' being abroad out of o' kingdomes or dominions where you

may meete wth any the subiecte of the kinge of Spaine or of any other of o^r Confederat^e freinde or Allies, their shipps vessells good^e & m^echandize, you doe attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon take or surprise their psons shipps vessells good^e or m^echandize or offer any iniurie or discourtesie vnto them, vnlesse you shall first by them thearevnto iustlie be poked or driuen in the iust defence of yo^r owne psons, yo^r shipps vessells good^e or m^echandizes as you will Aunsweare to the Contrarie at yo^r vttermost pills. In witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^r tres to be made Pattente witnes o^r selfe att Westminster the 3 daie of March in the first yeare of o^r Reigne of England ffrance & Ireland & of Scotland the Seaven & Thirteth.



COMISSION sett downe by vs the Gou^rno^r the Deputie & Comitties of the East India Companie to o^r loueing freinde m^r Henrie Middleton Generall of the m^echaunte marrino^r & others ymployed by vs in this present intended voyadge, being o^r second voyadge to the East Indies & to m^r x^ptofer Colthurst, m^r Roger Style¹, m^r Wilm Kealinge² & m^r o^r principall m^echaunte and ffacto^r in the said voyadge, & eu^r of them respectiuelie, as the direc^tions & instruc^tions of this o^r p^rsent Comission maye Concerne their seu^all places of trust wherein the are ymployed the wth voyadge Almightye god in his mercie make prosperous.

WHEAREAS we haue vpon a spetiall conceite of yo^r

¹ Third factor on the *Assention* in the *First Voyage*. Commanded the same ship in the *Second Voyage*, until Bantam was reached, when he was removed to the *Hector*. He died shortly after, in March, 1605.

² Commanded the *Susan* in the *Second Voyage* as far as Bantam, when he was removed to the *Hector* (upon the death of Styles) for the homeward voyage. Upon his return he was placed in command of the ships of the *Third Voyage*, the *Dragon* being his flag-ship. In 1615 he commanded another voyage on account of the *First Joint Stock*, upon an agreement that he was to remain chief commander in the Indies for five years (O. C. 369). He returned to England about two years later, and in 1618 obtained the appointment of Captain of Cowes Castle. He died towards the end of 1620.

wysedome, discrecion & good gou^rnm^t, made choyse of you m^r Henrie Middleton to be principall Gou^rno^r & Generall of o^r ffleete & haue submitted to yo^r Comaund the p^sons of all the marchaunte Marriners & others ymployed in the seu^rall shipps thereof w^{ch} shipps we haue fitted and furnished wth all necessaries not onelie meete for the voyadge but such as you could require or wish to be supplied wth yo^r full Contentm^t.

WEE therefore expect on yo^r parte, such a p^rformaunce & carrying of this Gou^rnm^{to} Comitted to yo^r Chardge as may not onelie Confirme vs in that hope and good conceipt w^{ch} induced vs to the choyse of yo^u to this ymploym^t but may add vnto yo^r selfe an encrease & advancem^t of yo^r owne reputacon, w^{ch} noe doubt you may effect, obserueing this moderacon in yo^r said Gou^rnm^{to} soe to Comaund as you may be both loued and feared, not vsing auctoritic to worke yo^r private respect or revenge but studieing and endevo^ringe to bringe this longe and Tedious voyadge to a p^rfitable end, wth care of the saffetie, health & Comforte of yo^r people & vsing yo^r industrie to recompence soe greate a Chardge of p^rvisions and other burthens and expences borne in this voyadge wth a p^rfitable retourne to the gen^rall state of the Companie.

AND that you may the better p^rceede in an vnfallable hope of agood yssue of yo^r endevo^r we wish and exhorte you first to depend Confidentialie vpon Godes p^rvidence, & next p^rpound to yo^r selfe the good example of yo^r late p^rdicessor S^r Iames Lancaster in the carryinge of the former voyadge. And forasmuch as noe man is soe absolute in his Course and direccons for the manageing of any occasions of ymportaunce, but he May therein receiue light & espetiall helpe and furtheraunce by Conference wth others, Therefore we haue for yo^r Assistaunce & helpe the better to vndergoe the Chardge of o^r busines made choyse of m^r x^ptofer Colthurst, m^r Roger Style, m^r Wiltm Keeleing, m^r Robert Browne¹ & m^r Edward Highlord,²

¹ Left at Bantam by Middleton as second in rank to Towerson. He appears to have returned to England at some date after March, 1610, and went out again in the *Seventh Voyage* with Captain Hippon. He died off Masulipatam, 8th Sept., 1611.

² Purser of the *Red Dragon* and afterwards of the *Assention* in the *First Voyage*.

¹
The Compa: inducem^t to make choise of theis p^sons.

²
To vse the assistaunce of certaine nominated.

as o' principall m'chaunte ymployed in this voyadge to be readie wth their advice & aide to assist you in any thinge that may belonge to the same whome we pray and requier you not onelie to heare but loueinglie & kindlie to vse and respect soe as by yo' kinde Conversaõn mutuallie vsed & had the one wth the other there maye growe betweene yo^a in soe firme a vnitie as shall be subiect to noe larr or distaste wherein yf you linke together, all thinge will passe wth felicitie and Contentm^t otherwyse yf there fall amongst you Envie emulaõn or disagreeem^t there is noe hope of good successe of the voyadge but apparant hazard to the ou'throw of the same. & this shall suffice for o' generall advise vnto you for such a moderaõn of gou'nm^{ts} to be pformed on yo' pte as may breede a good affecõn towardses you in those that are submitted vnto yo' Comaund.

AND to thend that the wholle Companie Comitted to yo' chardg may pforme that due obedience & respect vnto you w^{ch} is fitt to be yealded to their Gou'no' or Generall, we doe herein ppound vnto you the care of the due execution of that principall meane w^{ch} draweth all Christians to Conformitie and submission to such as are set ou' them w^{ch} is the dayly invocaõn & religious wo^p: & service of God, requiring you to take order that c'teine houres & tymes in eu'y day may be sett aparte for publique prayer & calling vpon the name of God, that like orders wth penalties to be seu'elie published & sett vpp in eu'y shipp agaynst the blasphemeing of the name of god, & all Idle and filthie Comunicaõn: That all vnlawfull gameinge especialie dice play may be abolished as that w^{ch} pcureth not onelie the blasphemeing of the name of God, but Envie and quarrellinge frome whence many tymes pceedeth murders or att the least the impou'ishinge and vndoinge of many of the poore vngou'ned Marriners, who by the libtie of dice playe loose their whole wages of the voyadge as yt is not vnknowne vnto you, by the practise of diuers in the last voyadge who to furnish them selues wth money in that vnthrifftie ymploym^t ingaged them selues to pay 3 for 1 vpon their retourne, & thus haueing wasted

He went out again in the succeeding expedition, and, while the ships were at Bantam, was promoted to the command of the *Susan*. This vessel foundered on her way home, and all on board perished.

their wage by such vnthrifitie meanes went aboute to laye a scandall vpon the Companie, alledgeing they were oppressed by necessitie in the voyadge to enter into those excessiue vsurious Content^e¹ to mayntayne their liues.

YOU haueing thus sett an order to be obserued in eu^ry shipp both for the service of God, & the Civill behavio^r of the Company amongst them selues, then for the better Assistaunce strength & Comfort that the whole ffleete may take one of another by keeping Company together through out the wholle voyadge vntill you come into the East Indies into the porte or Haven of Bantam, where you are to take order wth the m^r & Companie of eu^ry shipp by the best observa^{ti}ons & direcons w^{ch} you shall in yo^r Conference together agree vpon that you depte not out of sight one of another soe longe as you may possibl^e keepe together to thend that yf any of you should be any way distressed vpon any occasion you may be releued and Comforted by the Assistaunce of some of yo^r Consort^e not being farr of. And yf you shall happen to be se^pated by fflowle weather & cannot recouer the sight one of another in shorte tyme, yf yo^r separa^{ti}on or dispersinge happen to be before you come to Iland of May² then lett that Iland be the place of yo^r repaier or rendezvous, that you may be drawen agayne together in Companie & there to staie one for an other 7 or 8 daies, & haueing made staie there soe longe & the Company missing, not being Come thither, then to depte forwardes on the voyadge, leaueing some apparent marke behinde you that you haue beene at the said Iland, as by raysing some heape of Stones together, setting vpp of a stake or marke and leaueing there *some lre* in or neare the place w^{ch} may be found by them as shall come after, whereby they may knowe that the other shipp or shipps are past that place. And yf yo^r se^pera^{ti}on be beyond the Iland of May then yo^r Rendezvous to be att the Iland of St Lawrence. And yf you shall be occasioned to land in any place for fresh water, or to refresh yo^r men yt shall behoue you to keepe good order, & discipline by warlike garde for the saffetie of your Companie least they should be surprized and fall into daunger by ou^r much Confidence and

⁴
To keepe Comp: one
with another.

⁵
Warlike guard to be
kept in watering or
refreshing men &c:

¹ Contracts?

² Maio. one of the Cape Verd Islands.

securitie & the saffetie of yo^r p^{ersons} being p^{ro}vided for then yo^r wholle Companie to be admonished to behaue them selues peaceably & Civillie towards the people of that place, where you refresh for the supplie of yo^r wante, & that they be alsoe exhorted to a modera^{ti}on in feeding of fruite & fresh victualls of that soyle, the w^{ch} by their intemperate & vnmoderate dyet, may breede inconveniences formerlie found by experience to be the losse of many mens liues. And in such place or places of refreshing you shall doe well to giue spetiall order to some men chosen & appointed to that end, to make the gen^{erall} p^{ro}vision bot of ffresh victualls & fruite for the whole ffleete whereby an equall reparation thereof may be made for the Company of eu^{ery} shipp and that eu^{ery} one be not wth[out] lymita^{ti}on, to victuall hymselfe according to his intemperate appetite, and this order to be taken phibiting eu^{ery} p^{erson} vpon payne of seveare ponishm^{ts} that they doe not raunge and straggle after fresh victualls and fruite but by such order as shall be p^{re}scribed vnto them.

VPPON such oportunities of necessarie landinge of yo^r people for refreshinge, w^{ch} by noe meanes we would haue otherwyse to be vsed vpon light occasion for that yt will greatlie hinder the voyadge wee doe requier you to giue order vnto the preacher to prepare him selfe to preach to the people being Come together out of the seu^{erall} shippes, makeing his choyse of such fitt argum^{ts} & places of scripture as may be most agreable to the tyme and occasion whereby the whole Company may be exhorted and taught the better to carrie themselves in the gen^{erall} busynes. And that the preacher may haue the more Comfote in his mynistrie. we pray you be carefull that all due respecte be geuen him, not onelie by yo^r selfe but by the wholle Company that his doctrine & exhorta^{ti}ons by Contempt or neglect of his mynistrie retourne not wthout proffitt. for the place of yo^r refreshinge we wish yt to be the Iland of St Lawrence, but not at Saldania in any wyse for the inconveniences of that Iland noted vnto vs by men of good experience, & their causion geuen vs to be ware of the daunger of that place wherefore we requier you to shun this place as o^{ur} expresse order & will herein.

YOUR refreshing place being left & all oportunities taken

⁶
refreshing by land-
ing; not to be used
vpon light occasion.

To goe ⁷thence to
Bantam & to dispose
of busines.

for thadmonishing of yo^r people both to the service of God wthout w^{ch} noe enterprize can be prosperous and to the Civill & orderlie carryinge of them selues in the voyadge, & in all service thereto belonging they¹ you are to shape yo^r Course directlie for Bantam aforesaid. Att w^{ch} porte as soone as you shall arriue & that you may Convenientlie drawe yo^r selues together in Conference wth m^r Wiltm Starkey [or] the agent w^{ch} you shall finde theare succeedinge him in the busines. Then we doe requier you as god hath guided & brought you to yo^r expected & appointed porte, where you may enter into the disposing of yo^r busines, that then you being Come to the m^rchaundizeing porte of the voyadge you doe pceede therein as followeth. Viz.

WEE DOE will and require you m^r Henrie Middleton o^r Gou^rno^r or Gen^rall of the whole voyadge, & you m^r xptofer Colthurst, m^r Roger Style, m^r Wiltm Kealinge, m^r Robt Browne & m^r Edward Highlorde o^r principall m^rchaunt^r for the disposing of the m^rchandises & traffique of yo^r saide voyadge that you advise & Conferr together wth m^r w^m Starkey, or wth whome socu^r standeth in the place of the Agent resident att Bantam of the state of the place & of the vsadge that o^r Agent and ffacto^{rs} haue receiued since they were left theare & of all other Circumstances that may concerne the saffetie and benefitt of the trade, w^{ch} being found to stand in good tearmes then you are to deliu^r o^r tres to o^r said Agent & wth his advise to deliu^r the king^e ma^{ties} tres & present to the kinge of that place, & then to land all such moneys as are laden in o^r 4 seu^rall shipps viz 11160^{li} 12^s in Royalls of 8 whereof in the red dragon

To lande ⁹moneys

DRAGON ffive Chest^r Cont: 4000^{li} in Royalls in 40 bagg^r
HECTOR, ffower Chest^r cont: 3200. in Royalls in 32 bagg^r.
ASSENTION, three Chest^r Cont: 2400 in Royalls in 24 bagg^r
SUZAN, twoe Chest^r Cont: 1560³ in Royalls in 15 bagges.

¹ Then ²

w^{ch} being done then to take informaçon, from the Agent of the state of o^r busines left in his chardge what quantetie of ladeing he hath in aredines for the shipps causing cawsing the dust to be siste from the pepp, yf yt be not doene alredie vpod advise geuen
10
 Garblers sent [to] that end by o^r former tres for w^{ch} purpose we send wth you garblers wth siues and flanns to thend that o^r shipps should not be dischardged wth vnproffitable Comodities.

TO TAKE like informaçon what Comodities & how much ladinge is pvided att the Molloccos conferringe
11
 What Comodities btt & what provided att the Molloccos. wth o^r said Agent what shipps of o^r flecte ar ffittest to goe for the Molloccos remembring that the Hecto^r and Assençon are victualled for 24 monnethes: the experience of o^r said ffact[oⁿ] gayned by their longe aboade att Bantam will well informe you how to pceede in the sending of o^r shippinge to the Molloccos and for the ordering of the m^rchandize for that place.

THE pvision for the ladeinge att Bantam being laden abourde
12
 The ships laden & sent from Bantam for England where is to goe to the Molloccos & to what end. o^r shipps that are first to retourne for England & the Comaunders thereof shipped in the said shipps and those shipps p^rpared readie w^{ch} by you & the Agente shall be resolved vpon to goe for the Molloccos o^r direcçon is that you m^r Henrie Middleton to goe yo^r selfe in one of the said shipps to the molloccos takeing wth you such of o^r ffactoⁿ to leaue to reside in the Molloccos & such stocke for their maynetaynaunce, as you shall vpon Conference together att Bantam agree vpon to remayne in their hande for the mayntenance of them & the residue w^{ch} are alredie Resident att Bantam by their aboade theare, in w^{ch} space they may both learne the languadge of the Countrie, and dispatch such busines as they shall be by you appointed vnto: And we wish you to take wth you to Banda one or both of the garblers wth their instrm^e and provisions to Clense the Cloues from dust and stalkes & the Nutmegge from Rumps and dust that o^r shipps be not pestered wth the dust or garble of theis kinde of Comodities.

AND for that the voyage of this Condiçon & greate chardge cannot admitt any priuate trade, o^r will is that
the particuler trade to be penal lawe of neither yo^r selfe nor any others vpon any pticuler

the Commodities
laden except &c:

or other Accompt then the gen^rall and ioynct stocke doe lade or be pmitted to lade any of theis Comodities in o^r shipps viz: pepp Cloues mace Nut muge China silke Indigo, Amber greece, muske, sivitt, Bezar stones Camphire, Beniamyn Burrace¹ or Synamon, but that what quantitie soeu^r of theis Comodities may be had or brought vpp shall be laden for the ioynt accompte of the Company vpon payne of the losse of eu^ry such Comoditie soe laden, & not laden vpon the ioynct Accompte. But yf vpon lycence demaunded of you the said Generall & you o^r said principall marchaunte any m^r, marriner or others shall be desirous to lade some small pporcion or quantitie of China dishes or light triffls not exceedinge the value of Three pounde, or not beareing aboue the bulcke of a small chest Then we doe order that all such goode soe laden by yo^r privitie & lycence shall be entred into the Pursars Booke of such shipp wherein the same is laden to thend that yf any of them doe die by the waye their freinde may enioye that w^{ch} is theirs according to their wills.

AND for the better remembraunce & instruccon of you the said Gen^rall & of you the principall m^rchaunte what goodes left in theast Indies since bought &c what moneys & debtes &c: what goode were left behinde at Bantam, in the Comeing away of S^r Iames Lancaster out of the Indies & what hath beene puided since by the Agent there as by their advice sent vs since the comeing home of o^r shipps maye appeare. You shall vnderstand That S^r Iames Lancaster left att Bantā aboue 1500 bagge of pepp & by their tres sent from Bantam by the dutch shipps the agent wrote that he had puided 1500 bagge more. And after S^r Iames gaue Comission to the Agent at his depture from Bantam that yf the dutchmen were disposed to buie any of the Companies pepp & and would giue good pfitt for yt that then the Agent should sell yt & pvide more for the Companie att better oportunitie & better rate vpon w^{ch} Comission soe left you maye inquire what hath beene done for the benefitt of the Companie.

¹ Borax; in Italian, *borrace*, Low Latin, *boracum*, and Arabic, *burag*; all these forms being derived from the Persian *burah*. Borax, or "green earth," is the biborate of soda, imported, in its crude form, into India from Thibet under the name of tincal. Compare Balax, and Ballace, the Balas or spinel ruby, the *al Badakhsh*, and *Badakhshi* of the Arabs, imported into India from Badakhshan

ITT doth alsoe appeare by the abbreviate of the accompte sent home out of the Indies that there remayned in the hande of the Agent m^r Starkey 482 fardells of Callicoes viz 8 Canisters of Pinthadoes¹ & 117 fardells of Checkered stuffes 51 fardells of long malow girdles² 59 ffs of girdles for Syam,³ 110 ffs of Iava girdles,⁴ 13 Chestre of fine Pinthadoes 6 Chestre of diuers sortre of Comodities, 42 ffs of Browne Callicoes & in loose Pinthadoes, & in loose Pinthadoes by estimate made by S^r James Lancaster aboute 80 ffe att the least of all sortre soe

¹ "Pinthadoes" were painted cotton clothes, that is chintzes [Sanskrit, *chitra*, "spotted," "variegated," as in *chitraka*, the "Cheeta" or "hunting-leopard," *Felis pardus*; and *chital*, the "spotted-deer," *Axis maculatus*] so called from the Portuguese *pinta*, "painted," literally "spotted," as in *pintado*, the "Guinea-fowl," and, indeed, any "spotted" bird; thus Fryer, in his *Travels* [1698], p. 12, writes: "Gaining upon the East with a slow pace, we met those feathered harbingers of the Cape, as *Pintado-Birds*, *Mangosaluedos*, *Albetrosses*."

² Malay girdles? Or may they possibly be girdles of "jute," the fibre of *Cortellus alatus*, "Jew's Mallow" [malach of Job xxx. 4] and *C. capsularis*? The *μολόχινα* [as if *imaria*] of Arrian's *Periplus of the Red Sea*, usually translated [see Vincent's *Commerce and Navigation of the Ancients* (1807), vol. II, p. 116]: "Cotton cloths of the colour of Mallow flowers," were possibly these very same "malow girdles" or jute cloth pieces. If this is a true identification, it is a most interesting one. But I have never before met with the phrase "malow-girdles;" and Arrian is the only classical writer who uses the word *μολόχινα*. Plautus, in the *Aulularia* (III, 10), mentions "dyers in mallow colour,"—*molechinarii*.

³ Siam; or possibly Syrian, a port of Pegu, sixty miles east of "China Bukhoer," one of the delta mouths of the Irawadi

⁴ "Java girdles" are the chintzes called by the Javanese *batik*, *i.e.* "painted," or rather "delineated"; as the cotton cloth to be decorated, after first being covered with a film of wax, poured on at the boiling point, has the design literally delineated throughout it with a sharp-pointed style, before being dipped into the dye, which colours the cloth only where the wax has been removed by the style. Then, when the dye has been fixed, the remaining wax is melted off. Sometimes this process is repeated over and over again, with a different dye each time, thus producing wonderfully elaborate designs; but the most pleasing results are always obtained from a single application of it, as, for instance, in the sprigged *batiks*, with their simple floral patterns pencilled in monochrome on the natural cream-coloured surface of the cotton cloth. These so-called "Java girdles," including dress-pieces of all sorts, such as robes, mantles, veils, and also curtains, have been celebrated in India from the time of the first introduction of Hindu civilization into the Indian Archipelago; and in the play of *Mâlâtî and Mûdhârâ* [See Wilson's *Theatre of the Hindus* (1871), vol. II, p. 74], attributed to the 8th century, A.D., are expressly referred to under the phrase *chitra-Javanika*, "Javanese chints"; in this place the painted curtain, or *peplos*, suspended before the adytum of the temple into which, in the third act, Makaranda retires to make up his toilet as a female

that there might be in all packe & canister aboute 482 ffē as aforesaid & in loose Callicoes so[m]e 30 ffē soe as there appereth in the whole to be 512 ffē since the deptime of our shippes we vnderstand by their tres of the 15th of februarie 1602 they had shipped [52 ffē] for Banda in the Molloccos abourd o^r Pinnace¹ w^{ch} we trust arriued there in saffetie wthin shorte tyme after her deptime from Bantam, vpon the pcede of w^{ch} 52 ffē yt is hoped by vs that there maie be sufficient wth a lardge ou^rplus to lade the 2 shippes we here appointed to the Molloccos wth mace, Cloues, & Nutmuge soe that there remayned after the deptime of the Pinnace from Bantam 452² ffē or thereaboutē Conteyneing the best & richest Comodities of the whole Complem^{to} of the prize the other 52 ffē sent to the molloccos being of the meanest & basest kinde of the said prize goodē w^{ch} greate remaynder of goodē att Bantam of the best & greatest value cannot but vpon the pcede thereof [make] readie before yo^r arrivall att Bantam great quantities of Comodities to be retourned from thence.

BESIDES all w^{ch} seu^rall quantities of goods before mentioned there remayned in the handē of m^r Starkey & the rest at the deptime of the shippes homewardē 4907 Royalls of Eight & in debte 3941. pecē of 8 being Compassed in the same 77 bagge of pepp w^{ch} pepp was rec^d into their Custodie soe as yf all the goodē & money left wth them & that w^{ch} might & hath pceeded thereof doe rest in saffetie you shall not onelie haue sufficient to lade yo^r fower shippes wth pepp mace Cloues & Nutmuge but as many more shippes of the like burthen beside the moneys w^{ch} you carrie alonge wth you in the shippes amounteing to 11160^{3li} 12^s in Royalls as aforesaid, w^{ch} moneys because yo^u knowe that spices are heere of noe value we wish you to ymploy in some other Comodities that may be of more estima^ōn & yeald a better pfitt as rawe silke well Chosed & bought at resonable prices or such like Comodities wherewth theis partē of Christendome haue not beene glutted as wth spices.

The 11160^{3li} 12^s to be ymployed not in spices but in other Commodities mor profitable.

The 11160^{3li} 12^s not to be mixt in accompt

AND touching the said 11160^{3li} in Royalls now sent in theis ships forsomuch as yt is a new supplie of stocke sent out vpon a new Aduenture, we will not haue

¹ See page 33.

² 462.

with the former Adventure & cause whie.

the same to be mixed in accompt wth the former adventure but doe requier you to keepe the accompt of the ymploym^t hereof alone by yt selfe. And to the end that the same may be distinguished from the former accompt^e of the first Adventure we doe pray and requier you the said Gen^lall and principall m^cchaunt^e by Conference and assistaunce of the ffactoⁿ resident both att Bantam & Banda to make a valua^on as neare as you cann of all the remaynder of the first stocke, what it may be worth to be sold, for that many of the Adventurers who are vnwilling to hange & Contynue longe in accompt^e vnperf^t & vndetermined ar desirous to sell their remaynders of their stock^e to such as will Continue the trade, and therefore a valua^on is to be conceiued & sent wth the retourne of theis shipps att any hand being a matter not onelic desiered by the gen^lalitie but expreslie agreed vpon & Chardged vpon vs that haue the ordering of the busines to see yt pformed, wth chardge being not in vs to pforme we laye vpon you in whose power the pformaunce thereof lieth as you will aunsweare the neglect thereof.

BESIDES the former pticulers of prize good^e & moneys before mencioned there appeth further to rest in the hand^e of m^r Starkey and the other ffactoⁿ 10 pecces of Clothes of diuers coullorⁿ Cont: 514 english yard^e a bason & Ewer of siluer poiz 102 oz, twoe standing Cupps poiz 63 oz whereof they are to giue you an accompt att yo^r being att Bantam.

what m^r Starkey hath besides the former p^{ar}ties &c: left att Bantam.

IFF those pt^e of the Indies doe yeald any good quantitie of Ibony ffarnando bucke¹ or such like heauie wood of value, you may pvide soe much thereof as will ballast yo^r shipps soe that the same take vpp

What wood is to be provided.

¹ Probably, as suggested by Mr. Bolton Corney, in his *Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society), Pernambuco-wood (called also Nicaragua-wood, Jamaica-wood, and peach-wood), an inferior kind of sappan, or brazil. Sappan is the wood of *Cesalpinia Sappan*, a native of Southern India, its Tamil name being *shappu*, and its Malayalam name *shappannam*, both meaning "red." From the latter was formed its Malayan name *sapang*, and its Arabic name *bakham*; while, translated into the terminology of the mediæval commerce of Europe, *shappannam* became "brazil," that is "blazing" red-wood. Afterwards, a variety (*Cesalpinia echinata*) of this brazil having been found in South America, its name was given to the vast country of the Brazils.

noe roome of stowinge that maye otherwyse be more pfitablye ymployed.

AND forasmuch as we are not ygnoraunt that the mallice of the Portingalls towardē oʀ discoury of the trade to those ptes will not lett him abstayne from all practices of annoyaunce w^{ch} lieth in his power to offer and pforme to the trade of the Mollocos, who happilie¹ maye by some layinge of waight for the intercepting of oʀ Penace sent to Banda depri[ue] vs of the pvisions w^{ch} otherwyse that voyadge might supply vs wthall yf any such or other pʀventing accident hath happened: yet would we haue you to carrie in yoʀ twoe shipps appointed for the Mollocos such quantitie of Pinthadoes moneys & other pvisions as may suffice to lade the said twoe shipps.

To pʀvent the Portingalls mallice & what is to be carried to the Mollocos.

THUS we haue touched many pticulers of oʀ busines not wthstandinge many other thinge may occur w^{ch} may greatlie concerne vs, w^{ch} we must leaue to yoʀ good Consideraõs to deale therein as time and occasion shall offer you occasion Comendinge vnto your care the state of such as shall fall sicke in the voyadge either outward or inward that they may be Comforted: And yf the die see that their goodē may be kept in saffetie, and their wills & dispotition thereof soe well testified that there growe not theke² suspition of the truth of some of their wills as hath beene had of the wills of others that dyed in the last voyadge.

leaueing other thinges of the state of yoʀ busines to Consideracon and the states & healthes of men &c:

AND forasmuch as the daies of mans lyfe are lymitted & the cʀtaine lymitaõn thereof onelie knowne vnto god, we doe heere by ordeyne & puide, that whereas we haue appointed & placed you the said Henrie Middleton in the Redd Dragon as Genʀall or gouʀnoʀ of the wholle ffleete & you mʀ xptofer Colthurst as leiuetenant genʀall and principall mʀchaunt in the Hectoʀ & you mʀ Roger Style oʀ principall mʀchaunte in the Assenõn, & you mʀ Wittm Keeleinge another of oʀ principall mʀchaunte in the

Anie dieing others to be placed as they were first appointed & soe consequentie &c:

Suzan: yf therfore yt shall happen any of you to decease in this voyadge we doe ordeyne that he that in place & order by vs appointed to

¹ Haply.

² The like.

goe as principall in eu'y shipp w^{ch} shall surviue the ptie deceased shall & may by the appointem^t of the Generall, shall¹ him selfe in the shipp out of w^{ch} the said ptie did decease, and hold his place in the same shipp and the place that the ptie deceased held gen'allie in the voyadge and soe a succession to be held from the generall to the Leiuetenaunte from the leiuetenaunte to the principall m'chaunt placed in the Assençon from the principall m'chant of the Assençon to the principall m'chant placed in the Suzan: And yf yt shall happen all the principalls of the seu'all shippes to decease (as god forbid[]) the like succession to holde & be kept by the seu'all m'chaunte appointed to hold the second places in eu'y the said shippes & soe in succession from one to another according as the seu'all m'chaunte hold place in eu'y shipp.

PROVIDED alwayes that yf m' Wilm Starkey o' Agent
where m' Starkey shall be shipped if he retourne home. resident att Bantam doe come home in the retourne of the shippes then we doe requier you o' generall & principall m'chaunte to take espetiall order that he be pvided for & placed in such shipp as he shall be shipped as a man that we hould to be had in good reguarde, & to be respected accordinglie and yf any of the principall m'chaunte places fall voided by the death of any of them, or otherwyse, that then he supplie that place in his retourne homewardest.

AND lastelie whereas his ma^{ty} vnder his great seale of England hath appointed you the saied m' Henrie Middleton the generall and principall Gou'no' of all his subjecte ymployed in the voyadge & you the saied m' xptofer Colthurst to be leiuetenaunt gen'all, And yf you the said xptofer Colthurst surviue the said Henrie Middleton then to succeed him in the place of Gou'no' or Generall wthout appointing any further succession by like warrant to any that is ymployed in the said voyadge and that yt lyeth not in vs to giue to any of the residue of o' principall m'chaunte any warrant for the Correcōn of Offences by penall lawes to be executed vpon the bodies of any his ma^{ty} subiecte, we doe in that behalfe as to men haueing

m' Colthurst leaue-
tenant to succede
m' Hen: Middleton
gen'all yf he decease
vnto whome Com-
mand of the men
shall be as in the
gen'all.

¹ Apparently written in error for "ship."

reason and discreõn & to men that feare god offer vnto yo^r Consideraõns the benefitt of order & peaceable gou^rnm^{te} in matters & enterprizes vndertaken for a Comon good, reposeing in you o^r seuerall m^rchaunt^r & all you o^r sev^rall Officers appointed & intertayned in this voyadge a spetiall hope trust and Confidence that you will accorde and agree together and ioyne in freindshipp & amytie to doe & execute yo^r vttermost endevo^r for the benefitt of the voyadge wthout Contenõn discord or emulaõn to be vsed amongst you guideing yo^rselues therein by that gen^rall Regim^t & sea gou^rnm^{te} w^{ch} o^r English ffeet^r doe vse when they sorte them selues together, haueing espetiall & due respect to him that is the principall or cape m^rchante & soe we Comend yoⁿ and yo^r endeuo^r to good^e^l puidence who guide you wth his feare and defend you from all daungers Amen.

AS touching such ffacto^r as are to be left in the Countrie or of those w^{ch} goe now in theis shipps we doe agree
Post scriptũ. and giue order by this o^r Commission that the appointm^t of the said ffacto^r to reside in those places shall be att the direcõns and Consent of you o^r Generall, m^r x^ptofer Colthurst, m^r Starkey and m^r Morgan or any three of you, wherein we hope you will haue that Consideraõn as to make choyse of the fittest: neither lett the placeing of o^r ffacto^r in the seu^rall shipps as, they are alredie placed be any rule to you, or any ground for them to enioye those places of ymploym^t wherein you are to bestowe them, otherwyse then they shall be found able & meete to deserue that trust of ymploym^{te}.

vnto whome the power of the factor^s placing shalbe in & o^r placeing to be noe rule.

THE shipps being readie to depte & all o^r Comissions & instrucõns being resolued vpon and finished: wee receiued tres out of the lowe Countries w^{ch} came from o^r ffacto^r from the East Indies by the dutch shipps viz from m^r Wiltm Starkey of the 22th of Iune and 2 other tres one from Edmond Scott and the other from Thomas Tudd both dated the 17th of August 1603. by w^{ch} latter tres we were aduised of the death of m^r Starkey and m^r Morgan & of others who were left att Bantam and alsoe of the damadge that

what we were aduised of out of the lowe Countries from Bantam since all thinges were in a redines.

1 God's.

happened vnto vs in oʳ goodē burnt by fyer in the dutch warehowse together wth the disappointem^t of oʳ intended voyadge to the Molloccos by the Contrarietie of wynde.¹ All w^{ch} thinge being Considered we take them as they were indeede the hand of god, who disposeth of all enterprizes according to his good will & pleasure, w^{ch} Accidente howsoeu^r by the death of oʳ said principall ffacto^r they doe in some manner moue vs to alter oʳ said Comissions & advises soe farr as we had appointed any thinge to be done by the advise of the said m^r Starkey & m^r Morgan, yet in substance we purpose to hold oʳ former resolu^{ti}ōns for the following of oʳ busines And in steede of the psons deceased we wyshe you to advise & vse Conference wth the ffacto^r remayneing, whome you finde most apt & able to assist you in the direction of the busines and touching yoʳ pceedinge in the voyadge from Bantam to the Molloccos after order for lading of the Dragon and the Suzan wth pepp to retourne for England being taken we thinke y^t fitt you Capt: Middleton p^rpare yoʳselfe wthall speede to goe for Banda and doe furnish yoʳ selfe wth the most aptest & fittest of oʳ ffacto^r to attend you, and to be left att Banda, for the furdur followinge of that trade according as yt may be found likelie to bring benefitt to the Companie wherein you are accordinge to yoʳ good discre^{ti}ōn & Considera^{ti}ōn to vse the more or fewer ffacto^r to be left there as you shall finde the more or lesse hope of benefitt to be made by their residence in that place not forgetting the Companyes desire as neere as you cann possibl^e to cleare the former voyadge according to oʳ former direc^{ti}ōn, by a discrete & resonable valua^{ti}ōn of the remayner. And for the accomplishing of ladeing att Banda in the Moloccos you oʳ said gen^lall are to take wth yo^r soe much of the Comodities remayneing in oʳ ffacto^r hande att Bantam as they thinke will serue for the puiding of yoʳ ladinge att the Molloccos according to the pportion geuen by S^r Iames Lancaster to guide, remembring that they dutchmen bought of Spillesbe³ the like Comodities to carrie to the molloccos

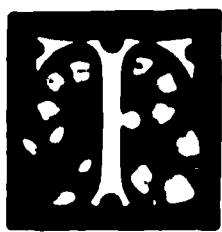
¹ See Edmond Scott's relation of events at Bantam between February, 1603, and 1605, printed in *Purchas*, Lib. III., ch. 4.

² Speilberg or Spilberg, the captain of a Dutch ship, who had joined Lancaster at his departure from Acheen on an agreement that he should have a share in any prize that might be taken. He afterwards sold at Bantam the goods thus obtained, and it is to this the entry refers.

for the better furnishing of their lading : but for yo^r better assurance least the saide Comodities should not be in request there, you shall doe well to take wth you 10000, 15000, or 20000 Royalls of 8 as you shall thinke meete & being soe furnished both by wares and money, you may both guide you ladinge and supplie yo^r ffacto^r w^{ch} you shall thinke fitt to leaue to recyde theare wth sufficient stocke for pusion of Cloues and Mace agaynst another yeare. This piect being lade downe for the trade att Banda you shall doe well in yo^r going thither to touch att the Iland of Amboyna or any other Iland by the way where Cloues may be had and to furnish yo^r selfe wth what quantitie you cann gett whereby you may the lesse depend vpon yo^r pusion of Cloues att Banda, & haueing directed and ordered yo^r busines for the Moloccos, then vpon yo^r retourne to Bantam to take full and pfect knowledge of the wholle state of o^r busines & to leaue 10 or 12 ffacto^r there wth such stocke as shall remayne vnmployed or as may be spared o^r shippes being laden admonishing the ffacto^r to be more carefull to buye their pepp att the best advantage then they haue beene, & to buie of the largest pepp w^{ch} heare beareth the best estimacon, and vnlesse you shall finde yt verie necessarie that some ffacto^r be left att Banda, we are of opinion & doe like well that the residue of o^r ffacto^r be holden altogether att Bantam but herein we leaue you to yo^r owne experience, as yo^r shall finde the Course most convenient And soe as before Comend you to god^e puidence

AND whereas o^r ffacto^r deceased doe appeare to haue left some estate behinde them w^{ch} must haue meanes to come to the hande of such as haue interest therein we doe wyshe you to take order: that all thinge that doe appeare to belonge vnto them be duclie and trulie inventoried & shipped aparte by them selues, and their wills saffelie kepte and brought home together wth their booke & note of their buieing and sellinge whereby there estates were encreased & gotten, to thend that the Company may be satisfied that they haue beene well delt wth all therein & their freinde receaue that w^{ch} shall rightfullie appteine vnto them.





HIS¹ writeing of the kinge of Tydore to the kinge ma^{tie} of England is to lett yo^r highnes vnderstand that the kinge of Holland hath sent hither into theis partes, a flecte of shippes to ioyne wth o^r auncient enymie the kinge of Turnato & the ioyntelic together haue ouer runn and spoyled parte of o^r Countrie & are determined to distroy both vs and o^r subiecte. Now vnderstanding by the bearer hereof Capt: Henrie Middleton that yo^r highnes is in freindshipp, wth the kinge of Spaine we desire yo^r ma^{tie} that you would take pittie of vs that we may not be distroyed by the kinge of Holland, and Turnato to whome we haue offered noe wronge But they by forceable meanes seeke to bereaue vs of o^r kingdome, and all greates kinge vpon the Earth are ordeyned by God to sucker all them that be wrongfullie oppressed soe I appeale vnto yo^r ma^{tie} for sucker agaynst my enemyes not doubting but to finde releefe att yo^r ma^{tie} hande. And yf yo^r ma^{tie} send hither I humblie intreate that yt may be Capt: Henrie Middleton or his brother wth whome I am well acquainted: Thus we end praying God to enlargeth yo^r kingdomes & bless yo^r & all yo^r Councells. Tydore.

from the kinge of
Tiskra to his ma^{tie}
by Captaine Henrie
Middleton deliuered
to his ma^{tie} in Maye.
1606.



ARE¹ geuen from yo^r freinde the kinge of Bantam sent vnto the kinge of England of Scotland fraunce & Ireland desiering god to p^rserue yo^r health & to exalt yo^r more & more & all yo^r Councells. And whereas yo^r ma^{tie} hath sent Generall Henrie Middleton he came vnto me in health. I did heare that yo^r ma^{tie} was come to the Crowne of England w^{ch} doth greatlie reioyce my harte now England and Bantam are both as one. I haue alsoe receaued a present from yo^r ma^{tie}. The w^{ch} I giue you many thanke for yo^r kindnes. I doe send yo^r ma^{tie} 2 Bezar stones the one waying 14 masses² & the other 3. And soe god haue you in his keepeing.

from the kinge of
Bantam to o^r kinge
with a present of twoe
bezar stones by
generall Henrie Middle-
ton deliuered to his
ma^{tie} y^e 25 of Maye
1606.

¹ Printed in Purchas, Lib. V., ch. 14.

² " The weight by which they [the Achinese] sell Precious Stones is called *Mass*.



HE¹ kinge of Mollocco to the kinge ma^{tie} of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland sendeth greeting heareing the good reporte of yo^r ma^{tie} & of the greatnes of yo^r kingdomes by the greate Captaine ffrancis Drake in the tyme of my ffather w^{ch} was aboute 30 yeares past² by the w^{ch} Capt: my ffather did send a Ringe vnto the Queene of England as a token of Remembrance w^{ch} yf the foresaid Drake were liueing he could Certifie yo^r ma^{tie} of the greate loue and freindshipp on either side he in the behalfe of the Queene my ffather for him & his successo^{rs} w^{ch} tyme after the deptime of the said Capt we haue dalie expected his retourne, my father liueing many yeares after. And I after the death of my ffather liued in the same hope till I was ffather to 11 Children, since w^{ch} tyme we haue beene informed that English men were men of bad dispoition, & came not as peaceable m^rchaunt^e but as theeues. and robbers and to depose vs of o^r Countries, w^{ch} by the comeing of the bearer hereof yo^r ma^{ties} servant Capt: Henrie Middleton we haue found to the Contrary whereof we greatelie reioyce. And after many yeares of expectation of some English fforces by the pmyse of Capt: Drake heere arriued certeine shipps w^{ch} we well hoped had beene English men, but they pued to be Hollenders, & then being out of all hope of sucker of the english nation we were enforced to wryte to the Prince of Holland to craue aide and succo^r of him agaynst o^r auncient enymies the Portingalles. And according to o^r request he hath sent hither his forces w^{ch} hath expelled all the Portingalls out of the ffort^e they here hould att Ambweno³ and Tydore, And whereas yo^r ma^{tie} hath sent vnto vs a most kinde tre by Capt Henrie Middleton yt doth not a little reioyce vs: as alsoe the said Capt Henr Middleton was desierous

from the kinge of
Turnato to his ma^{tie}
sent by Henrie
Middleton or gen^rall
directed to o^r kinges
ma^{tie} with a p^rsent &
deliured in May 1606.

"10½ whereof make an ounce."—*John Davis his Relation* in *Purchas*, Lib. III., ch. 1. The *masha* is the elementary weight, of from 16 to 20 grains, used immemorially by the Hindu jewellers throughout India. The names of most of the weights of the Malays and Javanese are taken from the ancient Hindu ones, as *rakat*, so named after the Hindu *rati*, and *tail* after the Hindu *tola* (cf. *τάλαντον*, *tolero*, *tollo*, *Tantalus*, *Atlas*).

¹ This copy differs to some extent from the version given in *Purchas*, Lib. V., ch. 14.

² See *Purchas*, Lib. II., ch. 3.

³ Amboyna.

to leaue a ffactory here we were very willinge there vnto, and gaue o' Consent, w^{ch} the Admirall of the Hollenders vnderstandinge he came and Challenged a former pmyse w^{ch} we had wrytte to the Prince of Holland that yf he would send vs such Succo' as should expell the Portugalls out of theis pte that noe other Nation should haue trade heare but onelie they, soe that we were enforced agaynst o' likeing to yeald vnto the Hollenders Capt request for this p'sent tyme. Wherefore we craue pardon of yo' ma^{tie}. And whereas the Hollenders Admirall doth soliscite vs not to hold any ffreindshipp wth the englishe nor to giue care nor Creditt to yo' ma'e tres: yett neu'theless for all their sute yf yt please you to send hither agayne they shall be most freindlie wellcome, & in token of ffreindshipp w^{ch} we desire wth yo' ma^{tie}. Wee haue sent you a small remembraunce of a Bahare of Cloues o' Countrie being poore & yealding noe other Comoditie w^{ch} we pray yo^u to accept in good parte. And soe we leaue you to god who bless you and all yo' Councells.

Tarnata.

Theis 3 foresaid tres were translated out of the India speech into English.



MOSTE¹ mightie kinge of Dachem and Sumatra to all psons that shall read this present writeinge, Greeting.

IN TOKEN of o' espetiall freindshipp & vpon many good Consideraõns vs moueing, and cheeflie vppon the Contemplasing of the gracious tres receiued from the most famous Queene of England: we of o' espetiall meere motion doe signifie and declare to all people, that we haue intertayned into o' freind-

Priviledges from the kinge of Dachem and Sumatra to the Companye.

¹ There is another copy of this grant in the India Office Records (O. C. No 1), but it presents no important variation. The fate of the original is not known. There is an entry in the Court Minutes for 26th February, 1614, that Sir James Lancaster, who was supposed to have it in his custody, was to be asked for it, to send to the Indies (*Cal. E. I. State Papers*, 1513-1616, p. 279); but there is no further mention of the subject.

shipp, & holie league o' well beloued the *SERINISSIMA REGINA DE ENGLA TERRA*. to hold and keepe true and faithfull league wth her accordinge to the Comendable Course & law of all nations, vnto whose subiecte, we wish much felicitie and therefore doe giue and graunte by theis p'sente for vs o' heires & successo^r as much as in vs lieth to the said subiecte of the most noble Queene of England o' Confederate & eu'y of them theis articles, graunte & priuiledge heereafter expressed and declared.

FFIRSTE we doe giue and graunte ffree licence auctoritie & power to all the people, ffacto^r, m'chaunte or subiecte of the Queene of England that they may att all tymes heereafter for eu' suerlie and saffellie come into any portes or els wheare into theis o' dominiones & kingdome of Sumatra wth their shippes goodē & m'chandize wthout any deteinm^t or hindraunce to them, or to their goodē: & theare to abide soiourne, buie & sell, barter and exchange according to their owne^l manner and fashion wth all manner of Nations whatsoeu' as well as wth o' owne naturall subiecte: both in spices & all other m'chandizes & soe they may tarrie in o' Countrie soe long as they will, & goe away when the list, wthout any ympedim^t lett or hindraunce, paying all such debte as they shall owe to any of o' subiecte wthin o' said dominion.

FFURTHERMORE o' will & pleasure is that all such goodē and m'chandize as any of the subiecte of the Queene of England shall bringe into this o' kingdome or any the partes thereof shall be ffree of all Custome or paym^t whatsoeu' as well for that w^{ch} shall be brought into theis o' dominions as for all manner of m'chandize they shall transporte out of the same for any forreine pte whatsoeu'.

ITEM yf any of their shippes in tempest of weather shall be in daunger to be lost, & pishe, & therevpon shall stande in neede of o' helpe wee will and Comaund that o' vessells wth all speede doe helpe & succo' them, to saue the same shippes & goodē and what may be saued, to retourne to the said m'chaunte or their assignes they paying resonable Considera^on for their travell.

ITEM yf any Englishe man shall make his will & Testam^t to

whomesoeu' (by the same will []) he shall giue his goodē, the ptie shall haue them accordinglie, and yf he die intestate, he to whome the cheefe ffacto' or gou'no' shall saie the goodē of the dead to belonge, he shall posses the same.

ITEM that eu'y bgaine made by the said m'chauntē wth any manner of pson for any kinde of m'chandize shall be firme and staple & that noe man of either ptie may shrinke or goe backe from the same & yt shall be lawfull for them to goe before any of o' Iustices & to register the same in a Booke according to the teno' thereof, yf any Controu'sie shall aryse present iustice to be done to both pties, & when they haue sold any of their wares to o' subjectē or any other they shall not retourne the said wares vpon the m'chauntē handē, but paie for them or ells they shall haue present iustice

ITEM yf any English m'chaunte ffacto' or servant shall offend the Agent or cheefe Gou'no' of the ffactorie yt shall be lawfull for the said Gouverno' to doe iustice vpon the said ptie, or to send him home into England att his pleasuer, & further we graunte vnto the said Gou'no' power and auctoritie to end any Controu'sie that shall aryse betweene them & to doe iustice accordinge to their owne lawes and Customes.

ITEM we doe graunte the said marchauntē and to their Successoⁿ, that yf any of them or of their servantē shall be wounded or be slaine in any pte or place of o' dominion, then informacōn thereof being geuen we o' iustices and other Officers will execute due correcōn & punishm^t wthout delaie accordinge to the cause of the offence, soe that yt shall be an example to all others not to offend in the like. And yf it shall happen the ffactors servauntē or mynisters of the said m'chauntē to trespasse or offend, whereby they or any of them shall incurr the daunger of death, or of punishm^t, that then the goodē wares or m'chandizes of their Senioⁿ shall not therefore be forfected Confiscate seized vpon nor spoyled by vs o' heires or Successoⁿ or by any of o' Officers ministers or subiectē but shall remaine franke & free as discharged of all punishm^t & losse.

ITEM we doe pmyse the foresaid m'chauntē graunting yt for eu' for vs & o' heires that yf any shall bringe any manner of goodē or m'chandize meete for Treasurie that we will not cause anie

staie or arrest to be made of their said goodē or m^rchaundize to vs or for o^r vses wthout present Content to be made by o^r Th^rer at such reasonable prises as the m^rchauntē could sell them for ready money, & that noe price or valua^on shalbe set vpon their goodē or m^rchandizes by vs or any Officers of o^r.

ITEM we of o^r goodnes haue graunted to the said English m^rchauntē their successo^rs servauntē & deputies that doe or shall remayne in any pte of this o^r kingdome of Sumatra whether yt be in Dache^m or any other pte of o^r dominion freelie to keepe their owne lawe & in any wyse none of o^rs to force them to o^r lawe or faith against their wills.

ITEM yf any man shall saie, that theis being Christians haue spoken any thinge to the deroga^on of o^r holie faith & religion & haue slaundered the same, in this matter as well as in all others there shall noe false witnes in any case be admitted.

LAST of all to thintent that this league wth her ma^{tie} & the aforesaid grauntē & priuiledge wth her subiectē, may the better be obserued and inuiolablie be p^rformed, we by the grace of God greate kinge of Dache^m & Sumatra for vs o^r heires & succsessors doe p^rmyse by o^r princelie word in stead of an Oath inuiolablie to maintaine & preserue & will cause to be inuiolablie kept p^rserved & mayntayned frome tyme to tyme & att all tymes heereafter & for the more ratifica^on we comaund all o^r Captaines Iudges Customers Gou^rno^rs & servauntē wheresoeu^r theis tres or priuiledge shall be seene throughout all o^r dominions that they be obeyed in all pointē accordinglie as longe as the Queene of England of her pte shall duellie keepe and obserue this league & holie peace expressed in this priuiledge wth vs and o^r subiectē we alsoe of o^r Royall pte doe chardge & Comaund the same soe longe to be strayghtlie kept & obserued. And the Contrarie to this diuynē league and priuiledge, lett noc man presume to doe or saie any thinge.



A DISCRIPCON¹ of the Iland of Banda wth the Townes and Iland^e thereof: wth the wares or marchandizes therein spent & vttered & wares to be bought theare as followeth.



O witt Lunter² Nere³ in w^{ch} towne we bought o^r Nutmegges & maces, and theare sould diuers sortes of o^r Stuffe Pinthados Iava girdles in barter for maces & nutte⁴ Madgawgen, Lykou, Artatten,⁵ Semar, Kamber⁶ Rere, Anwen, Dunno^r, Dedyer, Rossengen,⁶ Laba taker⁶ Latter, Loekra Regacke Rata muferr Polayu,⁷ Palroyen.⁸

Wares and m^rchandizes spent & vttered there namelie stuffe or Clothes as our men call them: & called by the Dutchmen kleetghees⁹ being the same & such like stuffe as S^r Iames Lancaster tooke w^{ch} are made att Bengalla Mesepatamya¹⁰ Cheremandalle & St Thome, and as some saye alsoe att Suratt & Cambaya w^{ch} stuffes as the dutchmen saie are thus called viz Dragon, Patta Kassa of the ffinest *Torya, Baffa, Telle Pricken, Kantkey, Mossaffey, Patta Malim Tzijnd, Sorassa Madynceus*¹¹ Brasse peeces of Ordinances wth Chambers in the breeches w^{ch} are to be had in Bantam but brought from Chyna as thought. All theis aboue said wares are well vttered in those Townes.

India wares

Townes and places where the are made.

Rise and Sagur w^{ch} is at the barke of a Tree, or made of a Tree w^{ch} they buie & eate instead of bread.

Rise and Sagur is their bread.

Nowe followeth English Comodities to be

¹ There is another copy of this note in the O. C. Series (N^o. 35).

² Lantore, Lontor or Groot Banda. ³ Neira or Banda Neira. ⁴ Nutmegs.

⁵ In a map of Banda given in a *Histoire de la Navigation aux Indes Orientales* (1609) the towns of *Ortattan, Combeer* and *Labetack* are shewn, the two former being on the island of Lantore, and the third on the island of Neira.

⁶ Pulo Rosagijn.

⁷ Pulo Ai?

⁸ Pulo Ron?

⁹ Apparently some variant of the Dutch *kleet*, a cloth, dress, or habit.

¹⁰ This happens to be an interesting blunder, although due merely to the transcriber's preoccupation with "the blessed word Mesopotamia," for from the earliest times there was a close connection between the countries on the Persian Gulf, and the Coromandel Coast; and both Nineveh and Masulipatam mean "Fish-town." Mosul, which gives its name to muslin, is the modern representative of ancient Nineveh, but the word has no connection with *masuli* in Masuli-patam, and would appear to be the Arabic word *maksul*, "revenue," here meaning "Revenue"-station.

¹¹ Madinrens (O. C. 35). It is impossible to identify all of these local denominations of piece goods; but for some of them see the notes on the two following pages.

theare sold Broad sword blades Royalls of 8. English Clothes
 English wares. Reds & stamels¹ of 10, 12 or 14² ste the yarde
 veluette³ Redd veluette³ greene branched wth
 fflowers &c: w^{ch} are not English but China veluette & to be
 had att Bantam of the Chineses much better cheepe then we
 can carrie English veluette thither.

ffor all the foresaid wares & Royalls the people of *Banda*,
 Spices. *Turnato*, *Tedora* & other places of the *Mollocos*
 doe giue in Barter mace Nutmegge & Cloues.

In the places & Townes abouesaid maces are gathered 3
 Maces gathered 3 tymes in a yeare viz in Iulie is the greatest, con-
 tynes a yeare. tinuing vntill September. Againe in December
 & againe in ffebruarie. The last twoe gatheringe are but
 small in quantitie, the greate gatheringe the call their *Payty*,
 & the 2 small gatheringe, the call *Ara* and *Messon Iaua*.

A DESCRIPTION of the Iland of Amboyna translated
 out of Dutch 1605.³



THEARE groweth abundance of Cloues not eu'y yeare,
 but eu'ry third yeare & eu'ry third yeare is a greate
 growth now this present yeare of *Anno dni* 1605.
 Heare are diuers sortes of East Indy wares uttered
 as followeth *Clothes* as o' men vse to call them, & called by
 Cloues heare but the dutchmen *Kletgees* being linnen & made of
 every 3 yeare. Cotten woll, or the same stuffe, that *Callicutt*
*cloth*⁴ is made, to cast aboute their bodies as *Clokes* or *Mantles*,
 or as girdles and *Skarffes* aboute their loynes: named as followeth
 & for w^{ch} the *Amboyneses* doe giue vs Cloues in barter.

Tooria, *black Baffatta*,⁵ *Keykam*, *Sallallo*, *Pattala*,⁶ *Sarassa*,⁶

¹ See page 96, note 2.

² There is another copy of this and the following notes in the document already referred to (O. C. 35). It is there described as "a Noate written in Duch A° 1606 & Translated by one of the Companyes factor^s at Bantam"

³ Calico.

⁴ So called from the Persian *bafis*, "woven": it was originally a kind of calico, chiefly obtained from Baroch.

⁵ A silk cloth, so called from the Canarese and Malayalam *pattada*, "silk cloth."

⁶ Perhaps *sari*, the cloth used as a robe by Hindu women.

Indie wares.

*Tzier, Mallya,*¹ *Patta,*² *Mora, Tanknyla,* there³ are white Clothes wth Red stripes on the end *blew kanteke black Mossaffey,*⁴ *blew Cheney*⁵ Clothes all or the most pte of theis abouesaid are made aboute *Bengalla, Mesapatamya St Thome Cheremandall* or *Cambaya* & some other pte of the East Indies.

¹ Malayia (O. C. 35).

² This word means "breadth," and signifies a cloth of one breadth. The *do-patta*, or sheet of two breadths, is the only garment of the women of the lower orders in Bengal.

³ Theis (O. C. 35).

⁴ That is *musa'fari*, "saffron-y," originally a "saffron"-dyed stuff. Yellow has immemorially been the colour of joy among the Hindus, and in Hindu art Vishnu and Rama are always appparelled in bright yellow; dull yellow (*bag-wa*, "god"-colour) being the colour of the vestments of the Saiva ascetics. Red also is held by the Hindus to be a joyous colour, and is always worn at marriages; and both colours are regarded by them as sacred to the sun, and to the East, or place of sun rise, and the South, or "right hand path" of the sun; red being the colour usually appropriated to the former and yellow to the latter, although some sects reverse this allocation. Yellow was the sacred colour also of the Babylonian and Assyrian Anunit or Ishtar, and to this day it continues to be the favourite colour of Jewish women. Significantly enough the early Christians, in the same way that they made Friday—the day of Ishtar and Venus and Friya—the unlucky day of the week, made yellow the colour of sin and crime, painting the doors of felons yellow, and compelling the Jews to wear yellow, just as the Mahomedans compel them, and the Christians of Egypt and Syria, &c., to wear dark blue, which is the uncanny colour and the colour of mourning throughout Anterior and Southern Asia. As of Anunit or Ishtar, yellow was the sacred colour of Aphrodite-Venus and Artemis-Diana, both derivatives from Ishtar; and from the earliest ages it was the colour most affected by the women of Greece. In Homer Eōs is not only "rosy-fingered" (*ροδοδάκτυλος*, *Odyssey* II., 1), but "saffron-mantled" (*κροκόπειπλος*, *Iliad* VIII., 1, and XIX., 1); as are Enyō—one of the three Graiæ—in Hesiod (*Theognis*, 273), and the Muses in Alcman (74); while the references and allusions in the Greek and Latin poets to the saffron-coloured robes so fashionable among the ladies of ancient Athens and Rome are innumerable, as in the *Agamemnon* of Æschylus, the *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusæ*, and *Ecclesiazusæ* of Aristophanes, and the plays of Plautus, who in his *Aulularia* (III., 10) mentions not only "dyers in mallow colour" (see p. 59, note 2), but "dyers in saffron"—*incedunt infectores crocotarii*—their stealthy, enticing approach, like that of a Bombay *boraḥ*, or "box-wallah," indicating the reckless passion of the Roman women for this colour, in the belief that it gave an irresistible power to the natural charm of their sex over men: in which they were justified, to judge from the sweet, winsome loveliness of the young high-caste Hindu women of Western India, as they appear abroad on gala occasions issuing forth in their innumerable twinkling slippers of Telmont yellow, rosy red, or Mazarine blue, and enrobed in lustrous saffron-tinctured *saris* of soft fluttering silk, rendered still more radiant and ethereal by the sparkle and sheen of diamond and pearl.

⁵ China (O. C. 35).

Now follow the English or Holland^e wares theare vendible
 some head peeces some graven some guilt, long peeces wth snap
 hances,¹ the cocke to stand on the hither side
 the panne longe stock^e & straight y^e barrell
 square velvett^e red, velvett^e grene, Damaskes, yet not many
 theis are to be bought in Bantam of the Chyneses & to be
 carried to the Molloccos.

English or Hollandes
 warcs.

Painted drinking glasses, lookeinge glasses 3. 4. 5. 6 pipkans²
 being as I thinke small pewter or woodden kanns made wth
 spowt^e to drinke in w^{ch} are made cheeflie in Holland as I thinke
 some kniues I thinke sleight kniues, some wth painted haftes³
 of wood or boane.

Royalls of 8 *Tenkees*⁴ w^{ch} I suppose are *Ellaphaunts* teeth.

Theis people are decepteffull in their Cloues men must
 take heede least they putt dust to make them
 heaue or mingle some such stuffe amonge them
 w^{ch} you must carefullie finde & spie out in tyme,

deceit in Cloues.

Theis be the names of the Townes in *Amboyna Hito*,
Mamelen, *Nusitelle* & the *Castle*, but at *Amboyna* we shall not
 get any *Cloues* because of the *Hollenders*. Theis townes lie vpon
 one Iland viz: *Lowe Lossiury*,⁵ *Cambella*, *Keyebabbit Lackey Latu*.

most store of cloues

But att lowe *Cambella* & *Hito* falleth most
 cloues.

And is alsoe the best Roade for shippes & are
 a good people.

the best roade for
 ships: good people.

¹ Snaphances (Dutch *snaphaan*), i.e. guns with spring locks, as opposed to the old match locks.

² Pipe Canns (O. C. 35).

³ O. C. 35 adds "some playne haftes."

⁴ *Tanga* (Sanskrit *tanka*, "a weight"—of silver), the chief silver coin of the Mogol Emperors of Delhi, representing the *dirhem* (drachma) of the Arabs, and the "rupee" (Sanskrit *rupya*, "beautified"—silver) of modern India. The term is still applied to a silver coin in Turkestan, worth about 7½d. The *padma-tanka* of Southern India was a gold coin, and in Tamil the word *tanka* means, specifically, "weighty,"—as gold. Universally in India a mint is designated *tankasala*, commonly shortened to *tangsal*.

⁵ Lowlo, Lossidi (O. C. 35).

Selebes.

A DISCRIPTION of the Iland *Selebes* or
Makasser.

HEARE in are spent & vttered theis wares followinge
Clothes as we call them, and by the Hollenders called

India wares *kletgees*, Towit *dragon*, *Patta*, *Mea*, *Torya*,
Baffa, knitt *Sipann*, *Threle*,¹ *Ormesines*² or

China wares

Chineses much better cheepe then English velvettē. Read or
English wares stamells English Cloth as aboue aboute 10. 12
or 14^s star the yarde, Royalls of 8, for all w^{ch} we
shall buie Ryse, Indico Lapes Bezar w^{ch} theare in abundance
are to be hadd.

The Rice you may carry from hence to *Amboyna* and *Banda*
Rise good wares to buye heare. where you may gett for yt any sorte of spices
before all wares that can be carried thither, or
for w^{ch} you may gett any lading theare.

The are heathen people but verie good people to deale wth all
Heathen but a good people & good iustice. & to liue by: and w^{ch} doe hold good right &
iustice & order after their manner

Glasses kniues.

Glasses to drinke in, lookeing glasses & kniues
are there well requested.



IN THIS Iland of *Botonar*³ are some good *slaues*
but noe good of their owne but what are
thither brought from Iava for *Slaues* for
heare the buie and sell *Slaues* as a good

A description of
the Iland of Bot-
ton.

slaues.

China dishes.

India clothes.

m'chandize *China dishes* or *Puselen*⁴ of all sorte of
the finest *Clothes* I meane India Cloth[es c]alled
*Tenexto*⁵ or *Tannies*⁶ are heare well requested.

¹ Tzidle (O. C. 35). See note 11 on page 73.

² Also spelled *armozeen*, *armosyn*, and *armesie* (from the Italian *ormistino*, "sarcenet," "taffeta-sarcenet," see Florio's *Worlds of Wordes*); originally a stout black silk much used in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries for making "Geneva gowns" and for funeral scarfs, but afterwards dyed of various colours.

³ Botton (O. C. 35). Botton, or Buton, an island to the south-west of Celebes.

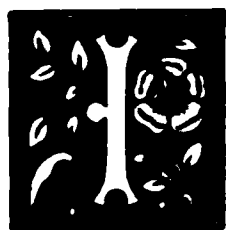
⁴ Porcelain.

⁵ Teneyte (O. C. 35).

⁶ Tanyes (O. C. 35).

Clothes, english Clothes, Read, stamels, velvettē of all
 veluetts and Taffeties. manner of sortē & workē of the finest Damaskes
 & Taffeties, (not english silke) well requested.
 Theis Damaskē & Taffeties as some men saie are alsoe made att
 Damaske & carried to Bantam, & soe to the Moloccos

A DISCRPTION of the Iland of Seran¹



IN THIS Iland of Seran falleth noe other wares then
 Segu,² w^{ch} is of a tree in the Iland of Banda, is well
 requested, & is their bread & they cannot want³ yt.
 Therefore is caried from hence thither and sold to
 great proffitt, men sell theare theis kinde of Indie Clothes.
*Madmayrens,*⁴ *Sallallo, Kassa, Dragon, Patta, Kantekey, Bassa,*⁵
kreyckam Brasse peeces of Ordinance like bases⁶
 Bras peeces. haueing Chambers in the breeches w^{ch} brasse
 peeces are made in *China* well formed & are to be bought att
 Bantam, longe peeces snaphances such as are in
 longe peeces & head the former pte hereof, described head peeces
 peeces & harness. white, graven and guilt & Corslettē are here well requested.

But note in this Iland there is nothinge to be had for retourne
 for o^r Countrie yet store of Sagu for to make bread to be sold to
 good pfitt onelie att Banda.



HERE followeth the Table of the India clothes as we
 call Clothes named in the former parte hereof and
 how to know them to witt.

Tzinde, are silke Clothes wth dead⁷ stripes.
 Patta, katnynen wth read stripes ou^rthwarte through.
 Dragon, blacke and Read.
 Sallallo, blew & blacke.
 Basta are white & blacke, starched & foulded vpp fower square.

¹ A large island to the north of the Banda Group, lying between Boeroe and New Guinea.

² Sago.

⁴ Madynrens (O. C. 35).

³ Do without.

⁵ Bastan (O. C. 35).

⁶ The smallest kind of cannon used in the 16th and 17th centuries. It weighed about 200 lbs., had a bore of an inch and a quarter, and threw a ball $\frac{1}{2}$ lb. in weight.

⁷ Read (O. C. 35). *Sindi* cloth (*σινδών* of the Greeks, and *sadin* of Proverbs xxxi. 24, Isalah iii. 23, and Judges xiv. 12 and 13.)

Kassa are white vnstarched lawnes.

Kreckam, is Read starched.

Kantekey, black starched.

Mossaffey is black of the same, starched.

Toorya not starched, are painted like as the Sarassa but are verie Course.

Borne Laya, are wth white & blacke quarles¹ or Checkers like as Poliyng kintsy.²

Paw are silke Clothes wth freinge³ att the end wth little quarles of checo' through.

Theis foresaid Clothes as we call them are all tymes well to be had att Bantam, yett att some tymes better then att other some: but are made in Bengalla att Mesapatania⁴ S' Thome Cheremandalla.

To be bought in
Bantam but made in
Acc:

Royalls

Dragon y ^e Cody or Cordge	040	Royals
Patta the Cordge	055	Royalls
Kassa the Corge	080	Royals
Tzyle the Corge	070	Royalls
Sarassa the Corge	100	Royalls
Gobber the Corge	120	Royals
Tsidnde the Corge	140	Royalls
Kntsy paw ⁵ the Corge	093	Royals
Blatty the Corge	060	Royals
Moredie y ^e Cordge or Codic	030	Royals
Maduyevs ⁶ y ^e Corge	013	
Baffata y ^e Cordge	100	
Kantekey y ^e Corge	020	
Mosaffey y ^e Corge ...	032	
Toria the Corge	016	
Kneckam ⁷ the Corge	025	
Polinge the Corge	035	
Borne ladye the Corge	030	

¹ Quarl or quarrel, a square (Low Lat. *quadrillus*, *quarillus*, N. Fr. *quarril*); the term was also applied to diamond-shape panes of glass.

² Polinge knytsy (O. C. 35).

³ Frayinge.

⁴ See note 10, p. 73.

⁵ Knyt sipan (O. C. 35).

⁶ Maduyres (O. C. 35).

⁷ Kreykam (O. C. 35).

Note the Cody or Corge is a bondell or set number of 20 peeces.

Theis are the preces that the will yeald at Banda & other places of the Molloccos as this now saith And o' ffactor[s] Thomas Browne & Woodnoth who were att the Moloccos cann more better & more fullie enforme you.

But at the places where theis are made & bought aboue mencioned they are much better Cheepe

The waighte of Banda and Amboyna as the dutchman hath written but beleue yt not wthout tryall because yt agreeth not to Anthonie Writes & o' other ffacto^r Accompt^r, neither did we finde yt to fall out soe, by o' last Cloues.

In Banda 10 Catty¹ is one Inlande or that Countrie Barr or one Barr of that place. 100 Catty one Portugalls Barr maketh Hollande weight 537¹/₄.²

In Amboyna 50 Barratt is on Portuge Barr w^{ch} maketh 550^{ll} Hollande.

One Amboyne barr 20 Barrette. 1 Barrett 11^{ll} Hollande this I vnderstand not.

In Bantam one Sacke of pepp maketh 60^s Hollende. The weight of Rice is accordinge to the Barr to witt.

In Banda & Amboyna 6 ^{ll} Hollande	} This is the weight of Rice.
In Marcassar 7 ^{ll} Hollende & 800 maketh 1 koyem ⁴ as the Inhabitant ^e there call yt	

NOTES³ BY m^r Co:⁶ whoe sayled theis waies as he said

Note that vpon the sholes of India by S^t Lawrence when you haue 80. or 90 ffaddam, then looke out for the fflate⁷ are neere

¹ A Chinese weight, the denomination of which, *kati*, is Malay, equal to a little over one pound avoirdupois.

² 537¹/₄ (O. C. 35).

³ 60^{ll} (O. C. 35).

⁴ Coem (O. C. 35).

⁵ Extracts from these notes are given in O. C. 35.

⁶ A Dutchman who had taken part, it would seem, in the second voyage of Steven van der Hagen (Dec., 1603), whose route agrees generally with that here laid down. Possibly "m^r. Co:" may be Hendric Jacobsz. Compostel, who was an "opperkoopman" in that voyage (see Jonge's *Opkomst van het Nederl. Gesag in Oost-Indie*, Vol. III.)

⁷ See page 118.

therefore cary but small sayle yf yt be in the night: but yf in the daye you shall see the Sea breake on the Rocke & broken grounde you may Anco^r in saffetie betweene the twoe Ilande, and the third Iland is the mayne Iland where is noe good thinge but water.

When you soyle to Monsombeke¹ you must goe beyond the Roade and come backe againe wthin because of the shoels & there you shall ryde in fve fadam faire ground vnder the Iland right agaynst the Castle, haueing vpon yo^r starboard the Iland & larboard side the Castle. Then you must sayle betweene the shoels and th[e] land to come vnto the Roade of Monsombeke being there the people of the land & Portugalls will come aboard you.

When o^r shipps come (yf yt please God) to *Mosombeke* in the Roade there will come abourde the people of the land & Portugalls, the Portugals beleue not, neither trust the Countrie people too farr, they of the Countrie will bringe you (yf you please) beyond the Castle wheare the Portugall is. then shall you haue the Inhabitant^e come aboard you wth their Comodities followinge.

Amber greece Gould Oliphaunt^e teeth & Indico but that Indico is of no great value but verie Course.

wares for vs to bule.

The m^rchandize you carrie thither is blew Callicoes & diu^rs other wares made aboute Bengalla English wares Tynn, Iron, Steele leade pennie kniues scissers, Rasers, w^{ch} must be verie good, longe peec^e wth match, Pistols Rapeires but noe sword^e lookeing glasses & bead^e

wares for vs to sell.

ffrom Mosombeke saile vpp to Sanzabar,² there you may ride in good ground, but verie deepe & halfe a league from the shore but come noe nerer to the Land but 40 fadam for there is fowle ground, you shall haue there, hogg^e Goat^e Hemp greate store, Orrenge, Lemans, baffeild^e,⁴ Potatoⁿ, Plantanns and Maskinilliacos,⁵ & all manner of refreshinge

Sanzabar.

¹ Mozambique.

² Zanzibar.

³ The well known work by J. H. van Linschoten.

⁴ Buffaloes.

⁵ No meaning can be assigned to this word; it is possibly the name of some kind of fruit.

good victuals.

for apeece of Iron a paire of Sissers, or small triffls you shall haue a buffeild or other good victualls

ffrom Sanzabar sayle to Pember¹ leaueing Pem^b on the larboard side & soe sailinge 20 or 30 leagues from the shoare all along to the Iland of Allasackatrina² w^{ch} is neare to the Redd Sea. In w^{ch} Iland of Allasackatrinas³ are good harbo^r faire depth and good Ancho^r ground and aboundaunce of good victualls (note they went not into the Read Sea. [])

Allasackatrinās
Ilandes neere the
Read Sea: victuals:
good Harbor.

ffrom *Allasackatrina* they tooke their Course directlie to Cambaya but that was onelie to take a prize & not for traffique.

ffrom the Coaste of Cambaya the sayled into the riuier Goa they were at & aboute Goa the latter end of October & staied three weekes or amonneth & had faire weather.

At the entrie of the riuier Goa are 2 Castles verie stronge well appointed wth verie greate Ordenaunce the shott bullette of 50^{lb} and the people of the Towne of Goa, & all the Countrie 6 leagues aboute are vnder the Gou^rnm^{te} of the Portugalls & will not by any meanes displease the Portugalls nor traffique wth any people but the Portugalls onely, but will rather betraye all men, yea even the Spanniard^e in reguard of the Portugals They sayled round aboute the towne & Iland^e of Goa and fought wth diuers vessells and ffriggett^e soe that in this towne there is noe traffique to be looked for.

ffrom *Cambaya* the sailed all alonge the Coaste wthin saker³ shott of the shoare vntill they came to *Cananor* they were besett wth ffriggett^e & gallies of the Portugalls but of noe greate force, but they Inhabitant^e of the Countrie did come abourd them eu^y daie all alongst the Coast to traffique bringing to them theis Comodities⁴

Cananor.

Indie wares

¹ Pemba.

² Socotra,—a confusion of the name of the island with that of its best-known product, *Aloes Socotrina*.

³ A saker was a piece of ordnance of 3½ inches bore, with a range of about 1700 paces.

⁴ A paragraph seems to have been omitted here.

Rialls of 8, pistolls longe peeces, rapyers, but noe swordē. All
 English wares w^{ch} they sell againe to the Portugalls because the
 Portugalls will buie nothinge of vs Hollenders

Take vnsacked lyme & beate yt to powder, & lay yt vpon a
 How to trie yor lynnen cloth then wett yo^r Bezar vpon yo^r
 Bezar. tongue, & rub yt vpon the lyme dust yf yt geue
 any Coullor it is false, but yf yt geue noe Colo^r it is right & good.

ffrom *Cananor* the sayled all alonge the Coast of Malabar by
 Malabar the Samarins¹ Countrie towardē Callicutt in all
 w^{ch} Coast the people of the Countrie will come
 Samarins aboutd & traffique wth you bringing theis Como-
 note that the Hol- dities ffollowing Viz pearles Rubies Saphers Dia-
 londers soe call them monde & many other good thinge but in any
 but not founde in the mapp hand goe not ashoare to trust them. The
 Indie wares. people will lie aboutd the shipps 2 or 3 daies & traffique wth
 you, but are very subtile in their trade, they must be vsed
 very kindlie & they will tell you all thinge how to bewraye the
 Portugalls.

A present is needfull to be sent to the k. of Samarins, being a
 A present. man of verie greate power & noe freind to the
 Portugall but an enimie, and heere many thinge
 will be brought you from the shoare of all kinde of stones &
 pearles, & other good thinge. A present for this k. of the Sama-
 rins would be verie needfull w^{ch} should be of theis thinge ffollow-
 inge. Guilded head peecē, some Muskettē, & 5 or 6 barrels of
 powder.

Theis English wares ffollowinge are good to sell theare.

English wares. Lead, Tynn, Iron, peecē of 8, pouder, rapiers,
 & head peeces

The kinge [of] *Canano^r* is greater than the kinge of Callicutte
 and is thought to be noe freinde wth the Portugalls but rather an
 enimie & hath alsoe warrs wth the kinge of Callicutte.

The k. of Callicutt is in subiection to the Portugalls there-
 the k. of Callicutt. fore beware

¹ The Zamorin, *i.e.* *Samudri*, lord "of the Sea," was the petty Hindu king of Calicut and the dependent countryside.

ffrom *Callicut* saile towards the *Cape of Comorem* but edg
out of the sight of the land to the Sea that you might not
come in sight of the Cape of *Comorẽm* & soe
The Cape Commorim. take towards *Selland*¹ not comeing too neere
into the bay because of an indraught that sett in: and
take yo^r Course straight to the riu^r of *Columba*²
Selland. in *Selland* where theare stande a small forte of
noe force, neither can yt annoy you.

Heare you shall buie theis Comodities followinge of the
Inhabitant^e of *Selland* not of the Portugalls in noe wyse.

Synamon for this is the onelie place for *Synaman*, pearles
Indie wares Rubies & some other stones. ffor theis stones
you may sell theare theis Comodities ffollowinge,
English wares ffine Callicoes, powder & peec^e lead & Tynn.

Take yo^r *Synamon* and beate yt in a mortar to fine powder
when yo^u haue soe done, sett a pott of water
How to choose Synamon. vpon the fier & lett yt seeth then put in a
handfull or twoe of yo^r beaten Synamon & lett yt seeth a while,
& yf yt hange together like lyme it is naught but yf yt be good
it will not hang together.

ffrom the Coast of *Selland* saile to *Sumatra*, & soe come in
sight of the land, sayling all alonge the Coste
From Selland to Sumatra and to Bantam keepinge the land in sight, vntill you come neere
the sholes, w^{ch} sholes lie in the height of 2
degrees to the Southward of the equinoctiall. Then edge of
to the Seaward for feare of the sholes then being cleere of
them put into the mainland againe goinge wthin the Iland &
soe alonge all the Coast^e, till you come to the straight^e of
Sonday & soe to Bantam.

Att Cowcheen³ w^{ch} is a place neere *Callicutt* is stoare of
Comodities of Cowcheen neere Callicutt. pepp diu^rs kinde of Goomes Pearles Diamonde
Rubies & Bezar stones All w^{ch} are brought from
Goa & more quantitie then att Goa

M^r C. saith for truth that all the Countrie of Guzaratt^e &
the k. himselfe, are greatelie subiect to the
Guzaratts Portugalls and dare not doe any thinge to dis-

¹ Ceylon.² Colombo.³ Cochín.

please the Portugalls. And alsoe the Guzarattē do saile in the Portugalls shipps in eu'y pte of the East Indies therefore he thinketh that the Guzarattē & Portugalls will rather betray vs then deale honestlie wth vs.

In all the Countrie of Bengalla (wherein *Mesopotania*,¹ is a Cheefe Cittie) are made all the stufes that we
 Bengalla
 Carrie to the *Moloccos* & are there to be had exceeding Cheepe, theis blew peeces of 14 yards as m^r C. saith
 Mesopotania
 Cheramandalla
 St Thome.
 are to be bought in Bengalla for $\frac{1}{4}$ a Royall of 8 or 3 of them for 2 Royalls of 8, but theis stuffe are made cheeflye vp in the Countrie frome the Townes

St Thome & *Cheramandalla* are alsoe in Bengalla, & there are all those Pinthados & other stuffe made w^{ch} we carrie to *Moloccos*.

In Bengalla we vtter theis englishe Comodities

Ryalls of 8 cheeflie, Iron small gadde² of steele Tynn in
 English wares as
 gaddes of Steele
 Tynn.
 small barrs, or little peeces & leade he knoweth not whether English Cloth will sell, all kinde of munition will sell exceedinge well in Bengalla & mesopotania

Theis people are not subiect to the Portugalls, but the
 Free trade in Meso-
 potania.
 Portugalls dwell in *Mesopotamia* & soe haue the fleminge a factorie theare, and all men may traffique here freelie.

There are many kingdomes in Bengalla, but the Cittie of
 att Betania English
 cloth, kersies.
Mesopotamia is the Cheeffest Cittie *English* cloth or rather kersies doe sell viz: Stamells venice reddē, & blewes.

Head peeces that are full of Studdē & a place to put a
 Ternata of the rest
 of the Ilandes and
 trade of the Moloccos
 read at larg in my
 other booke written
 onlie of the Mol-
 loccos.
 fether behinde and alsoe some grauen & some guilt will sell in barter for Cloues exceeding well: alsoe longe peeces dagge³ platē of Copper such as we bring from Hambrowe⁴ yf you sould not aboue 4 or 500 peeces will sell well, but you

¹ See note 10, page 73.

² In Phillips' *New World of Words* a gad of steel is explained as "a small piece of steel to heat in the fire, and quench in any liquor" (quoted in *Nares' Glossary*).

³ Pistols.

⁴ Hamburg (Hamborough).

must lett them see but a few att a tyme, heere the people must be kindlie vsed and you shall haue freindshipp. But o' ffactor Thomas Brown[e] being Churlish & rude to them, they would not deale wth him but foboure to our greate losse for he thought he should be churlish to them as he was att Bantam, but they people are not such.

Take apinte of Sallet oyle & a pound of Leade dust, being
How to preserue Iron
 tooles from rustinge. verie fine you must haue the finest file as you can
 gett to make the dust small, mingle the said dust
 and Oyle together apound of leade wth a pinte Oyle, being thus
 mingled lett them stand amonth and the leade will be dissolued
 into the Oyle Then take a Cloth & dipp into the Oyle & wipe
 the edg tooles therewth & yt will keepe them or any Iron, &
 steele from rustinge.



TO ALL THOSE¹ to whome theis presentē shall come
 of what degree & Condiçōn socu^r we the Companie
 of English marchaunte for the discoury of new
 trades, & of the East India Companie send greetinge
 Whereas wth the Consent & likeing of his ma^{tye} & the priuie
A passe to Iohn
 Knight for discovery
 of the Norwest pas-
 sage. councell, we haue intertayned the bearer hereof
 Iohn Knight & his Companie to vndertake and
 attempte the pformaunce & discoury of c'teyne
 places, as we haue geuen him Order, & haue prepared and solie
 Comitted a small shipp called the hopewell vnto the Cardge of
 the said Iohn Knight to the same end & purpose & to noe other
 effect. Theis are therefore to intreate & desier you, & eu'y of
 you to pmitt & suffer the said Iohn Knight wth the said shipp &
 Companie freelie and quietlie to passe w^{thout} any yo' lett

¹ Knight's voyage in search of the North-West Passage was undertaken in 1606. The *Hopewell* crossed the Atlantic in safety, and reached the coast of Labrador, where Knight and three others landed, and were never seen or heard of again. The survivors returned to England in September, 1606. Knight's journal of the expedition, which is still preserved among the India Office Records, has been published by Mr C. R. Markham as an appendix to his *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society, 1877).

hindraunce or molestacōn. In testimonie whereof wee haue caused the seu'all seales of o'r Companies herevnto to be fixed. London the 10th of Aprill 1606. And in the 4th yeare of the reigne of o'r Sou'eigne Lo: Iames by the grace of God k. of greate Brittan ffraunce & Ireland defendo'r of the faith &c:



WEARAS we [are] aduised that one of o'r East India shipp¹ is entred into the Porte of Plymoth, one other neare the Ile of wight: & the 3 lefte in the soundingē & we doe not knowe what state the said shipp^s are in but doubt they are weeke of men victuals and other pvisions. ffor better Comforte and releueing of them and their wantē we haue intreated you **A B & C D** wth all expediōn to repaier to the said porte of Plimoth or there aboute where any of the said shipp^s shall be arriued, & doe your best endevor^r aswell to pvide for such men as you shall finde to be sicke & not not able to endure the present passadge by Sea: as alsoe all thingē w^{ch} shall be necessarie for the rest of the men and for pvisions of all wantē of of the said shipp^s. And for yo'r better Assistaunce herein (yf need be) you are in the Companies name to intreate any lawfull favo'r from the Officers of his ma^{ties} shipp^s, & others for men Anchors Cables &c: And further that nothings be ymbecilled taken carried or conveyed out of the said shipp^s by any pson whatsoeu'r: wee pray you to make yo'r retourne backe againe in such shipp as you shall soe first light on for the more ease of such as came in the same now wearied wth longe & tedious trouble of Sea & weather. Prouided yf you shall happen to light of 2 of the said shipp^s in one place or not farr distaunt. That then in such case we desire you to deuide yo'r selues each to either shipp for prouiding & doing as aforesaid.

A Comission to goe to the ships and provide necessaries &c.

and 3 others to other portes

Theis men had also warrants wth them from m^r Garway to the farmers of the Coast for prouision of money.

¹ The home-coming ships of Middleton's expedition (*Second Voyage*, 1604-6). The *Red Dragon* was off Plymouth on 2nd May, 1606, and both she and the *Assention* were in the Downs on the sixth of the same month. (*Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton*, Hakluyt Society, 1857.)

And alsoe yf you shall heeare of any thinge to be taken out of the said shippes by any whosoeu^r, you shall vse the best meanes you may for recou^y & obtayneing thereof agayne for thuse of the Companie. And whatsoeu^r you shall doe in effectinge of this busines for the good of the Companie we doe by this o^r Comission ratifie Confirme & allow. Giuen vnder the seale of o^r Companie the 7th of May 1606.



WE THE Comitties for the East India Companie: & the principalls of the Porters whose names are heerevnder subscribed doe Couenaunte and agree in forme followinge. Viz: That the said Comitties doe pmyse, in the name of the said Companie to pay vnto the said porters for slinging, Craying, loading in & out of Carte, carrying, wayghing, & stoweing in the warehowse or Sello^m appointed for the said Companies goodē, and all other thinge necessary to this effect the some of for eu^y Hoggshed, & for eu^y bagg baile & Canister the some of . In Considera^on of w^{ch} seu^rall somes the said Porters for them & eu^y of them Covenant pmyse & agree to and wth the said Comitties. That they the said Porters shall att their own pp chardge slinge Craine lade in & and out of Carte & Carte, & Carrie weighe and stowe the said Companies goodē now to be vnladen out of the shippes latelie arriued, or cause the same to be done in manner as aforesaid And alsoe to satisfie the said Companie for whatsoeu^r damadge shall happen to the same goodē by the default or ymbecilm^t of the said Porters or any other whome they shall appointe to this busines, either in Craying or while the same goodē shall be vnder their power or service to be done in the premisses. And further to stow & lade on bourde the lighters all such emptie Caske, and other thinge as shall be needfull to be ymployed for pusion for the same goodē, wthout demaundeinge any thinge for the same. And moreou^r for the better satisfac^on & indempnitie of the said Companie shall before they doe ymploye any pson whatsoeu^r

The agreem^t with the
porters.

aboute this busines giue vnto the said Comitties a Catlogue or scrowle of all the names of such as they shall soe sett on worke. And to conclude yt is further agreed by & betweene the said pties that yf att any time in the doing of this service the said Porters, or any of or for them shall be founde negligent or vnfaithfull, that yt shall be free for the said Comitties to make choyse of others att their wills & pleasure. Vnto the pformance of the same wee & eu'y of vs doe binde o'r selues by theis p'sente. wherevnto we haue sett o'r hande the 10th of May 1606.



THE AGREEMENT wth the Wharffenger.



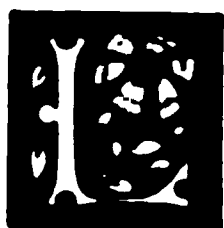
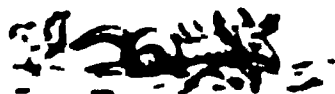
HIS BYLL Wittnesseth. That yt is couenanted concluded & agreed betweene Thomas Watson wharffenger of Custome howse & woll keys, & the Comitties for the East India Companie in forme followinge. viz.

That the said Comitties, doe promyse to pay vnto the said Tho.

The agreem^t wth the wharffenger.

Watson or his assignes for lighteridge wharffedg and Cranadge all & other thinge necessarie to this effect the some of 3^d for eu'y bagg baile Canister hoggeshead or Caske. In Considera^õn whereof the said ~~T~~ ~~W~~ doth for himselfe & his Assignes Couenaunte pmyse & agree to and wth the said Comitties That he the said ~~T~~: ~~W~~: att his owne pp Coste & chardges shall finde sufficient stanch & stronge lighters and able Craines and men for carryinge & Crayinge of the said Companies goodes now to be vnladen out of their shipps latelie arriued in the Riuer of Thames, And further to satisfie the said Companie for whatsoeu'r damadge shall happen vnto the same goodes by the insufficiencie of any th lighters or Craines, Crayne Ropes or slynges he shall sett a worke or by the default or vnfaithfullnes of any pson whatsoeu'r he shall ymploye aboute the same lighters Craines or wharffes or any of them. And further to carrie abourd the said Companies shipps in his said lighters all such bagge emptie Caske & other thinge as shall be needfull to be imployed for the same goodes wthout demaunding any thinge for the same. And to Conclude it is further agreed

by & betwene the said pties, that yf att any tyme in the pformance of the premisses the said **T. W.** shall be found to deale otherwyse then shall be fittinge for the good of the Companie: Or yf any other will serue the Companie in this respect from blackwall better cheepe then is formerlie agreed vpon That then and in such case it shalbe free for the said Comitties to make choyse of others, or to ymploie the said **T. W.** still att their will and pleasures vnto the pformance whereof we doe binde oʳ selues by this oʳ present writtinge. And in Witnes of the same, we haue therevnto sett oʳ hande the 10th of May 1606.



EQUEINGE freind mr Kealing¹ heereinlosed we doe send you the Bill of lading of the money and appell laden in that shipp the Suzan together wth a generall Invoice aswell of all the money & goodē in the 4 shippes as alsoe of all that w^{ch} form^{ly} remaned in the Countrie of the East Indies to thend both you and all the ffacto^{rs} there may take knowledge & see what they haue in chardge for the better ordering and disposing whereof both you & they are to follow such direc^{ti}on as we haue alredie sufficientlie & att lardge geuen you in oʳ lres & Comission wherein we nothings doubt of yoʳ due care & Considera^{ti}on euʳy one of you in his place in discharg of yoʳ duties accordinge to that trust we doe repose in you. Thus wishing you a faire winde to be bound we comend vs vnto you, & Comitt you & all yoʳ Companie to the most safe ptec^{ti}on of the highest whoe send you a safe & speedie passadge to yoʳ desired porte & graunte vs a happie meetinge to godē glorie & to oʳ Comfort &c. In Grauesend the 25th of March 1604. Signed by S^r Thomas Smyth.

A seuerall lre with the Bills & inuoyces to each Shipp from Grauesend.



¹ Then setting out for the Indies in command of the *Susan* in the *Second Voyage* (see note 2, page 51).

A REMEMBRANCE¹ for Gabriell Towerson Robert Browne, George Woodnoth, Henrie Sydall & Iohn Saires the first of Octob^r 1605. in Bantam.



Sr Henrie Middleton's remembrances left att Bantam and the names and wages of those theare.

THE FIRSTE thinge you are to haue care of after the deptyng of the shippes is to gett workemen to ou'see all the decayed places of yo^r ware howses & to see them sufficientlie reped & to remoue all the carriadges wth such lumber of Timber as lieth scattered aboute the yarde, into some warehowse to auoide the daunger of fyer² other wyse yt is verie doubtfull all both howse & good^e will be lost, & in any Case lett not att any tyme any thinge apte to take fyer lie neere the warehowse doores that thereby you be not debarred to sucker yt, yf need shall requier.

ALSOE I thinke yt fitt you sell such Iava good^e as are likelie of pishing for pepp yf you thinke you cann make sale thereof to the Companies pffitt either to the Hollenders or China Iuncke, when they shall come hithere And not to bestowe the chardge of Clensing it, but to sell yt as yt cometh to yo^r hand^e. If not to sell for Royalls & such moneys as you shall make thereof to be putt out to the Companies pffitt, as in yo^r good discreçon you shall thinke most meete: And for those good^e brought backe by me frome the Molloccos wth some other in the warehowse, w^{ch} will better sell theare then heare, as m^r Browne and m^r Woodnoth Can best informe you, I would not that any of them should be sould theare, but be carefullie looked vnto that the perish not for lacke of eareing³: And yf the Hecto^r and Suzan should retourne agayne as I make small doubt by god^e helpe but they will, you maie doe as you & them that come in them shall thinke most meete: But my opinion is the greater shipp is fittest to take in the good^e & pceede for the Molloccos for that I doubt not

¹ Sir Henry Middleton set sail from Bantam on his homeward voyage on 6th October, 1605. This "Remembrance" has been printed by Mr. Bolton Corney in his *Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society, 1857).

² For the prevalence of fires—both incendiary and accidental—at Bantam, and the anxiety thus occasioned to the English factors, see Edmond Scot's account in *Purchas* before quoted.

³ Airing.

there will be Molloccos goodē enough in yo^r warehowse to lade her wth Cloues. Yoⁿ are to haue greate care you make noe debtē but such as you may att all tymes, after the expecta^ōn of o^r shipps w^{ch} will be aboute 18 monnethes hence, haue in att 2 or 3 monnethes warninge: the reason is I am pswaded they will bring such order from the Company to cleare all matters out of the Countrie wherein they beare soe greate a venture wthout proffitt And therefore aboute that tyme you may haue made sale of all the Iava wares in the howse to be ymployed in pepp or any other Comoditie w^{ch} you thinke may rebound to the Companies most pffitt.

AND wheareas m^r Gabriell Towerson¹ I am possessed wth a conceite of yo^r discre^ōn & good gou^rnm^{ts} I haue made choyse of you to be Commaunder ouer all this place, but to take the Councell & aduice of m^r Browne,² m^r Woodnoth, m^r Sydall, and m^r Saires³ in all matters that the Companie maie be the better assured of all thingē that passeth

AND yf yt please god to laye his hand vpon you m^r Towerson & take you out of this world I would haue you to giue ouer your place to m^r Browne, and yf you Robert Browne should die then to m^r Woodnoth, & yf you George Woodnoth shall die they⁴ yt shall rest in your discre^ōn to make yo^r choyse of m^r Sydall & m^r Sayrs w^{ch} of they 2 you thinke fittest for such a place allwayes haueing a care to leaue yo^r busynes in the best & playnest manner you can: alsoe I doe appointe you m^r Browne to be booke keep for all matters in this place.

AND for soe much as they last voyadge there was noe order p^rscribed by the Generall to such m^rchauntē as he left there for

¹ See note 2, page 33.

² See note 1, page 52.

³ John Saires, Sayers or Saris, here mentioned as being left as a factor at Bantam by Sir Henry Middleton, wrote an account of events there from October, 1605, to October, 1609, which is printed in *Purchas*. The next heard of him is in 1611, when he took command of the ships of the *Eighth Voyage* (1611-14) in the course of which he opened up trade with Japan, establishing a factory at Firando in 1613. In June, 1616, a factor at that place writing to another at Miako mentions that Capt. Saris "hath married Mr. Mexses daughter in Whitechapel; it is thought he shall come out "commander this year of the best fleet that ever came to the East Indies" (O. C. 371); but, as a matter of fact, he was not again employed by the Company.

⁴ A slip for "then."

the keeping of each one his pticular estate in writeing soe that thereby they seemed to neglect the same as by prooffe we finde for not any of the deceased haue left anie writeinge concerninge their owne estatē behinde them Therefore I doe ordeyne that eu' y m'chaunt left heere by me doe keepe an Accompt of his owne busines for the better satisfieing of the Companie & his freinde, to whome he shall bequeath his goodē yf yt please God to call him out of this lyfe.

You are to be verie carefull for the ou'lookeing of all yo' goodē, & soe¹ that you suffer them not lie neere the grounde for yf they doe, yt will both roote them, & breed wormes in them as by experience we haue founde, & looke that once a mometh all the goods be carried out to careinge & in soe doeing I hope nothinge will come to losse.

YOU are alsoe to vse good husbandrie in chardges of howse keepinge for that the Companie are att greate Chardge to mayntayne soe many men vpon soe small a stocke & what pusion is bought for the howse my will is that there be noe ptialitie therein but lett all the m'chauntē fare be alike & not some to haue Comaund & the rest be wthout.

MY desire is that you endeuo' yo' selues to hold freindshipp wth the Hollenders & suffer noe euill speeches to passe by them by anie of our people & although the meaner sorte of them be rude I finde that their Commaunders be desirous to lyue in amitie & loue wth vs.² Therefore yf you heare any matter p'tendinge att any tyme against them by the people of the Countrie that you aduertise them thereof, for they haue pmised on their behalfe to doe the like, for yf the people of the Countrie pceane we be linked in one: they will be advised how they attempt any thinge agaynst

¹ See?

² On the first appearance of the English in the Eastern Seas, they were received in very friendly manner by the Dutch, as the two nations were in alliance at home, and were both threatened, as well in Europe as in the Indies, by the formidable power of the King of Spain. "It is to be noted," says Edmond Scot, "that though "we [the Dutch & English factors at Bantam] were mortall enemies in our Trade, "yet in all other matters we were friends, and would haue liued and dyed one for "the other." As the Portuguese power died away, and commercial rivalry increased, bitter feelings arose between the former allies, culminating in the brutal execution of the English factors at Amboyna in 1623; and thenceforward all real friendship between the two nations was at an end.

any of o^r Nations. Therefore you must be carefull there be noe occasions Offered on o^r behalfe: and looke what order o^r late Gen^{all} S^r Iames Lancaster left for the paym^t of menns wages herein this place I doe hold yt most fitt the same order be obserued still, onelie you are to paye noe wage to Lawrence the Surgion & Edward Ellimore, who be not their owne men but servant^e & therefore they must att all tymes be soe plied¹ by you of all such thinge as the shall necessarie wante & the rest of the wages to be reserued to thuse of their mⁿ whome they serue.

IF there be any of the meaner sorte of men I meane saue the m^rchaunt^e that shall misbehaue them selues toward^e you m^r Towerson or any of the m^rchaunt^e or otherwyse yt shall rest in yo^r discre^on to ponish them whereby they may reforme them selues, & as for the m^rchaunt^e I leue them wth yo^r I know their discre^on to be such that I dare vndertake they will giue noe occasionn of offence.

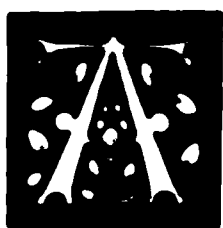
THUS desiering you all to liue in vnitie and loue together & to beare one wth another, & not to take eu^y thinge att the worste that shall be spoken & that you meete altogether att morneing and att eueninge prayer, & soe doeing god will blesse & psper all you take in hand & soe I take my leaue of you prayinge god to saue blesse & defend you all Amen.

THE NAMES of the men wth their wage left by me Henrie Middleton att Bantam beginyng their paie the first day of October 1605.

m ^r Gabriell Towerson	6 ^h p monneth	...	06 ^h	00 ^s	00 ^d
m ^r Robert Browne	6 ^h p monneth	...	06	00	00
George Woodnoth	3 ^h 6 ^s 8 ^d p monneth	...	03	06	08
Iohn Sayers	3 ^h 6 ^s 8 ^d p monneth	...	03	06	08
Henrie Sydall	3 ^h 6 8 p monneth	...	03	06	08
Richard Cotton	1 ^h 5 ^s 00 p monneth	...	01	05	00
Lawrence Sturdynan	23 ^s p monneth	...	01	03	00
Richard Claxan	24 ^s p monneth	...	01	04	00
Iohn Delane	22 ^s p monneth	...	01	02	00
Iohn Bemunde	26 ^s p monneth	...	01	06	00
Edward Preston	20 ^s p monneth	...	01	00	00

¹ Supplied.

Edward Collenes 22 ^s p monneth	...	...	01	02	00
Iohn Smyth 22 ^s p monneth	...	...	01	02	00
Matthew Price 24 ^s p monneth	...	...	01	04	00
Iames More 24 ^s p monneth	...	...	01	04	00
Michaell Martin 26 ^s p monneth	...	...	01	06	00
Edward Elsmore 28 p monneth	...	...	01	08	00
Austen Spaulden ¹ 26 ^s p monneth	...	...	01	06	00
			37½	02	



COMPUTACON of the chardge for setting forth to Sea vpon a third voyadge to Bantam & the Mollocos vpon a new accompte, and for discou'y of furder trade & other places wth the Dragon Hecto^r and a Pinnace as ffolloweth. viz.

THE DRAGON.

Dragon.

INPRIMIS the stocke in the					
East Indies to be paied for	3000 ^b	00 ^s	00 ^d		
THE price of the Dragon by					
appraisem ^t amounted to	...	2400	16	00	
her repaier & chardge in					
setting forth will coste	...	4770	00	00	
Her victualls	...	2895	00	00	
Imprest to men	...	0784	00	00	
		13849	16	00	

¹ Augustine Spalding, interpreter at Bantam, appears to have gone out with Lancaster in the *First Voyage* (1601). In September, 1609, he was made by Keeling chief of the factory there. In August, 1614, he was at home, and petitioning for recompense for his services, but his application was met with charges of having enriched himself to the value of 8,000*l.* or 10,000*l.* to the Company's prejudice; in the following month, however, he was admitted a freeman gratis, "for long service." Three years later (Dec., 1617), he entered into an agreement with the Company to serve them for a further period of five years, and proceeded to Bantam accordingly, to resume his old post as head of the factory. In 1621 his employers were much exercised by reports of corruption and private trade among their servants there, Spalding being especially mentioned, as being by the common voice worth £20,000. He left Bantam on his homeward voyage 15th Dec., 1623, in the *Royal Exchange*. The Com-

THE HECTOR.

Hector.	Her price by appraysm ^t	...	1416 ^{li}	00 ^s	00 ^d
	Her repaier & chardge of				
	setting forth.	... ..	3000	00	00
	Her victualls	... ..	1726	00	00
	Imprest to men	. . .	322	00	00
			6464	00	00

THE PYNNACE

Pynnace.	A Pinnace of 120 Tunns & all				
	her chardges of setting				
	forth w th victualls &				
	ympreste	... ..	2600 ^{li}	00 ^s	00 ^d
	Soma totalis		22913 ^{li}	16 ^s	00

THE MARCHANDIZE the¹ be bought and sent
in theis Shipps.

Leade.	Leade for 150 ffother at 10 ^{li}				
	p ffother	... ..	1500	00	00
Iron.	Iron for 150 Tonns Eng: &				
	Spann: att 12 ^{li} p Tunn	... ..	1800	00	00
Tynn.	Tynn in small barrs 5 Tunns				
	at 72 ^{li} p Tunn	... ..	0360	00	00

Clothes.

Clothes.	30 venice Reade att 12 ^{li}	... ..	360 ^{li}	00 ^s	00 ^d
	20 stamelle ² at...	20 ...	400	00	00
	10 popingey greenes ³ at 12	... ..	120	00	00

pany determined to enter an action against him for private trading (1624), but finally the matter was compromised by his payment of a fine of 1000*l.*, subsequently reduced to 500*l.* This is the last we hear of him.

¹ A mistake for "to."

² Stammel, from the French *estamel*, a kind of common woollen stuff, dyed red.

"Red-hood, the first that doth appear
In Stammel. Scarlet is too dear."

—(Ben Jonson's *Love's Welcome*.)

³ Popinjays were gay coloured woollen stuffs, for which Gloucester was once famous, and they were so called after the common green and red parrot, the *pappagallo*, i.e. "talking cock," of the Italians, and *papegai* of the French; who thus made the

5 yellowes att	11	...	055	00	00
5 flame Coullon ^m ats Gallaunte ¹					
at 15 ^h	...	...	075	00	00
2 blacke att	20 ^h	...	040	00	00
5 violette grayne at 18 ^h	...	...	090	00	00
5 Murreys graine ² at 18 ^h	...	...	090	00	00
5 blewes att 15 ^h	..	..	075	00	00
5 plunckette ³ att 12 ^h	..	...	060	00	00
5 french greenes att 12 ^h	...	...	060	00	00
5 grasse greenes att 12 ^h	...	...	060	00	00
5 Azars ⁴ att 12 ^h	...	...	060	00	00
107 clothes			1545	00	00

Devonshire kersies

Devonshires kersies.	20 stamette ⁵ att 4 ^h...	...	80 ^h		
	10 Violette graine at 4 ^h	..	40		
	30 venice Redde	}	att 50 ^s —150 ^h		
	10 popingey greenes				
	10 flame Coullon ^m				
	10 grasse greenes				
	10 gallaunte	...	}	att 50 ^s —75 ^h	
	10 yallowes	...			
	4 blacke	...			
	6 blewes	..			
	120 kersies		0345	00	00

final syllable of its name refer to its gay plumage; and the same significance is retained in the English form of "popinjay," "jay" being the same word as "gay," as in "jay," i.e. "the gay (plumaged) bird."

¹ Gala ribbons or scarfs.

² Mulberry-coloured stuffs

³ A sort of woollen stuff, generally coloured sky-blue (and hence called also "celestines"), but sometimes crimson, for which Wiltshire, Gloucestershire, and Somersetshire were once noted. The word seems connected with "blanket."

⁴ Another variety of blue-coloured cloth once manufactured in the same three counties

⁵ A slight-textured woollen stuff resembling linsey-woolsey.

Keighleys narrow listes of the best sortes.

	15 venice Redde	}	70 peece at 53½ ^s p peece 0183 ^{li} 06 ^s 08 ^d . ¹
	10 popingey greenes		
	15 flame Collo ^m		
	10 grasse greenes		
	10 yellowes		
	10 Watchette ²		
North : dozons.	[10] Northeren Doozons Redde att	}	0042 10 00
	4 ^{li} 5 ^s p peece		
Hams : kersies.	10 blewes	}	20 peece at 3 ^{li} 12 ^s 0074 00 00 ¹
	10 Watchette		
Sayes.	20 peece Sayes ³ of dyvers Collo ^m att 52 ^s		0052 00 00
Iron worke.	Head peece, white, grauen, & gilded	}	0100 16 08
	w th some few shirte of male		
	Somma totalis of all the m ^r chandize		6001 ^{li} 16 ^s 8 ^d

A Veiw of the chardge of this third voyadge.

STOCKE remayneing in the East Indies	...	3000 ^{li}	00 00
The Dragon setting forth	... ..	10849	16 00
The Hecto ^r setting forth	... ..	6464	00 00
The Pinnace setting forth	... ..	2600	00 00
	Soma totalis	22913	16 00
Marchandize outwardses will coste	... ..	6001 ^{li}	16 8
	The some of the whole chardge	}	28915 ^{li} 12 ^s 8 ^d
	outwardē		

A Computaõn of theis shipps reladeinge homewardē.

Dragons ladinge.	FOR THE Dragon ouer and aboue	}	24000 ^r
	6500 sackes of pepp and 460 bahars		
	of Cloues w ^{ch} is esteemed the goodē		
	in that Countrie will pūide 4000		
	sackē of pepp at 6 ^r p sack ...		

¹ There are discrepancies here, probably due to errors in copying from the original estimate; and there is also some mistake in the total.

² A blue-coloured woollen stuff, for which Watchet, in Somersetshire, was at this time famous.

³ A thin-textured woollen stuff, resembling the light serges of to-day.

Hector

FOR THE Hecto^r to be laden att the
 Molloccos wth pepp Nutte. Cloues } 40000^r
 & mace will coste }

Pinnace.

THE LADINGE of the Pinnace att
 the *Molluccos* wth pepp, Nutte: } 12000
 Cloues & mace }

THE ladeinge of theis 3 shipps
 ouer & aboue the gooder in the
 Countrie will cost in Royalls } 76000 w^{ch} is
 of 8, rated att 4½s p Royall } starlinge 17100^{li}

The totall some of the chardge
 outwarde 28915^{li} 12^s 08^d
 And of the ladeinge homewarde [17100^{li} 00 00]
 Soma totalis outwarde & home- } 46015^{li} 12^s 08^d
 warder }
 Beside mens wage att the } 10000^{li} 00 00
 retourne of theis ships ... }

The totall reduced to
 40000^{li} by abatement
 of some particulars.

THE w^{ch} Computaçon being
 reueiwd is reduced from } 40000^{li} 00 00
 46015^{li} 12^s 08 to aboute ... }

THE¹ pportion of victuals for the 2 shipps & the Pinnace,
 wth 280 men, & by whome the same is to be puided free lie

Breade 1260 ^c weight	} puided by m ^r {	Nicholas Lynge
Meale 0179½ ^c		
Beanes 0196 Bushells		
Pease 0392 Bushells		
Oate meale 0263 Bushells		
Steale ² Wheate 0263 Bushells		Reynold Greene

¹ Entered also on the Court Minutes for 10th February, 1606/7.

² Mr Rundall, who, in his *Voyages towards the North-West* (Hakluyt Society, 1849), has printed the table given on page 102, queries "French grain?" as an explanation of this phrase. But, although it is known that the wheat carried out in the early voyages came almost exclusively from France, this fact gives no clue to the meaning of the word "steale." It is probably derived from the "steelynes and hardnes"

Sider	0110½ Tunn	} guided by m ^r Robert Iohnson
Proines french or damaske			010 ^c	
Rasonns of the sonne	...		7½ ^c	
Currant ^e	...	...	10 ^c
Ginger	...	...	0½ ^c
Nutmegge ^r	...	000	12 ^u	
Poulder sugar	...	...	002 ^c
Pepp	...	...	0 12 ^l
Cake sope lepo	...	...	01 ^c ½
Lemon water ¹				
Beames scales & weightes				}
&c: as appeth by the				
Register ² the 3 of De-				
cember 1606.				

Shipp beare 060 Tunns ¼ } brewed by m^r Campion by order of
 Stronge beare 20½ Tunn } Courte

Wyne ... 0090 pipes guided by m^r { Rich Humble
 Witm Harrison

Beaffe driesalted 224½^c weight } provided by m^r { Nich^u Leate.
 Beaffe pickled 0429^c weight } Hump: Smyth
 Porke pickled 0600^c weight } Francis Taylo^r

(*Court Minutes*, 14th May, 1619) which was supposed to be the peculiar property of the foreign-grown commodity, and to make it therefore more suitable for the manufacture of biscuits for long voyages. It is interesting to note that, at the date already quoted, the Company's purveyor declared this belief in the superiority of French corn to be unfounded, and thenceforward its importation for this purpose appears to have been abandoned.

¹ We may trace in this item the hand of Sir James Lancaster, who was one of the first to use the juice of lemons as an antidote to scurvy, and by this precaution kept his men in good health, in striking contrast to the crews of the other vessels of his squadron, who were so reduced by disease that, on reaching Table Bay on the outward voyage, he was obliged to send men on board to assist in taking down their sails. It is worthy of notice that this use of sour juices as an antiscorbutic was not formally adopted by the Admiralty until 1795, nearly two centuries after its value had been pointed out by Albertus, and its practical efficacy demonstrated by Sir Richard Hawkins and Captain Lancaster.

² i.e. the *Court Minutes* (now lost)

Cheese	... 009 weyes ¹	} guided by m ^r	{	John Highlord
Butter	0039 firkins			
Stockfish	35 ^c			
Backalew ²	0208 great C			
Lynge	007 ^c			
Musterdseed	011 Bushells			
Bey salt	012 h heed ^c			
White salt	003 h heed ^c			Robert Renington ³
Vinagre	011 Tunns	} provided by m ^r	{	George Bennett
Aquavitæ	0280 gallons			
Rape Oyle	07½ h heed ^c			
Honnie	006 barrells			
wax Candles	0280 ^h			
Tallowe Candles	400 ^h			
Canves for sayles Anco ⁿ & to see the sayles cutt out		} provided by m ^r	{	Wittm Greenwell ⁴ Wittm Harrison. ⁵
All Caske & Iron hoopes for the wyne onelie excepted viz water Caske 0780 Tuns Baricos ⁶ 0780				
		} provided by m ^r	{	Robert Middleton Richard Pearce
Sweete Oyle 1120 gallons				
Rice 0300 ^r ½ weight ⁷		} pvided by m ^r	{	Robert Coxe. Tho: Westwray.

As appeareth more att lardge by the Register the 13 of October & the 27 of Ianuarie 1606. Aswell for pvision of Iron leade heedpeece, Clothes, Kersies⁸ Gunnerstoare Boateswaines stoare Steward^c stoare &c:

¹ A somewhat indefinite weight, varying between 2 and 3 cwt.

² Cod fish; from the Spanish *bacallao*, which again is said to have been derived from the native name in Newfoundland and the adjacent mainland.

³ "Benington" in the Court Minutes

⁴ Deputy Governor from 1604 to 1615, when he retired on the plea of age. He died some four or five years later.

⁵ One of the original Committees, and Treasurer from 1613 until his death in March, 1620

⁶ Barrells or breakers (Spanish *barrica*).

⁷ Three hundred weight and a half is meant (see next page)

⁸ A coarse woollen stuff, originally manufactured at Kersey, in Suffolk.

A GENERAL proportion of victuallinge made for twoe shipps and a Pynasse now bound for the *East Indies* The Dragon 600 Tunns. 150 marchante & Marriners. The Hecto' 500 Tunns. 100 m'chaunte & Mariners. The Consent 105 Tunns. 030 m'chaunte & Mariners.

	DRAGON	HACTOR	CONSENT	TOTAL
Beer	for 12 mo att 24 th a man per mo 30 daies to amo ^r is	450 ^c weight	135 ^c weight	1260 ^c
Meale	for 12 mo 24 th per mo for a man	064 ^c weight	019 weight	1794 ^c
Sh. floure	for 12 mo at a pottle aman per diem	018 ³ Tunns	005 ³ Tunns	0601 Tunns
Beate strange	for leakedg & lees	004 ³ Tunns	001 Tunns	0204 Tunns
Sider	for one monneth	009 ³ Tunns	002 Tunns	1104 Tunns
Wyne	for leakedg after tenn in the 100	001 ³ Tunns	000 ³ Tunns	083 ³ pipes
Beate drisalted	for 12 mo 1 pinte a man per diem	036 Tunns	010 ³ Tunns	224 ^c weight
Beate pickled	for 12 mo at 1 st 1 st a man per diem	003 ³ Tunns	008 pipes	429 ^c
Potick pickled	for 4 monneth 1 st 1 st a man per diem	041 Pipes	024 ^c weight	600 ^c
Pease	for 10 monneths att 4 th for 5 men per diem	120 ³ weight	028 ^c weight	392 bushells
Peas	for 9 mo att halfe a pinte	241 ^c weight	064 ^c weight	196 bushells
Peas	a man per diem 1 st 1 st a man per diem	322 ^c weight	042 bus peas	208 ^c
Blackalew	for 3 mo att a fish a man per diem	210 bushells pease	021 bu beanes	035 ^c
Stockfish	for 1 mo att 1 st a fish aman per diem	105 bu beanes	022 ^c ffish	007 ^c
Lyng	for a monneth att 4 measur to a fish 5 men to a mess	112 ^c at 120 the c	004 ^c ffish	263 bushells
Chatmeale	for 4 mo att 1 pinte a man per diem	019 ^c 120 y ^c c	000 ³ of a c	263 bushells
Stral wheate	for 4 monneths att 1 st a pinte a man per diem	003 ³ fish	028 bu :	
		141 bu :	028 bushells	
		141 bushells		

	DRAGON	HACTOR	CONSENT	TOTAL
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Lyng	for a monneth att 4 measur to a fish 5 men to a mess	105 bu beanes	022 ^c ffish	007 ^c
Chatmeale	for 4 mo att 1 pinte a man per diem	112 ^c at 120 the c	004 ^c ffish	263 bushells
Stral wheate	for 4 monneths att 1 st a pinte a man per diem	019 ^c 120 y ^c c	000 ³ of a c	263 bushells
		003 ³ fish	028 bu :	
		141 bu :	028 bushells	
		141 bushells		



THE COMPANIE¹ of m'chaunte tradinge [into] the East Indies humblye praye that by yo^r Hono^r meanes his ma^{ty} would be pleased in their favo^r to Cause to be written in his highnes name, to sundrie kinge & Gou^rno^r theis tres followinge Viz.

1 TO THE greate kinge of Suratt vnto whose Countries we haue not traded heretofore but now comeing as m'chaunte & freinde to traffique & trade pray that o^r psons shipps & goode may be well & freindlie vsed And that he would be pleased to graunte vs priuiledge & libtie to traffique quietlie in his dominions & to settle a ffactorie theare, yf we desire yt Alsoe to adu^rtise, that his ma^{ty} hath sent him a present (w^{ch} o^r ffacto^r will guide) by his servant the bearer hereof but name him not. His stile is *TO THE MOST PUISSANT PRINCE ACKBARIRBA LEIDG ACKBURSHA² KINGE OF SURATT.*

2 TO THE kinge of Iava maior who wroote a tre to o^r kinge and sent him 2 Bezar stones for a present.³ The receipt & thankfull acceptaunce whereof we pray his ma^{ty} to mention in his tre, And to thanke him for the kinde vsadge of his m'chaunte praying the Continuance of his favo^r toward^e vs o^r ships & goode in his dominions. Alsoe to adu^rtise that o^r kinge hath sent him a present (w^{ch} wee will guide) by his seruant the bearer hereof his style is *THE HIGHE & MIGHTIE PRINCE PANGRAM PATTIE KINGE OF IAVA MAIOR.*

¹ "Ytt is furdre ordered that lres be provided by this Companie from his Ma^{ty}, to be sent to the kinge of Cambaia, & the Gou^rno^r of Aden & to 2 places more not farr from Aden, what titles to geue them is to be inquired of Raphe flytch. Alsoe lres to be sent as from his ma^{ty} to those kinges as sent him presentes." (*Court Minutes*, 31st Dec., 1606.) On the 10th Feb., 1606/7, the letters were ordered to be "lymmed" and prepared for his ma^{ty}'s signiture, and seu^rall Coppies to be writt out whereby the same may be translated into Portugues to be sent wth the said lres;" and on the 19th "was shewed the lres of his ma^{ty} to the Princes of the East Indies translated into the Portugall language, the w^{ch} were ordered to be lymmed and faire engrossed accordingle by m^r Segar fitt for his ma^{ty}'s signiture"

² Mahomed Jalal ud Din Akbar, the third Mogol Emperor of Delhi, born 1542, and died on his sixty-third birthday, 15th Oct., 1605. He came to the throne two years before Queen Elizabeth, and survived Her Most Glorious Majesty two years.

³ See page 67.

3 TO THE kinge of *TEDORE* who writt to his ma^{tie} a lardge tre of Complaint¹ agraynst the Hollenders and Portingalls agaynst whome he craved his ma^{tie} ayde: But this being matter of State We leaue to his ma^{tie} & yo^r hono^r Humblie praying that his ma^{tie} would be pleased to thanke the said kinge for his former good will towardē vs his m^rchauntē, & pray the Continuaunce of his fauo^r and to graunte vs free trade & traffique wth saffetie & good vsadge both of o^r psons & goodē his name is *RECHILL MOLEY KINGE OF TEDORE*.

4 TO THE Gou^rno^r or Sabander of *NERE* who sent his ma^{tie} a Bahar of Nutmeggē: whereof we pray his ma^{tie} to signifie his good acceptaunce & that he hath sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof. To thanke him for the good intertaynem^t of vs his m^rchauntē att o^r last being theare, praying the Continuance of his favo^r towards vs in graunting vs free traffique & trade wth saffetie & goodē usadge of o^r psons & goodē. *TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE SABANDER OF NERE*.

5 TO THE Sabander of Luntor: Thankeing him for the good intertaynment of vs his ma^{tie} m^rchauntē att o^r last being there, & praye the Continuance thereof. And that he would graunte vs ffree traffique & trade wth saffetie & good vsadge both of o^r psons & goodē: and that his ma^{tie} hath sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof: his style is *TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE THE SABANDER OF LUNTOR*.

6 TO THE Gou^rno^r of Adem That wee his ma^{tie} m^rchauntē comeing thither as good ffreindē to traffique & trade, pray that we may be freindly interteyned & pmitted to traffique wth all libtie & ffreedome wth saffetie & good vsadge both of o^r psons ships & goodē his ma^{tie} being in league & Amitie wth the *GRAND SEIGNIOR*.

7 TO THE kinge of Callicout praying that we his ma^{tie} m^rchauntē comeing thith^r as good freindē to traffique & trade may be freindlie interteyned & pmitted to trade in all libertie & ffreedome wth peace, & saffetie of o^r psons shippes and goodē. And

¹ See page 67.

that his ma^{ty} hath sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof.

8 TO THE kinge of *MOLLUCCOS* signifieing the receipt of that kinge tre to his ma^{ty} wth a present of a bahar of Cloues,¹ & thankfull accepta^{ti}on thereof: And that his ma^{ty} hath now sent him a present by his servant the bearer hereof And further wee humblie pray his ma^{ty} wilbe pleased to intreate the said k^e. favor toward^e vs his said m^cchaunte^r. And that forasmuch as the soliciting & opposeing of some of the Hollenders theare agaynst vs, & o^r trade in those p^te appeth eidentlie to be done for their owne priuate designes wthout any the Consent or likeing of their Superio^r the Gou^rno^r & stat^e of the lowe Countries wth whome his ma^{ty} is in p^fect amitie: That kinge would be pleased according to the Teno^r of his said tre to his Ma^{ty} freindlie to enter-tayne vs & our people wth graunte of free trade & traffique wth o^r quiet & saffetie of p^{er}sons shipps & good^e: & establishm^t of a ffactorie theare as we shall desire. *TO THE HIGH AND MIGHTIE KINGE OF THE MOLLOCCOS.*



His ma^{ty} to the kinge of Suratt.



ALIGHT high &c: o^r subiect^e haueing of late yeares vsed to trade into diuers Countries of the Princes yo^r neighbo^r haue amongst them heard of yo^r fame & of the wealth of yo^r Countries w^{ch} hath moued in them a desire to visitt soe greate a Prince, & to craue lib^tie of Traffique wth his subiect^e. In w^{ch} their purpose we haue incouraged them to p^{ro}ceede & doe recomend them to you vpon this Confidence that as to vs nothinge is more pleaseing then to heare of the estate & dignitie of Princes, and Customes of Nations farr remote from vs: Soe the like pleasure is wth you to heare of o^r whereof the onelie meanes is the Nauiga^{ti}on of

The kinge sent another lre of this tenor wth generall salutacons in y^e inside & on the outside left a blanke for our Factors to add such a name as they should haue cause to use when they come to the Indies.

This is intended for Calicut.²

¹ See page 68. King James appears to have granted these cloves to Sir Hugh Carmichael (See *Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, Addenda, 1580-1625*, p. 477.)

² Added in a different hand.

o^r subiecte. Wherefore we assure o^rselues you will not make difficultie att o^r request to graunte vnto o^r subiecte such libertie of traffique & priuiledge as shall be resonable both for their

A copie of each of
theis lres deliuered
to m^r Kealinge
onelle.

The copies hereof
sent in Spaynish by
m^r Sharpie 1607
wth the addicon [i]n
that to the molluccos
[on] fo 43. more at
lardge [on] fo. 89.¹

securitie & pfitt & that they may for the better handling of their trade settle a ffactorie there like as we willdoe to yo^m yf att any tyme yt shall be requested of vs, And in the meane tyme for a token of o^r good will & desire to enterteyne yo^r amitie we haue by this bearer o^r servant sent vnto you a small present w^{ch} we pray you to accept for a begininge of that freindshipp betweene vs w^{ch} we hope shall alwayes increase heerewth. dated at o^r Pallace of Westminster the xxijth of ffebruarie. 1606.²



FROM HIS ma^{tie} to Adem :



TRUSTIE and welbeloued we greeete you well. Our m^rchaunte haueing of late yeares entered into a Course of Naviga^õn & traffique into diu's p^{te} of the East Indies haue lett vs vnderstand that they haue a purpose alsoe to frequent those p^{te} where you haue chardge: And prayed o^r Comenda^õn for them to you w^{ch} we willinglie graunted because we are in Amitie wth the mightie howse of Ottoman and doe traffique wth him thorough the Mediterranean Seas, as we doubt not but yoⁿ doe vnderstand. Wherefore we pray you that o^r subiecte resorteing into those Countries may traffique wth ffreedome & finde saffetic & good vsadge for their p^{sons} shippes & goodē: & we assure o^r selfe that the *GRAND SEIGNIOR* will allow yo^r doinge. And for o^r p^{te} we shall be readie to requite yt wth any kindnes we may doe to you. dated att o^r Pallace of Westminster the 23th daie of ffebruarie. 1606.

rom his mat^{ie}: to
Adem.



¹ This note is added in yet another hand. The references are to pp. 109 and 231 of the present volume.

² 1606j, and so in the following letters.

FROM HIS ma^{tie} to the Kinge of Tedore.



RIGHT High &c: Att the retourne of o^r m^rchaunte from their voyadge into yo^r Countries we receiued atoken from you w^{ch} we tooke very kindelie: And vnderstanding by their reporte that they had found good vsadge of you and yo^r subiecte in their trade, and they being incouraged thereby to retourne agayne, we thought yt fitt to lett you p^{ce}aeue by o^r tres what good reporte they haue made of yo^r freindlines towards them, and to praye the Continuance thereof, Soe as they may Continue their traffique wth yo^r ffavo^r, & wth saffetie of their p^{er}sons ships & good^e in such manner as we will doe to any of yo^r that haue desire to visitt theis p^{ar}t^e. And yf in any thinge we may doe you kindnes, you shall be assured of yt In the meane tyme we haue sent you by this bearer o^r servant a token of o^r good will, w^{ch} we desire may eu^r increase betweene you & vs. Dated att o^r Pallace of Westminster the 23th of ffbruarie. 1606.

His ma^{tie} to the
Kinge of Tedore



FROM HIS ma^{tie} to Nere

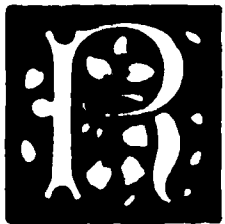


ATT THE retourne of o^r m^rchaunte from their trade in that Countrie we receiued from you a Bahar of Nutmegge for a token of o^r good will w^{ch} we accepted wth all kindnes, And we vnderstoode by them howe freindlie they had been intertayned by you in their traffique, w^{ch} hath incouraged them to attempt it agayne & vs to recomend them vnto yo^r ffavo^r and p^{ro}tec^{ti}on Soe as they may be suffered quietlie to continue their said trade wth saffetie & good vsadge of their p^{er}sons, shipps, & good^e. And we shall be redie to requite y^e, wth any kindnes to yo^r or yo^r, And in the meane tyme haue sent you by this bearer o^r servant a token of o^r good will w^{ch} we desire may eu^r increase betweene you & vs. ffrom o^r Pallace at Westminster the 23th of ffabr: 1606.

His ma^{tie} to yo^r
Sahander of Nere.

¹ This should evidently be "yo^r."

FROM HIS ma^{ty} to Luntor.



AT THE retourne of o' m'chaunte from their trade in that Countrie we vnderstande by them how freindlie they had beene interteyned by yoⁿ in their traffique w^{ch} hath incouraged them to attempt yt agayne, and vs to recomend them to yo' ffavo' and ptec^{cion}. Soe as they may be suffered quietlie to Continue their said trades wth saffetie and good vsadge of their psons shipps and goodē. And we shall be redie to requite yt wth any kindnes to you or yoⁿ: and in the meane tyme haue sent you by this bearer o' servant a token of o' good will w^{ch} we desire may euer encrease betweene you & vs. Dated att o' Pallace of Westmiⁿ the 23th of ffebruarie 1606.

From his ma^{ty}: to the
Sabander of Luntor.



HIS HIGHNES to the Kinge of Iava Maior.



RIGHT high &c: att the retourne of o' subiecte from their last voyadge into yo' Countries we rec^d from you both a tre of great kindnes & twoe Bezar stones both w^{ch} we tooke verie kindlie as a testimony of yo' [desire]¹ to enterteyne Amitie wth vs. Especiallie we were pleased [to vn]¹derstand by their reporte how kindlie they were vsed in yo' Cou[ntrie]¹ in matters concerning their traffique w^{ch} hath incouraged th[em]¹ to pceede in yt. And vs to recomend them to you & yo' ptec^{cion} agaynst any that would oppose agaynst them, or molest them in their said trade in as ample measure as we would be willinge to doe to any of yoⁿ. yf their desires shall be to visitt o' Countries. To testifie vnto you o' kinde acceptaunce of yo' favo' shewed them & o' desire to continue Amitie wth you. We haue sent by this bearer o' servant atoken of o' loue w^{ch} we hope shall alwaies continue & encrease betweene vs. Dated att o' Pallace of Westmiⁿ the 23th of ffebruarie 1606.

His highnes to the
Kinge of Iava Maior.

¹ The manuscript has here been torn away

HIS MATIE TO THE KINGE OF THE MOLLOCCOS.



AMES BY the grace of God kinge of greate Brittain
ffraunce and Ireland defendo' of the faith &c: To the
mightie kinge of the Molloccos & of the teritories &
dominions adioyneing. ¹ Att the retourne of o' subiecte

from their last voyadge in yo' Countries we receiued from you a

tre of greate kindnes & a Bahar of Cloues, w^{ch} we

tooke very kindlie as a testimony of your desire

to enterteyne Amitie wth vs, but especiallie wee

weare pleased to vnderstand of yo' kindnes to-

warde them in matters conc'ning their trade &

traffique wth you, w^{ch} hath encouraged them to

pceede in yt, & vs to recomend them to you &

yo' pteccōn agaynst any that would oppose

agaynst them, or molest them in their trade in

as ample manner as we would be willing to doe

to any of yoⁿ, yf their desire shall be to visitt o'

Countries. And whereas we vnderstand that

some Hollenders whoe traffique wth you doe

oppose them selues agaynst o' Subiecte wth euill

speeches & other practizes to hinder their trade Although we

doubt not but y^t in yo' owne Iudgement you can easilie conceiue

that m'chaunte not onelie of diuers Naçons, but of one & the

same nation will ofte tymes Calumniate each others for diuers

respecte, & hinder what they cann those that happen into the

saine trade wth ² the^s vse: yet haue we thought good to assure

yoⁿ soe much by o' tre, that their Superioⁿ & Gouⁿoⁿ will dis-

allowe them in that practise being wth vs in verie good Amitie.

Wherefore we doubt not but you will graunte vnto o' subiecte

ffreedome of quiet traffique wth you wth saffetie for their psons,

ships, & goode, & libertie to establish a ffactorie theare, (yf they

shall desire yt) according to yo' princelie Offer in yo' said tre.

And in the meane tyme for atoken of o' good will & desire to

enterteyne yo' Princelie Amitie we haue by this bearer o' servant

His matie to the kinge
of the Molloccos.

All the foresaid 7 lres
wth the blank were
again sent from his
matie to the Indies
1607 wth this addi-
tion onlie as fol-
loweth Viz

Although we wrote
vnto you the last
yeare after y^r retourne
of o' subiectes from
those partes, & sent
you a present yet for
that we doubt whether
those lres be come to
yo^r handes, we haue
thought good to visitt
you againe wth new
lres & wth a new
present, & to lett you
vnderstand that the
contentes of o' forme
lres were to this pur-
pose That¹

¹ Marginal note in a different hand The " addition " seems to have been inserted in the place indicated by the caret. On this subject see page 231.

² wch

³ They.

sent you a small present w^{ch} we pray you to accept. Wherewth we Comend yo^r ma^{ty} to the tuition of the most high God. Dated att o^r Pallace of Westminster the 23th of februarie 1606.



THE IUDGE¹ of the Admiralties warrant to app^hend such of the shippes Company as shall absent themselves.

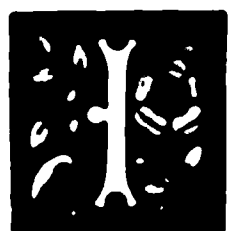


HEARAS diuers of the Companie hired for the East India voyadge absent them selues from the shippes, & some of them endevo^r to shifte themselves away to the hindraunce of the voyadge now readie to sett sayle & the m^{ch}aut^e interested therein. Theis are to will & requier you that you apprehend or cause to be app^hended all & eu^{ry} such disordered p^{so}ns, as shall any way Offend conc^{er}ning the p^{ro}misses, that he or they may be deli^ured on shippbourde to their Comaunders theare to remayne, & to be p^{ro}ceeded wth according to the quallitie of his or their offence. Whereof sayle you not as you will aunsweare the Contrarie att yo^r pill. ffrom my howse neere the Docto^r Commons the 16th of March, 1606.

Your loueing freind
Tho Crompton.

To m^r Wilm Pope Marshall of the Admiraltie or in his absence to the Generall of the East India Companies shippes, & all other Officers of the Admiraltie, & other his ma^{ty} subiect^e

¹ " Whearas we haue hired diuers sailo^rs to goe in o^r voyadge now intended for
" the East Indies, whoe haue not onelie subscribed to o^r Bookes, to performe the
" same, but alsoe haue receiued wages of vs, & some ymprest moneys & yet we
" may doubt (as in former tyme hath beene used) that aswell before the shippes were
" readie to departe as att their departure some of such a number may be misunge not
" onelie wth o^r losse but alsoe tendinge to the outhrowe of the wholle voyadge Yt
" is thought fitt for preuencion hereof. That Warrant may be procured from the Judge
" of the Admiraltie, or yf need be from the Lo^d Admirall for app^hencion and
" ponnishm^t of such as are or shall goe away or departe & absent them selues from
" their places and service in this p^{re}sente voyadge after they shalbe hired & agreed
" wthall " (*Court Minutes*, 23rd Jan., 1606/7) See also page 267.



JAMES¹ BY the grace of God kinge of England
Scotland fraunce and Ireland defendo^r of the faith
&c: To o^r trustie & welbeloued W^{ill}m Kealinge
& W^{ill}m Hawkins² greeteing. Whereas diuers of
o^r loucing subiecte att their owne Aduentures coste & chardge
aswell for the Hono^r of this o^r Realme of
England as for the encrease & advancem^t of
trade of m^{er}chandize w^{ith}in the same haue for-
merlie sett forth 2 voyages to the East Indies

A Commission from
his ma^{tie} to m^r W^m
Kealinge and m^r W^m
Hawkins
februare. 1606.

w^{ith} c^{er}teyne shippes & Pinnaces by way of marchandizeing by
w^{ith} ships & Pinnaces they haueing discour^d & begon to settle
atrade in some pte of the said East Indies & their shippes
being retourned from thence laden w^{ith} sundrie m^{er}chandize
brought frome those pte they the said m^{er}chaunte^r intending
to frequent those Countries of the East Indies by Continuing
the trade alredie discour^d & begoon, and endeu^{er}ing furdur dis-
cou^y of trade of those pte for the more ample vent of the
Natiue Comodities of o^r kingdomes, & retourning from the
places of their discour^y such necessarie Comodities as shall be
of spetiall vse & benefitt, both to vs and o^r subiecte, are in
hand to prepare & make readie their said shippes latelie re-
toured from the East Indies & to sett them forth agayne on
a new voyadge. And whereas the said m^{er}chaunte^r haue chosen
you the said W^{ill}m Kealeinge to be principall Gou^{er}nor or


¹ The Royal Commission for the *Third Voyage* (1607-1609). There is a minute of this Commission in the Public Record Office, under date 3rd March, 1607. (*See Cal. E. I. State Papers*, 1513-1616, p. 150.)

² William Hawkins, the lieutenant-general of this voyage, on reaching Surat proceeded as directed (*see* p. 124) to the court of the Great Mogul, where he arrived in April, 1609. He was received with great favour, and succeeded, in spite of Portuguese intrigues, in obtaining a license for the establishment of an English factory at Surat. The emperor gave him a handsome allowance, and married him to the daughter of an Armenian Christian. Later, however, his favour declined, and Hawkins applied for permission to depart. He reached Surat in Feb., 1612, and there found Sir Henry Middleton with the ships of the *Sixth Voyage*. He accompanied Sir Henry to the Red Sea, and afterwards to Bantam, whence he took ship for England in the *Thomas*, but died on the passage home (1613). His widow afterwards married Gabriel Towerson (*see* p. 33).

An attempt has been made to connect this William Hawkins with the nephew of Sir John Hawkins who was lieutenant-general of Fenton's abortive voyage in 1582-3, but it is extremely doubtful whether the identity can be established.

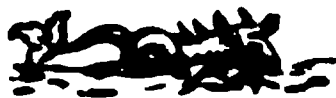
Generall of all the m'chaunte Marriners and other o' subiecte w^{ch} are or shall be shipped in any of the said shippes. And you the said W^m Hawkins to be leiutenante generall of all the m'chaunte Marriners & other o' subiecte, w^{ch} are or shall be shipped in any of the said shippes. We graciouslie favoringe their intended voyadge & approueing & alloweing of their choyse of you to the same Gou^{nm}^{te}, being desirous to furnish you wth all fitt & Convenient power and auctoritie to rule & gou^{ne} all & eu^y o' subiecte ymployed in this voyadge, by a due obedience to be by them yealded vnto you in the obserueing and executing of all such good orders & Constitucōns as you shall thinke Conuenient, to ordaine & appointe for the furtheraunce of the said voyadge to the Hono^r of vs & o' kingdomes & for the aduancem^t of the said trade doe hereby straightlie chardge & Comaund all & eu^y pson & psons ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge in any of the said shippes to giue all due obedience & respect vnto you duringe the said voyadge, & to beare them selues one toward^e an other, in all good order & quietnes for avoydinge any occasion that might breed Muteny quarrells or discension amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe, w^{ch} is to be hoped for by gode puidence of the said intended voyadge, and in default of such dutie & obedience to be pformed toward^e you, & for the Correcōn & quenchinge of all such Muteny quarrells or dissention that shall or may be moued by the disorder euill dispotiōn, or pversnes of any of the said psons. Wee doe hereby authorize you the said W^m Keeling during the said voyadge, or during soe longe tyme as you shall lyue in the said voyadge to Chastice correct & ponnish all offenders & transgresso^r in that behalfe according to the qualitie of their Offences wth such punishm^t as are comonlie vsed in all Armyes by Sea, when they are not capitall. And for Capitall Offences as for wilfull murther w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutenie w^{ch} is one offence that may tend to the ou'throw of the said voyadge the same being trulie and iustlie proued agaynst any of the pson or psons aforesaid. We doe hereby giue vnto you the said W^m Kealeing during all the tyme of the said voyadg or during soe longe tyme as you shall liue in the same, full power & auctoritie to vse & putt

in Execution o' lawe called Marshall lawe in that behalfe. And in case of yo' decease (w^{ch} god forbidd) we doe then likewyse hereby aucthorize you the said Wiltm Hawkins to execute the power & aucthoritie by this o' Comission graunted to the said Wiltm Keeleing in as ample manner as is herein before expressed, & in such sorte as the said Wiltm Kealeing did or might doe by vertue hereof. And theis o' tres shall be vnto you, and either of you sufficient warrant & discharge, for the doing & executeing of all and singuler the p'misses. And for as much as att this present tyme we are in ametic wth all Christian Princes, & are vnwilling that any our subiecte should giue occasion of breach or hindraunce of that league or ametic w^{ch} we hold wth any o' Confederat^e ffreinde or Allyes. And because we are not ignorante of the emula^õn & envie that doth accompany the discoury of Countries & trad^e & of the quarrells & Conten^õns w^{ch} doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiecte of diuers Princes that meete the one wth the other in forreine & farr remote Countries, in the Course & psecuteing of their discouries, and being desirous that o' subiecte should forbear to moue or beginn any quarrell or conten^õn vpon the subiecte of o' Confederat^e ffreinde or Alleys either in their pceeding, or retourne vpon or from

 any of their voyage. Wee therefore doe hereby straightly chardge & Comaund you the said Wiltm Keeling & you the said Wiltm Hawkins & all other vnder yo' Gou^rnm^{ts}, that neither in yo' voyadge outward or homeward or in any Countrie, Iland, Porte or place where you shall abide, or come duringe the tyme of yo' being abroad out of o' kingdomes or dominions where you meete wth any the Subiecte of the kinge of Spaine, or of any other o' Confederat^e ffreinde or Alleys, or any other Na^õn or people, their shipps, vessells good^e or m^rchandize, you doe not attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon, take or surprise their psons shipps vessells good^e or m^rchandizes, or offer any iniurie, or discourtesie vnto them vnlesse you shall first by them, therevnto iustlie be poked, or driuen in the iust defence of yo' owne psons, yo' shipps, vessells, good^e or m^rchandizes, or for recompence or recou^ry of any the psons good^e or m^rchandizes of any o' subiecte that are alredie in or neere the East Indies as you will

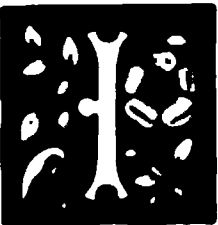
aunswearc the Contrarie att yo^r vttermost prills. Witnes o^r selfe at Westminster the 14th day of ffebruary in the fourth yeare of o^r Reigne of England fraunce & Ireland & of Scotland the 40th.¹

Copia
p bre de priuato sigillo.



IN THE NAME OF GOD. AMEN.
THE 9TH DAY OF MARCH. 1606.

A Comission sett downe by vs the Gou^rno^r, Deputie, & Comitties of the m^cchaunt^e of London trading to the East Indies for better direc^cōn of o^r loueing freind^e the Generall Leiuetenaunte, and others the Captaines, m^cchaunt^e, mⁿ & Marriners in this our intended voyadge to the East Indies, w^{ch} we humblie beseech Almighty God to blesse wth a happie Conclusion.

I  N PRIMIS wheareas we they m^cchaunt^e aforesaid wth a greate chardge & trouble haue prepared twoe shippes & a Pynnace viz the Read Dragon of 700 Tonns Anthonie Hippon^s m^r, the Hector of 500 Tonns Mathew Mollineux^s m^r, & the Consent of 115 Tonns Edmond Bonham m^r, for a voyadge by Gods grace by them to be made to theast Indies, & haue furnished the same sufficientlie,

¹ 1607.

² "Mr Gou^rno^r, m^r Eldred & m^r Hamersley weare intreated wth such as m^r Gou^rno^r shall be pleased to call to Consider & drawe a Commission for eu^{ry} of the shippes, what shall be fitt and necessarie in this respect & in the meane season, yt is required, That each of the Company conceiuing any notes or remembrances, fitt to be ad^d led to the said Comission or Comissions, or for aduice in the said voyadge doe giue knowledge thereof to m^r Gou^rno^r in writinge, for better and more speedie effecting of this busines." (H^{ist} Minutes, 27th Jan., 1607.)

³ Subsequently commanded the *Globe* in the *Sixth Voyage* (1611), in the course of which he died at sea, 9th July, 1612.

⁴ Brought home the *Dragon* in the *Third Voyage*, and was thereupon engaged for the *Sixth Voyage*. He was at first named master of the *Trades Inuice*, but

& in plentifull manner wth men tackle victualls & all other needfull pvisions fitt for such a voyadge. Of a spetiall trust & Confidence w^{ch} we had in the integritie & iust carriage of o^r loueing freind m^r Wifm Kealinge, we doe appointe & aucthorize him Gen^{all} to goe in the Read Dragon & to Comaund o^r said shipps, and all the men in them, haueing p^{re}cured him sufficient aucthoritie from our sou^eeigne Lord the kinge ma^{ty} for that purpose: not doubting but that he will soe behaue himselfe, as he may be both feared & loued, & that he will wth all his diligence & endevorⁿ p^{re}secute o^r designes, and labo^r to bringe this our costlie voyadge to a happie end.

2 ITEM we appointe & ordeyne our loueing freinde Wifm Hawkins to be leiuetenante of the shipps & men to take passadge in the Hecto^r & David Middleton¹ Captaine in the Consent, All w^{ch} Comaunders ffactorⁿ mⁿ & Marriners we trust will soe carrie them selues wth such due respect one to another, & obedience to eu^{er}y one of their Superioⁿ, as loue & kindnes

Giles Thornton seems subsequently to have been preferred to that position, and Molyneux was appointed pilot-major of the fleet. He came home with Downton in the *Peffercorn* in 1613, and is specially mentioned by the latter as his "diligent helper." In the following year, he went out again as master of the *Merchants' Hope* in the *Second Joint Stock Voyage* under Downton.

¹ Brother to Sir Henry Middleton, and also to the John Middleton who commanded the *Hector* in the *First Voyage*. David Middleton took part in the *Second Voyage*, and upon his return, was placed in command of the *Consent* for the *Third Voyage* (1607). He early lost company with the other two vessels of the fleet, and was forced to proceed on his course alone. The voyage was however a successful one, and Middleton returned early in 1609 with fifty tons of cloves. He was at once given the charge of the *Expedition (Fifth Voyage)*, and, in spite of the opposition of the Dutch, succeeded in obtaining a cargo at the Moluccas, reaching England again in 1611. In a letter from Bantam in 1613 (O. C. 106) reference is made to "Capt^t David Midleton his disgrace done him by the kinge, queene, Lord and lady "admirall by Complaintes made on him by an audacious Cooke," but nothing further on the subject can be traced. In 1614 he was selected as commander of the voyage then under preparation, and on the 13th Feb., 1615, his fleet, consisting of the *Samaritan*, *Thomas* and *Thomasine*, reached Bantam in safety. Notes occur from time to time of his movements during the next seven months or so, and then he disappears altogether from view. In Sept., 1617, the Court refused to pay anything to his widow, who had married again, until they had ascertained for certain whether Middleton was alive or dead; but later on, her second husband having obtained two orders and a decree of Chancery, the money was paid him on his giving security both against Middleton himself and Middleton's son.

be Continued on all side, & all whollie applie their wittē & endevo^r for the due p^rformaunce of this voyadge.

3 ITEM & for that religious Gouvernm^t & exercyse doth best bynde men to p^rforme their duties, yt is principallie to be cared for that prayers be said Morneing & euening in eu^ey shipp & the whole Companie called there vnto, wth diligent Eies that none be wantinge, that all ioynctlie may wth reuerence & humilitie pray vnto almightie God to blesse & p^rserue them from all daungers in this longe & tedious voyadge.

4 ITEM that noe blaspheminge of God, swearing, theft dronkennes or otherlike disorders be vsed, but that the same be seuearelie ponished, & that noe diceing or other vnlawfull games be admitted for that most comonlie, the same is the begining of quarrellinge, & many tymes murther a iust occasion of Godē wrath and vengeance from w^{ch} the Lord deliuer vs all. Therefore yt shall be needfull that such orders be sett vpp and published in eu^ey shipp & such ponnishm^t appointed for such offences as may giue notice to eu^ey man, what he ought to avoied.

5 ITEM that spetiall order be geuen, that noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the shippes or filthines be left wthin bourde w^{ch} in heate breedeth Noysome smells, & infecōn, but that there be a diligent care to keepe the ou'loppe^s¹ & other places of the shippes cleane & sweete, w^{ch} is a notable preseruaōn of health, wherein the dutchmen doe farr excede vs in Cleanelines to their greate Comendacons & disgrace to o^r People.

6 ITEM that Continuall & true Iournalls be kept of eu^ey daies course & Nauigaōn during the wholle voyadge wth a true relaōn of eu^ey thinge that passeth, & this not onelie to be done by the seu'all Captaines, mⁿ Pylotte & mⁿ mate, but alsoe by the m'chaunte & Pursars: and that some of the Principalls in each shipp, may conferre together att convenient tymes, when the Generall shall call them theare vnto, to thend that yf any haue forgotten, what an other obserued the same may be added, soe as a pfect discourse may be sett downe to be

¹ The lowest deck of a ship, consisting of a platform laid over the beams in the hold. (*Smyth's Sailor's Word Book.*)

presented to the Gou'no' & Companie, when god shall graunt them a saffe retourne, to be kept for better direcōn of posteritie.

7 ITEM that the Generall & m' of his shipp, doe sett downe and deliu' such instructions to the Comaunders in the other shippes that they may all keepe Company together for the better releife & Comforte one of another: And yf seperacōn of them should happen by Constrainte of Tempest that they should agree vpon a course before hand, & of a place, whither to applie their selues to finde the rest.

8 ITEM that the Generall, & m' of his shipp, take due notice of the seu'all pvisions deliu'ed to eu'y shipp, & to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers, appointed for that purpose in each shipp, & that the same be entred in the Pursars Booke vnderwritten by the said Officers, to thend that such thinge as are puided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbeselled, & that nothinge thereof be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu', w^hout a Warrant vnder the hand of the Generall directed to the Officer that hath such Chardge, w^{ch} warrant shall serue for his dischardge in his accompte, otherwyse to be aunswearable for the same w^h his wage: eu'y such warrant to be registred in the Pursars booke, the day of the monneth, & the occasion, & this vpon forfeiture of soe much out of the Pursars wage, This order to be obserued alsoe in eu'y of the shippes by the Comaunders, mⁿ, Pursars & Officers as aforesaid.

9 ITEM we Comēd vnto you the Gen'all principallie, & to the rest of the Comaunders & mrs an espetiall care, that at eu'y place where you shall water, & refresh yo' men you call the Companies together, geauing them seveare warninge to behaue themselves peaceablie & Ciuillie, towardē the people of that place (yf any be theare) the better to pcure their freindshipp, towardē the supplie of yo' wante, & the like in eu'y place wheare you come, least the losse of yo' lyues & ou'throwe of o' voyage pay for yo' disorders, beside an vtter discreditt to o' Nation, & that yo' men doe vse, a discreete meanes in eateing of fruite, or fresh victuals least they surfitt & fall into diseases, whereof we haue had too much experience. And the better to refraine vnrule appetite wee hold yt Convenient, that the Gen'all appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies, to pcure &

guide in such places, what you want, & the same being brought to the Gen^rall, by him to be reparted to eu^ry Companie, what may be needfull, & that none p^rsume to doe the Contrarie wthout seveare ponishment. And that a spetiall care be had, to releue the sicke wth such fresh meat & other Comfortable thinge, wherewth we haue furnished each shipp for that purpose, & not other wyse to be spent in Royott & banquetting & soe the sicke pishe for wante of thinges needfull.

10 ITEM for the ffittest place of reffreshinge, we wyshe you to shape your Course to the Porte of St. Augustine in the Iland of St. Lawrence¹ where you shall finde good harbo^r & plentie of victualls: in w^{ch} place yt will not be ffitt to make longe aboade, but make hast & endevor to be vpon the Coaste of Melynde in the monneth of Iulie att the furdes[t] but for yo^r better direc^on therein, we referr you to the instruc^on[s] of S^r Iames Lancaster now deliuered you herewth,² who can best direct you, for yo^r Course vpon that Coaste by his owne experience except you in yo^r discre^ons finde otherwyse more fitt: Still standing vpon yo^r guard in euerie place, wthout yealding any trust to those people.

11 ITEM after yo^r deptime frome the Porte of S^t Augustine toward^e the Coaste of Melinde, beware of the flatt^e of Ivdea³ w^{ch} lie betweene the Iland of St Lawrence & the firme land: vpon w^{ch} flatt^e yt is said the Currant doth sett. There is alsoe an Iland

¹ Madagascar.

² See p. 136.

³ "The 1 of August we passed the flats called *os Baixos de Iudea*, that is, the " Flats of the Iewes, which are distant from the cape *das Corentes* 30 miles, and lie " between the Iland of S. *Laurence*, and the firme land, that is from the Iland fiftie " miles, and from the firme land seauenty miles, which Flats begin vnder 22 degrees " and a halfe, and continue to twentie one degrees; there is great care to bee taken " lest men fall vpon them, for they are very dangerous, and many ships haue bin lost " there, and of late in Anno 1585 a ship comming from *Portingale* called S. *Iago* being " Admirall of the Fleet." (*Linschoten's Voyages*, Book I., ch. 3.) Commander Taylor, in his *Sailing Directory* (revised edition, 1891), identifies these rocks with "*Bassas da " India*, often called formerly Europa Rocks," a dangerous reef " 7 or 8 m. in diameter, " between lats. 21° 26' and 21° 32' S., and lons. 39° 41' and 39° 32' E." He adds: " this danger was named by the Portuguese discoverers *Baxios da Judia*, or the " Banks of the Jewess; and still called so by that nation, as well as by all European " navigators, except those of our country, where the first charts of these parts, " copied from the Portuguese, substituted the word India for Judia." (Sec. V., p. 551.)

vpon the Coaste of Melynde, verie fitt for refreshinge yo^r people as wee are informed, & whereof the Hollenders had experience in their last voyadge that way: The w^{ch} Iland is called Zanzibar, where yf you finde yt needfull & haue tyme for that purpose, you may theare water and refresh yo^r Companies: wheare yt shall not be amisse yf you cann haue them, to buy some Oliphaunte teeth, w^{ch} are bought att Mozambique, & on the Coaste of Melinde in greate aboundaunce, & carried into the Indies: That Commoditie is exceedingly well requested in *Cambaya*. Alsoe store of Amber greece, is likewyse to be had in the Coaste of Melynde, & att St Lawrence Iland. But goe not either to Mozambick nor to the Iland of Pemba in any hand but leaue yt on yo^r labo^r side.

12 ITEM haueing refreshed yo^r people wthall speed to shape yo^r Course for Zocotora neere the mouth of the Read Sea, where alsoe is good refreshing, & the best Alloes Zacatrina, in the world, whereof we wyshe you to buy 2 or 3 Tonns weight: beside yt is said there is stoore of Amber greece, & other good thinge whereof we pray you to take notice, & buye what you thinke Convenient: but still in all your m^cchandizinge be carefull to putt of some of yo^r English Comodities in truck, in this Iland we doubt not but that you may be furnished, both for Pilotte for Aden & vnderstand what trade is there to be had what they people be, & of what interteynem^t toward^e straungers, whereof informe yo^r selues, in the best manner you may & soe wthall Convenient speed direct yo^r Course for Aden, or some other place theareabout^e, w^{ch} you may learne to be more fitt for intertaynem^t of you wth all the 3 shipps, you haueing tyme inough to goe into the Indies wth that Monsoone, and being arriued neere the place, come to an Anco^r, but take heede you come not wthin their daunger,¹ still expecting & feareing evill though there be noe cause, & by some Convenient & speedie meanes lett yt be knowne to the Gou^rno^r of the place, that you are English m^cchaunte^r, & haue brought tres vnto him, from the king^e ma^{ty} seekeing onelie peaceable trade, aswell for the sale of o^r Comodities, as for buying of others, for w^{ch} pur-

¹ Compare the familiar—

“ You stand within his danger, do you not ? ”

Merchant of Venice, Act IV., Scene 1.

pose we appointe Wiltm Hawkins to deliu^r his ma^{ties} tres, to the said Gou^rno^r, & therewth such present as you think fitt: & to treate wth him for priuiledge & ffredome of trade for soe many yeares as you cann, declaring that o^r kinge is in league wth the Grand Signio^r that o^r people doe trade into Cairo, Aleppo, Damasco, Constantinople, & in all other his dominions freelie. And that o^r kinge hath now a leidger¹ Imbassado^r in Constanti- nople, w^{ch} loue of the Grand Signio^r toward^e our Na^{cion} hath ymbouldened vs to visitt that place wth our shippes & good^e now desireing by his favorable lycence to trade as Ciuill and peaceable m^rchaunt^e, & that you desire to settle a factorie theare, yf by his honorable favo^r you may be pmitted soe to doe: assuring him that by o^r trade his Customes will be greatlie encreased, for that we shall indevo^r to fetch that from thence w^{ch} we now fetch from the Molloccos Bantam & diuers other places in the Indies: To w^{ch} yf he yeald yt shall be needfull that you craue Articles of priuiledge from him for o^r Nation the better to incourradge vs to frequent that place. And for your better direc^{cion}, we haue deliuered you the Coppie of priuiledge p^cured for vs, by S^r Iames Lancaster from the kinge of Achen² before mencioned adding therevnto what other thinge shall be needfull: In this busines Conferr together that you may pceede wth good advise, aswell for the priuiledge as whoe shall be left there for ffacto^r, except Marlowe³ & Pennell

¹ A resident ambassador, as opposed to one sent on a temporary mission; cp —

“ Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,
Intends you for his swift ambassador,
Where you shall be an everlasting leiger ”

Measure for Measure, Act IV., Scene 1.

² See page 69.

³ Anthony Marlowe—“ laughing Anthony ” as his friends called him—was for some years a factor in the Levant before taking service with the East India merchants (see *Lansdowne MSS.*, No 421, in British Museum). He soon had need of all his cheerfulness, for at Surat he fell into the hands of the Portuguese, and in July, 1609, we find him at Lisbon sick and in prison, and suffering great privations; while, a month or two later, the death of his wife left his child for a time without either of its natural guardians. Correspondence on the subject of his imprisonment and release will be found on a later page of the present volume.

Marlowe kept a journal of the present voyage, an imperfect copy of which is still preserved in the National Library; see p 173 of *Cal F I State Papers*, 1513-1616, where, however, it is wrongly spoken of as relating to the *Second Voyage*. It may also

appointed for other places : Yf he giue leaue to settle a ffactorie, you must alsoe declare vnto the Gou'no^r what sortē of English Commodities you haue brought, but acquainte him wth none of yo^r money, yf you can sell all the Comodities w^{ch} we now send att Aden, we rather desire the same then¹ to make tryall of any other place.

13 ITEM arriueing att Aden, & findeing hope of intertaynem^t & trade, we wish you all to spend some few daies in Consultaõn & direcõns [(]still haueing regard that you the Gen^rall wth the Dragon & Pynnasse loose not yo^r Monsoone) in w^{ch} tyme yf you find that more of o^r Comodities will sell theare, then is in the Hector, we wysh you to take out of the other shippes, what you thinke needfull, and leaue Wiltm Hawkins & Clarke wth the Hecto^r & such other ffactors as may be thought meete to follow that busynes (whome we wish not findinge sufficient & present dispatch of o^r Comodities & other m^rchandizes of those ptē sufficient & att resonable prizes to relade the Hecto^r, then to stay vntill the shippes & Iouncke repaire thither from Cambaya, & other places wth the next Monsoone, att w^{ch} tyme noe doubt you shall finde plentie of all the Comodities, the Indies doe yeald, w^{ch} oportunitie we wish you to take[]), And for the sale of o^r Comodities we wish you to stand, vpon the value & estimaõn thereof, yett soe as you loose not the oportunitie of the first markettē & reasonable offers, least often veiwing them they fall to dislike, for Nouelties as you knowe drawe men to buie, and note that by the resorte of all sortes of people thither, you shall finde meanes to sell what Comodities of o^r are in any place requested yf you putt yo^r selfe forward & by help of some brokers you seeke to deale: But you must be carefull to vse all men wth kindnes & Ciuillitie & soe² that yo^r men doe the like in any wyse, least disorders & scandalous behavio^r cause you to be abhored & evill intreated. And for that Clarke hath beene brought vpp in the trade of Wollen Comodities, we wysh him to be vsed in the sale thereof who can best tell how to handle yt.

14 ITEM yf you finde theare, that any other of o^r Comodities,

be useful to note in passing that in the index to this Calendar, Anthony Marlowe has been strangely confused with *Edmund* Marlowe, who was quite a different person.

¹ Than.

² See?

or Coullor^m will sell better, then those we now send, or some of those more vendible than the rest, we desire to be adverticed ou'rland by some Moores that go to Argier,¹ & direct yo'r tres to Richard Allen Consull theare, to be sent hither wth speede, or to Aleppo to m^r Paule Pyndar² Consull, obserueing the note of a character³ w^{ch} we deliu'r you herewth for the better secretie.

15 ITEM for that we haue put into each shipp a porcion of money viz into the Dragon 13 Chest, into the Hecto^r 8 Chest & into the Consent one Chest. Wee pray you to Consider att yo'r being att Aden, how much thereof, will be there needfull, either for helpinge to putt of o'r Comodities & m^rchandize in barter (yf otherwyse the same will nott sell) or to buye such of theirs, as ys needfull & fitt for o'r Countrie, & the residue to be continued in the Dragon for the Gen'all to ymploy for vs in the Indies.

¹ Algiers.

² A well-known London merchant, the remains of whose beautiful mansion in Bishopsgate Street, doomed to destruction by the exigencies of railway extension, have recently found a home in the South Kensington Museum. The details of his life are somewhat obscure, and the dates given in the few desultory notices that can be found are meagre and at times contradictory. He seems to have been born at Wellingborough, in Northamptonshire, about the year 1566; and, on leaving school, was apprenticed to Mr. Parvish, an Italian merchant, who sent him at eighteen to Venice as a factor. Here, and in various parts of the Levant, he resided for a long period of years, during a part of which he appears to have held the position of secretary to the English ambassador at Constantinople. In 1607 we find him consul at Aleppo, a post he seems to have retained until 1611, when he was made ambassador at Constantinople. This appointment he is said to have held for nine years, and to have done much during his tenure of office to improve English trade in the Levant. By 1623 he was back again in England, and in great favour with James I., to whom he from time to time lent, on occasions of ceremony, his famous diamond, said to have been worth £30,000. This diamond was afterwards sold to Charles I., but whether it was ever paid for is a matter of some uncertainty. In 1626, Pindar was knighted, and was offered the Lieutenancy of the Tower; this honour, however, he declined, and Charles thereupon made him one of the Farmers of the Customs. In addition to this post, and his previous gains from trade, Pindar enjoyed a considerable revenue from a monopoly of the manufacture of alum, a privilege for which he is said to have paid a rental of £12,000 per annum. From all these sources he had accumulated a fortune then considered as colossal, and in 1639 he was computed to be worth £215,600; but a luckless speculation in East India trading with Courten, and the loan of large sums to the king, whose cause he warmly supported throughout the Civil War, brought him into financial difficulties; and when he died, in August, 1650, his affairs were in such confusion that his unhappy executor is said to have committed suicide in despair.

³ Cipher.

16 AND haueing p̄cured the dispatch of the Hector wth her full ladinge, o^r direction is, that you W^{ill}m Hawkins retourne for England wth the next fitt Wynde & weather leaueing theare for ffactoⁿ (yf you thinke needfull[]) Hearne & Clarke, & such others as you may thinke meete wth orders to ymploy their endevo^r for finding out of ffurther trade, aswell for all sorte of Cloth & kersies & Coullⁿ best requested, as all other of o^r Comodities, & for the buying of all those Country wares obserueing still good & c^{te}ine notē of all sorte of Comodities brought thither from out of the East Indies.

17 ITEM for the better Gouⁿm^t of yo^r men we pray you when you departe from each other call to the Gen^lall for the duplicate of the kinge Comission, wth he hath vnder the broad scale, and keepe the same in yo^r power.

18 AND now touching you the Generall we pray you wth the Dragon & the Pinnasse to make noe longer stay att Aden then you must of necessitie as aforesaid, but therewth takeing due hold of the Monsoone shape yo^r spedie course towardē the entraunce to Cambaya endevo^ring there to finde out what good saffe Harboⁿ are thereaboutē for vs to trust to, for a mayntenance of a trade in those ptē heereafter in saffetie from the daunger of the Portingalls, or other enymies, endevo^ring alsoe to learne, whether the kinge of *Cambaya* or *Suratt* or any of his havens be in subiection to the Portugalls, & what havens of his are not, together wth the daungers & depthes of the water there for passadge, that by this c^{te}ine notice & diligent inquirie, (w^{ch} we wish to be sett downe in writeing for the Companies better informacōn) whereby we may hereafter attempt for further trade theare, or otherwyse desiste.

19 AND forasmuch as you haue theare but the Read Dragon & the Pinnasse doe not in any wyse send vpp to the kinge of Cambaia, or putt into any harboⁿ, but rideinge att an Anco^r in the open Roade some few daies to informe your selfe as afore specified, & what trade may theare be had, the sorte prises & goodnes of their Comodities, as alsoe what sorte of oⁿ are theare best requested: endevo^ring to drawe the people to come to you in their Iouckes, or boate wth some of their m^cchandizes for w^{ch} you may assaie to barter some of o^r owne, or sell & buye as

you shall finde occasion. Then take yo^r speedie course alonge the Coaste of Mallabar directlie for Bantam, that you may come thither before the Hollenders yf yt be possible, for they will doe what they cann to prevent¹ you att the Molloccos, & refreshing yo^r men att Bantam & takeing the first of the Monsoone goe directly for the Molloccos, leaueing order wth the ffacto^r att Bantam to pvide & keepe all lading they cann gett to furnish you, yf you fayle att the Molloccos, or yf the Hecto^r should come thither to lade.

20 BUT yf yt shall happen you come not to Zocotora in such Convenient tyme as you may Convenientlie goe to Aden, & haue the Monsoone to bringe you to the Indies, doe not then goe to Aden att any hand, but sayle directlie wth the three shipps toward^e the entraunce of Cambaya : whither yf you come aboute the Middle of September you shall finde yt sooner,² & faire weather, soe as you may very saffelie ride in the open Roade. At w^{ch} place yf vpon diligent inquirie you finde a certaine & saffe expecta^{ti}on of trade, and that any of o^r shipps may goe into saffe harbo^r free from daunger of the Portugalls, then doe you the Generall in the Dragon wthall speede take yo^r Course alonge the

The dragon to goe to Bantam directlie from hence, & the Hecto^r & assencon to stay if they shall see cause³

Coaste of Malabar toward^e Bantam, wthout any stay or abideing to trade by the way in what place soeu^r & take wth you David Middleton to assiste att the Molloccos for the buieing of spices the Hecto^r & Consent to stay in the open Roade neere the barr of Cambaya, & by some of the people w^{ch} come out eu^ry tyde from Suratt we wysh you m^r Hawkins to send word to the Gou^rno^r or Comaunder in Suratt, that there is a messenger arriued wth tres from the king^e ma^{tie} of England vnto their kinge, praying the Gou^rno^r to send him a Boate wth saffe Conveyaunce to bringe him to Suratt, wth w^{ch} Conveyaunce yf any come to you from the Gou^rno^r, we wish you m^r Hawkins to repaier thither,

¹ Anticipate; cp. *English Church Liturgy*, "Lord, we pray Thee that Thy grace may always prevent and follow us."

² A mistake for "somer," i.e. summer (see para. 21 of the Company's Commission for the *Fourth Voyage*, *infra*).

³ This and the subsequent marginal notes are added in another hand. The *Assention* is mentioned in error for the *Consent*.

takeing wth you his ma^{ties} tres & such other pvisions as you haue for that purpose & in yo^r Companie take Anthonie Marlowe & Iohn Hearne and yo^r owne servant & comeing to the Gou^rno^r att Suratt, present him wth some such guifte as you shall thinke meete & desire him to assist you wth meanes & guidē to the kinge, that yo^u may deliu^r his ma^{ties} tres vnto him according to yo^r chardge, w^{ch} haueing obtayned, make all possible speede there-wth & deliu^r his ma^{ties} said tre, & the present vnto the kinge, craueing a speedie aunsweare, and his resolu^{cion}, yf he will be pleased to graunte you free and saffe trade in his Harbo^r, & Countries accordinge to his ma^{ties} tre wth sufficient defence agaynst those that shall practise to impeach or hinder the same, or annoy or hurte any of the shippes, bodies or goodē of any of o^r Na^{cion}, or not. But the better to induce the kinge to graunte vs priviledgē & free trade, signifie that we will be readie to bringe him Armo^r, & other munition from tyme to tyme in o^r seu^rall voyages, for the better inablinge him agaynst his enemyes, besidē the increase of his Customes: w^{ch} yf he pmyse to doe, then desire to haue Comissioners appointed to Consider wth you of Articles for priviledgē of trade, wherein followe such direc^{cion} as is form^{lie} geven you for Aden (w^{ch} priviledgē being obtayned and signed by the kinge, haueing taken yo^r leave in Comlie manner, & rec^d such Comaundem^tē in writeing directed to his Gou^rno^r & Officers of his Townes & portē for yo^r defence agaynst all disturbers of you in yo^r peaceable trade, & for their Assistaunce of you & kinde interteynem^{te} in the same: wth all speede make yo^r retourne to Suratt, & haueing deliuered that kingē Comaundem^{te} to the Gou^rno^r & Officers, Craue their Assistanc[e] wth Pylottē, & saffe Conduc^{cion} for yo^r shipp, we meane the Consent, & therewth make all the speede you can to gett into the Harbo^r, but first shew to some trustie Brokers, such patterns of yo^r Cloth, kersies, and other Comodities as are in o^r shippes, takeing knowledge, w^{ch} sorte of them will be there sold, & accordinglie giue order to Iohn Hearne to goe wth the Pylottē to see some putt out of the Hector into the Consent & therewth order that the said shipp, come wth the first oportunitie to Suratt.

21 ITEM the Consent being arriued in Suratt, & yo^r busines theare sett in good order, & the same left to the chardge of

Anthonie Marlowe, and Pennell & ffynch¹ wth such moneys as you thinke to be sufficient wth our m^rchandize, to relade the Consent wth Indico, fine Callicoes, drugge &c: wth what Iewels you can gett, & leaueing them some small stocke for their mainetenanc^e, being, to remayne theare as ffacto^{rs}. Then you Wit^m Hawkins to retourne to the Hecto^r, takeing wth you for ffacto^{rs} Iohn Hearne, Clarke, and Batten, & wth speede to retourne wth the Monsoone to Aden, and there to follow the direc^{cion} geuen you before, for that place. But yf att Aden, you be not kindlie intertayned & admitted to trade, then wth the next Convenient Wynde to shape yo^r course for Bantam, where we referr you to Consider wth o^r ffacto^{rs}, whether the shipp shall lade theare wth pepp, or plie to some other place for lading, wherein we pray you slipp noe oportunitie for dispatch.

22 ITEM touching the Consent, yf she can be laden att Suratt as afore said, then wthall diligence, the m^r to shape his course homeward^e, wth such ffacto^r or ffacto^{rs} as you m^r Hawkins shall thinke fitt.

23 BUT yf noe trade can be obtayned at Suratt for lading of the Consent then we wish, the m^r to take his direct way alonge the Coaste of the Indies to Bantam wth the forenamed ffacto^{rs} in her, & there to followe such direc^{cion} for her ladinge homeward^e, as o^r ffacto^{rs} att Bantam shall sett downe, either wth pepp theare, or to goe for Banda for Mace & Nutmegg^e.

24 ITEM further touchinge the Dragon, we wish you the
To lade the dragon
 wth Cloues (if not)
 wth Cloues, mace &
 nutmeges Gen^{all} to vse all meanes & diligence to lade her
 wth Cloues att the *Mollocos*, or yf the whole
 ladinge of Cloues cannot be gotten, then
 retourne to Banda to furnish out the same, wth Nutmegg^e &
 Mace, wherein, as for all other spices we would haue you princi-
 pallie to be advised by Symond Dickenson, who hath best skill

¹ William Finch. He landed with Hawkins at Surat, but was prevented by illness from accompanying him to Agra. Later on, however, in the spring of 1610, he made his way to that city, and remained there for some time, making occasional excursions to other towns, including Lahore, and diligently noting all that he saw or heard. In 1612 he formed the idea of returning home overland through Persia and Arabia. It proved a fatal resolution, for at Babylon he and his companions died suddenly, poisoned by drinking bad water [1613]. His journal and notes will be found in *Purchas*.

therein, And to remember to foresee, that in ladeing either Cloues, Nutmegge or Mace, you clense them what you can from dust & Rumps that the shipp be not stuffed wth such vnprofitable ware as is not worth the Custome, & soe we loose all o^r chardge, therefore rather burne the same then lade yt in the shipp & be carefull to buie drie Cloues, & not such as are greene.

25 ITEM be verie carefull that you haue yo^r due weight & the same putt into bagge, nombred & m^ked & sent abourde the shipp wth some of the ffacto^r, or some other trustie pson, wth a tre Conteyneing the pticuler of eu^y bagg vnder the number, the same tre to be deliu^ed to the Pursar whom we chardge to weight eu^y bagg, att the takeinge of yt into the shipp, whereby he may see that the weight is accordinge to the tre rec^d, keepeing eu^y tre & entring the Content^e into his booke, whereby yf any erro^r happen, yt may be found out, w^{ch} we wish you the Generall to examine eu^y nighte. that there growe no abuse.

26 ITEM we chardge that the Pursar be continuallie abourde the shipp, and take true notice of all thinge whatsoeu^r are brought into the shipp or carried out, either by Generall, Captaines, m^cchaunte, mⁿ, Marriners the Pursar himselfe, or whosoeu^r, the same to be entred into his booke, vnder the name of the owner, that eu^y one may haue his due att the retourne, as the Pursar will Aunsweare yt wth the losse of his wages. And we pray the Generall and Captaines to giue the Pursars strict order for pformaunce hereof.

27 ITEM that there be but one hatch open (yf yt may be) att the ladeing of any of the shipp, and all the other hatches lockt vpp, & that the m^r or one of his mate & the Pursar to stand by the open hatches when any good^e are shott into hould, lockeing the same vpp, when they haue left worke, the key to be geuen to the Generall or Captaine to be kepte.

28 ITEM to be carefull that nothinge be bought but what is especiall good, & that you doe not ou^wwett the Cloues, when they be laden, fo^r o^r ouerwetting Cloues, bad Nutmegge & Mace haue tought vs to advise o^r ffacto^r to be more carefull.

29 AND for that voyage of this condiçõn & greate chardge
our private trade cannot admitt any private trade. Our will is, that
 neither you the Generall, nor any other, vpon any

pticuler or other Accompt then the Gen^rall & ioynt stocke doe lade or deale wth any of those Comodities heerevnder expressed, viz pepp, Cloues, Nutmegge, Mace, Synamond, gynger Indico, Callicoes, Amber greece, Muske Alloes Benjamin & Gumlacca, And that yf any shall soe doe the same to be applied to the accompte of the Companie, as o^r ppp goodē, yt being noe way resonable, that we should paie them their wage wth meate & drinke, and they lade those thinge in o^r shipps, w^{ch} should defray o^r chardge.

30 ITEM in eu^ry place wheare you come & trade, compare their weighte and measures wth o^r, before you buie, to thend you may know the better what to doe, & how to make yo^r rekoningē, for w^{ch} purpose we haue putt sundrie Chestē wth weighte into o^r shipps.

31 ITEM that there be the sufficientest & best advised of o^r ffacto^rs appointed to weigh what is bought, by weight on the land, & to keepe a pfect booke thereof, that the same may be nightlie conferred wth the Pursars Booke, whereby erro^r may be the better found out.

32 ITEM that o^r ffacto^rs bring or send by the first shipps 8 or 10 of the dollo^rs, or Royalls w^{ch} the Hollenders carrie thither.

33 ITEM we vtterlie forbid any excessiue drinkeing, feast- ing, or banquetting abourd the shipps att Sea, or aland it being agreate waste & consumpcōn of victualls & wyne the Cause of many diseases & disorders in the Companie, & therefore the same to be spent wth more discrecōn & sparinge.

34 ITEM remember to matt the insidē of yo^r shipps before you putt any spice into them, espetiallie where you lade Cloues pepp Nutmegge & Mace, & be carefull to make choyse of yo^r Nutmegge that they be lardge & sound, & att the ladinge thereof, doe not lyme them too much,¹ for that burne[th] them, & beware you lay the Mace in Canisters in some ffitt place by yt selfe, that yt be not spoyled by the heate of the other spices, takeing good heede to buie that w^{ch} is bright, & not withered, nor

¹ " It is alsoe to be remembred that 4 or 6 hoggesheedes of slaked lyme be provided
 " for the shipps, for lymeing of the Nutmegges to *preserue them from the wormes* wherein
 " a moderation is to be vsed in doinge thereof as is shewed at lardge to the Captaines
 " by their Comission." (*Court Minutes*, 11th March, 1606/7.)

Redd nor darke browne Colored. And such Cloues as shall be free of dust the w^{ch} those people vse to put amongst them for their advantage in the weight

35 ITEM yf necessitie drawe you att the lading of the Cloues for bett[er] setting of them, to cast water vpon them, be ye sure that ytt be but sprikling wth some thinge for the purpose like a watering pott, for that too much wett in o^r Cloues in the last voyadge brought vs greate damadge.

36 ITEM we desire that a ffactorie may be settled for vs att Banda & an other at Turnato or Tedore the better to advise vs for trade heere after & therefore doe wish you to leaue ffacto^{rs} att each place wth some reasonable stocke for their mayntenaunce, yf vpon due Considera^õn att yo^r being theare you shall thinke yt fitt. And seeing we finde by o^r last Accompte, That those of Lunto^r & Nero did sell their Cloues & mace much better cheepe; to receiue their paym^te in gould, then in Royalls: namelie the Bahar of Nutmegge for 9 Royalls & the Bahar of Mace fo[r] 90 Royalls, in sylver: but paying wth gould the price of Nutmegge but 7 Royalls & of mace for 70, we therefore thinke yt verie needfull that all meanes be vsed to sell o^r Comodities for barter or gould: & to fynde out such places where gould may be had, as spetiallie as we are informed att the Iland of Monaginnye¹ for w^{ch} place one of o^r ffacto^{rs} that shall lie att Banda, wee hould fittest to be ymployed to this effect: Although he goe att the first but as a passenger in some shipp, to learne & advise vs the certaintie thereof.

37 ITEM That the Gen^{all} & Captaines giue often notice to the ffacto^{rs} & others what they are to obserue by this o^r Comission wth espetiall chardge to the ffacto^{rs}, to make diligent inquirie of what Comodities are to be bought or bartered for in each Iland, & what Englishe m^rchandize may be there vented, & of what kinde & Collo^{rs} most vendable.

38 ITTEM It is to be remembred that o^r ffacto^{rs} att Bantam doe their best endevor to pcure the Chineses to bring from Cheney sleave & sowing silkes of the Coullor & sizes we haue now deliu^{er}ed to you o^r

That affactorie be settled at Banda Tornata & tedore if you shall thincke fitt

& to finde out such places where gold may be had & to what end.

The ffacto^{rs} at Bantam to procure the bringeing thither of Cheney silkes.

¹ Nouaginnye on a later page; possibly New Guinea.

Generall as alsoe some rawe silkes, that we may fall into some trade wth them, & see yf they can sell any of o^r English Cloth to them, that they may be brought to thuse thereof.

39 ITEM remember to doe yo^r best to bringe for the Lorde of Salisburie,¹ some Parrattē Mounckeyes Marmesattē or other straundge beastē & fowles that you esteeme rare & delightfull.

40 ITEM for the quantities of money & m^rchandize put into each shipp, we Referr you to o^r invoice deliu^red you herewth wth the pticuler sortē Coullōⁿ & prises, wth patternes of all sortē whereby to make sale.

41 ITEM whereas hearetofore the Company haue rec^d greate wronge by the Gen^rall & Captaines, mⁿ, & Marriners admittance of voluntarie men to goe in o^r shipps: We hereby giue an espetiall chardge vnto you o^r Generall Captaines & mⁿ, that you suffer none such to goe alonge wth you, w^{ch} putt the Companie to chardge besidē many other inconveniences, nor any but such as shall be allowed of by o^r direction, & whose names are entred into o^r bookes

42 AS touchinge the ffactoⁿ that are to be left there or to be brought home either of those w^{ch} are alredie lefte in the Countrie, or of those w^{ch} goe now in the shipps: We doe order that the appointem^t of o^r said ffactoⁿ to reside in those places shall be att the direction and discreōn of you the Generall, or in yo^r absence of him that shall be cheeffe Comaunder by vs appointed, wherein wee hope you will haue that Consideraōn, as to make choise of the ffittest w^{ch} shall be found able & meete to deserue that truste of ymploym^{te}: neither lett o^r placeing of the ffactoⁿ in the seu^rall shipps, as they are placed be a rule to you, or any ground to them, to

The appointm^t: of the ffactoⁿ to be left there to be at the direcon of the Gen^rall.

¹ The celebrated Robert Cecil, Earl of Salisbury, at this time Secretary of State. The origin of this instruction is shown by the following extract:—" Was Read a " writeing from Sr Walter Cope in behalfe of a younge man, the w^{ch} he commendeth " to goe in the shipps for Parattes, Munkies & Marmasittes for the Lo: of Salisburie " praying that he may haue Creditt in those partes (yf need be) for xx or xli^{li} from " the Company. Wherevpon yt was resolved that m^r Gou^rno^r doe giue some Con- " venient aunswere to the same signifeing that forasmuch as the man may die " & his thinges miscarrie yt will be more Convenient some of o^r men may provide " the same, as they shall haue order, &c." (*Court Minutes*, 16th Jan, 1606/7.)

enioye those places of ymploym^{nt}: other wyse then they shall be found fitt & deserue. And that amonge such of o' ffacto^{rs} as shall be now vsed att the Molloccos, Banda & those places Our Order is that you ymploy those now already remayneing att Bantam aswell such as you thinke fitt of as of anie others wth an espetiall chardg to them all, to carrie them selues verie kindlie wth those people, for that the Contrarie as we are informed hath beene hurtfull vnto vs, for that Brownes vnkinde & churlish dealeinge towardē them, did make many of those people refrayne to deale wth him & goe to the Hollenders.¹

43 ITEM that [as] it is vnfitt & inconvenient that o' trade be ympted vnto any but o' Gen'all Companie: not to impart the trade to any by the Gen'all Companie it is expresslie ordered, & soe the ffacto^{rs} are to haue chardge, not to write or advise any their pticuler freinde or others of the prices of any Comodities either theare bought or sold. But onelie in their Gen'all tres to the Gou'no^r & Companie.

44 ITEM we wish that yf att yo^r comeing to Bantam, it be not thought fitt that the Pinnasse be theare left to traffique from place to place as we doe desire. Then o^r will is that some one or twoe of o' ffacto^{rs} left theare shall by the best meanes they cann there finde, goe as passengers in some other shipps, to finde out trade in such places as shall be thought needfull as Mesapatania² in the partes of Bengalla Cheremandall S^t Thome or any other places fitt for trade, & to take good observacōn what English Comodities, as Iron, Tynn, Leade, steele Clothes kersies and Saies wth their seu'all kinde & Coullōⁿ are there best in request, & their value: As alsoe what Comodities are theare to be bought, as namely Pyntados, & such like, for the Molloccos And likewyse booke Callicutte & lanes called casa, & such other thinge as may serve for England where the finest sorte will serve best, wth Pearles, stones, Muske Bezar, & such like, wth their seu'all prices, wherein we wishe Pennell to be cheeflie ymployed, for Callicutte lanes &c: & other ffacto^{rs} according to their skill in other Comodities, The Omission of seekeinge out whereof all this while hath

¹ See page 86.² But?³ See page 73. note 10.

retourned to o' greate losse, & to the benefitt of the Hollenders, who haue beene laborious and industrious therein: And this sending to those places, & inquirie to be made, yf yt be possible before the retourne of the dragon from the Molloccos to Bantam, to thend that att her retourne for England we may be effectuellie adverticed of all theis pticulars soe farr as you may, & of all other thinges for o' better direcōns of anew voyadge.

45 ITEM that you the Generall att yo' retourne for[†] Bantam for England, doe bringe wth you vnto
To bringe an In-
 ventorie from Ban-
 tam &c of all thinges
 there left. vs from thence an Inventory of all o' goode,
 debte & moneys then remayneing in those pte,
 The wth is likewyse to be done by m' Hawkins yf he shall leaue any ffactorie els wheare putting to o' Gen'all accompt all guifte presentē and gratificāōns, wth shall be geuen, by any forreine Prince or potentate, vnto whom we haue now sent presentē or others.

46 ITEM it is o' expresse order, that by a gen'all Consent of yo^r the Generall Captaines, ffacto^r, mⁿ, & Marriners, some good order be by you taken & sett downe in writeing soe soone as you come to Sea, Concerning the disposing of dead mens goode in the voyadge, by sale att the Maste, or otherwyse: for buiing sellinge borrowing & lending one an other: And orderinge what sallarie shall be allowed the Pursar vpon eu'y pounce for keepeing accompt thereof, to avoied Controu'sie, & question hereafter, & eu'y marriner & other of each shipp, to sett their hand or marke vnto the same Order. But yf any ffacto' shall happen to die, his goode, bookes, accompte and other thinge, are to be by order of the Generall & Captaines saffelie reserved, & brought home for England.

47 ITEM now lastlie but wth the first to be remembred we Comend vnto you all an especiall care to haue yo' Eyes open to all devises & practises wth may be wrought agaynst you, o' shipps & goode in eu'y place where you come, keeping a Continuall watch, whereby you may be readie to prevent any mischeefe agaynst you, suspect all, how freindlie socu' they seeme: be readie still & stand vpon yo' garde, trust not yo' saffetie to

† A mistake for "from"

the Carelesse attendaunce of the Comon marriners, whoe will not losse their present pleasures, or ease, though the losse of their liues, o^r shipps & goodē depend vpon yt. And albeyt we

Any thinge formerlie sett downe,¹ all thinges left to their discrecons. haue sett downe eu^y thinge what we remember and desier to be desire to be done : in pticuler :

Yett yf vpon due considera^on you finde cause to alter any thinge, w^{ch} we heare haue sett downe, haueing wth good aduise resolved therevpon, we referr the same to yo^r discre^ons : And for yo^r better &² Assistaunce & warie pceedinge therein, as alsoe in all other o^r affaires we appointe W^{ill}m Hawkins David Middleton & Anthony Marlow, & such others as you the principall Comaunder shall thinke fitt to Consider and Consult wth you the Gen^{all} of all thinge needfull whome wee wish you to ymbrace & vse wth aloueinge respect, & freindlie and diligentlie to hearken to their Councells, puttinge in execution what shall wth good deliberation be soe agreed vpon. And soe we we Comend you & yo^r endev^on to godē pvidence whoe guide you wth his feare & defend yo^r from all daungers. Amen.

post scriptum

48 AND further o^r direc^on is That you our Gen^{all} at yo^r comeinge to Bantam doe (besidē the tre & p^rsent to that kinge) giue vnto the Admirall & such other greate psonages theare as o^r ffacto^r shall advise you to haue beene freindlie to them, such presentē or gratifica^ons as shall be thought fitt.

49 AND further we wishe that some good course be taken att your comeing thither, that fewer of o^r people be kept theare, for ease of chardge : yett not whollie to be wthdrawen thence.

50 AND alsoe we wish that a ffactorie, or att least some of o^r people be appointed to recyde att Pryamon, both for their better health & saffetie,³ & for pcureing for vs pepp & other Comodities yf there shall be men & stocke there to ymploie.

¹ The word " notwithstanding " appears to have been omitted here.

² " And " has been inserted here by mistake.

³ See note, page 26. " This [Priaman] is a place of good refreshing, and is very " wholesome and healthfull, and yet it lyeth within fiftene minutes of the Line." (Lancaster's Voyage in Purchas, Lib. III., ch. 3.)

51 ITEM o^r direc^{ti}on is that att yo^r retourne from Bantam you doe bringe thence for the Companie some small quantitie of the East India Tynn for the triall & prooffe thereof.

52 ITEM for better p^rserva^{ti}on of health, o^r order is, that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water [they] be forth wth agayne filled wth salt water, for preven^{ti}on of leakeinge and Mustines.

53 ITEM o^r direction is that you make diligent inquirie att S^t Lawrence and Zanzabar, & all other places, in yo^r passadge & retourne of Tydinge of the Suzan:¹ or yf any English shipp hath beene of late wthin theis twoe yeares either cast away or taken: or putt in for releefe, in any of those pt^{es}, and receiueing any knowledge of her to vse the best meanes you may, for recou^{ry} of her her men & good^{es}.

54 ITEM the ffacte Comitted in the Indies by S^r Edward Michelborne² thoughe we know o^r selues to be

¹ The *Hector* and *Susan* had sailed from Bantam on 4th March, 1605, the *Red Dragon* and *Assention* following six months later. On the 19th December, Middleton came up with the *Hector*, "driving up and down the sea about four leagues off the "Cape Boa Esperança, with ten men in her," and took her into Saldanha Road to refit. She had lost company of the *Susan* three months after they came out of Bantam Road, "which ship, the *Susan*, was never heard of since." (Clayborne's account of the *Second Voyage*, in *Purchas*, Lib. I.)

² Sir Edward Michelborne was a seaman of some note, who appears to have served under the Earl of Essex in the "Island Voyage" of 1597, and to have been subsequently concerned in the same nobleman's abortive rising in 1601. He was an original adventurer in the Company, his name standing fourth in the list contained in the charter; and he was strongly recommended by the Lord Treasurer for the command of the *First Voyage*. The merchants, however, expressed their desire to employ rather "men of their own quality," and Captain Lancaster was accordingly preferred to the post. Michelborne, perhaps offended at the refusal of his services, neglected to pay his share of the adventure, and was in consequence disfranchised in July, 1601. A few years later he became a gentleman pensioner to James I., and in June, 1604, that monarch, disregarding the exclusive privileges of the East India Company, granted Michelborne a license to trade to Cathaia, China, Japan, Corea, Cambaia and the adjoining countries. Armed with this authority, he equipped a small vessel and a pinnace, and, with the famous John Davis of Sandridge as pilot, sailed from Cowes on the 5th Dec. in the same year. After an unsuccessful attempt to trade at Priaman, Bantam was visited; and then a course was shaped for Patani, on the eastern side of the Malay Peninsula. On the way a leaky vessel belonging to a party of Japanese pirates was met with and assisted; in return for which, the pirates treacherously attempted to surprise the English and seize the ship. They were

meerelie¹ Innocent therein, yet yf by any meanes we or o' goodē should be dampnified thereby, we wish you to seeke to that kinge & magistratē for redresse & recompence thereof. The w^{ch} yf you cannot obtayne. Then o' will is, that you vse the benefitt of o' kinge ma^{ties} Comission giuen you in that behalfe.

55 ITEM after the deptime of the said Wiffm Kealeinge & Wiffm Hawkins to diuers Coastes, as we haue by this o' Comission ordered, yf the said Wiffm Hawkins shall happen to die, w^{ch} God forbidd. Then we doe appointe in his place for ordering & effecting the busines by vs hereby Comitted vnto the said Wiffm Hawkins chardge vnto Anthony Marlowe: but neu'thelesse yf the said Wiffm Hawkins shall happen to die before he shall depte Companie wth the said m^r Wiffm Kealinge for diuers places as aforesaid then o' expresse will is That David Middleton be appointed in the place of the said Wiffm Hawkins of Leiuetenante Generall in this present voyage before any other. As alsoe by the death of the said m^r Wiffm Kealeing now o' Generall to succede in his place & chardge in the absence of the said Wiffm Hawkins by death or otherwyse till their meetinge together agayne in this voyage.

finally overpowered after much stubborn fighting, and with the loss of Captain Davis and many of the crew. After a further short cruize, Michelborne turned homewards, and reached Portsmouth on 9th July, 1606.

During the voyage several native vessels were overhauled, including a Chinese junk bound for Bantam. Although Michelborne states that he paid for everything he took, his proceedings seemed to have caused much commotion at Bantam; and the Dutch admiral whom he met at Pulo Sumatra, told him that "the English merchants in Bantam were in great peril, and that still they looked for nothing else, than that the King of Iava would assault them because he [Michelborne] had taken the China ship, whereby the King of Bantam had lost his custom." (*Purchas, Lib. III., ch. 1.*)

The Company appear to have commenced a suit against Michelborne in the Admiralty Court on account of the damages likely to be sustained through his piratical actions in the Indies, but in July, 1607, it was determined that the suit should be dropped, on account of its great expense and uncertain issue. Shortly afterwards a reconciliation seems to have taken place, and in Jan., 1608, Michelborne gave the Company his advice as to the course to be adopted in the *Fourth Voyage*. (See note, page 247) Two years later, a pinnace was ordered to be purchased from Sir Edward by the Company. He died, as will be seen from an entry on a later page, in the early part of 1609.

¹ Entirely.

56 ITEM we giue you o^r Gen^rall expresse order for examina-
tion or examinacon of o^r ffactor^{es} there. nacon of o^r ffacto^{es} dealeing att Bantam in o^r
 gen^rall accompt & other wayes, & alsoe of all
 their private trade, vsed since their going thither: Wherein we
 vnderstand m^r Towerson hath beene a lardge dealer for him
 selfe, haueing sould to the Hollenders att one tyme 300 sackes
 of pepp besid^e other thing^e very straunge vnto us. And yf vpon
 due examinacon thereof he doe not giue you good satisfaccon to
 yo^r content, then we praye you to reduce the same to the Comon
 stocke & the like Course to be taken herein wth all such others,
 that you shall finde faultie heerein for that the same is Contrarie
 to o^r expresse order formerlie geuen vnto them.

57. AND for that we finde best pffitt by the lardg sorte of
 pepp both for the prices that you paye aswell for the one as
 for the other, we pray you att any hand, to buye soe much of
 the largest sorte, as by any meanes you cann gett, & lett the
 same be put by yt selfe into the shipp that yt be nott mingled
 wth any other. And thus not doubting of yo^r faithfull care &
 diligence herein Wee pray god to blesse you all & o^r affaires
 London the 11th of March 1606.

W^m Kealeing¹
 W^m Hawkins
 David Middleton.



FIRSTE² yf yt please God to send yo^r shipps to the Cape
 Bona *Speranza* in time, that is by the first of Iune
 little more or lesse, & yo^r people standing in health,
 myne opinion is that you stay not att Saldania to
 water or refresh, but rather hould on your Course directlie for
 S^t Lawrence & touch att the ryver of S^t Augus-
 tine, for theare as I haue beene crediblie informed
 is as good meanes of refreshing as is att Saldania
 This Course will advantage you much in yo^r

Sr James Lancasters
 remembraunce for ob-
 seruacon of the tymes
 meete to be obserued
 in the East India
 voyadge.

¹ See page 38.

² See paragraph 10 of the preceding Commission. These notes are entered also
 on the Court Minutes of 13th Feb, 1606/7.

Navigaçon to the Coaste of the India : beside the avoydeinge of fowle whether, that in that monneth comonlie is in Saldania, haueing theare refreshed haue agreate care of the fflatte of the Ilande of Iudea¹ for many shippes haue been lost theare, for the Currant setteth from the Coaste of S^t Lawrence right vpon them, soe that yf you be not very carefull to looke out night & daye you shall feele them before you see them. Therefore haue a diligent care of this pointe for I my selfe haueing twoe very sufficient mⁿ in my shipp was by the said Currant much deceiued, but that was in the monneth of September.

IF by any misfortune you haue further neede of refreshing, you shall finde yt att the Ilande of Comoza² but looke to yo^r selues, for after their tournes are served of such thinge as they need they will imploye all their witte to betray you in what they Cann, therefore trust noe men aland for the fleminge haue lost men trice in theis Ilaunde & I my selfe once.³ If the tyme soe serue you that yoⁿ cann gett into Indea by the 5th of Iulie, you may as you see cause, first touche in the mouth of the Redd Sea, for although you make yo^r staye there till the middest of October yett you shall haue wynde to bring you to Indea but not longe after : but yf yt soe fall out that you see yt will be the midst of August or theareabouts ere you shall gett into the Redd Sea, then I would take my Course directlie for Cambaia & follow my busines there, for by the 20th of Decemb^r or prime of Ianuarie att the ffurthest yf yoⁿ settle not yo^r trade theare, the Wynde growe fayre to goe for the Redd Sea, whither at that tyme yf you take yo^r Course you shall haue 3 monnethes to staye, to see what you cann doe in setlinge yo^r trades. And aboute Aprill the West &

¹ See page 118.

² The Comoro group, between the northernmost point of Madagascar and the mainland.

³ "From this place we went for an island called Comoro, vpon the coast of Melinde, which standeth about 11 degrees to the south of the equinoctial: in which island we stayed all Nouember, finding the people blacke and very comly, but very treacherous and cruell: for the day before we departed from thence, they killed thirty of our men on shore, among whom was William Mace, our master, and two of his mates, the one of them being in the boat with him to fetch water, the other being on shore against our ship; they hauing first betrayed our boat." (From Henry May's account of Lancaster's first voyage to the Indies in Markham's *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster*, page 26)

Norwest wynde begynning to blowe, soe that you may retourne agayne for the Coaste of Indea, but thinke not to touch vpon the Coaste for yt is exceeding daungerous at that tyme of the yeare, & from thence till August, & therefore come not neare yt, for till august yt is fowle weather, & verie thicke & stormye vpon the Coaste of Indea, & the wynde sett right vpon the Coaste, May, Iune & Iulie, but theis wynde will carrie you to Bantam, but take not too high or Sowtherlie a course for then you will hem [out] of the way of the Westernne Monsond that should helpe you in this Navigation, but comeing to Bantam before September you cannot goe for the Molloccos for the Westernne Monsonde reacheth but to Bantam. Therefore as you see cause you may touch att Pryamon where is good pepp reasonable good cheepe & agood ayre. Note that yf you touch not vpon the Coaste of Indea before the 5th of November, you cannot doe yt till august or September come twelue monneth.



HEREAS¹ A B. is enterteyned by vs the Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchan[tē] of London trading to the East Indies to goe as one of o^r ffacto^r in this p^rsent voyadge now by vs p^rpared towardē the said Indies, & is allowed for his ymploym^t in the said voyadge the some of
 for his p^rpara^{ti}on to Sea the w^{ch} he hath received
 before his goeing forth. Now knowe yee that we
 the said Gou^rno^r & Companie for the further
 allowance w^{ch} the said A B is to haue & receiue accordinge to o^r
 agreem^t wth him doe acknowledge & testifie & doe pmyse & agree
 by theis presentē that the said A B. shall haue & inioy for his
 further allowance & enterteynm^t in the said voyadge vpon the
 gaine & pfitt w^{ch} god shall send by the retourne of the same

Bills of aduenture to
 the factors.
 Se for the m^r so
 99.²

¹ These two "bills of adventure" were read at a Court held the 17th Feb., 1600/1 and are entered on the minutes under that date.

² *i.e.* page 269. This has been added by another hand.

voyadge, The principall adventure thereof & all chardge of the voyadge first deducted, such rate & pportion of proffitt as yf he had beene an adventuro' of the some of £li and as yf he had putt in soe much Readie money in stocke in the said voyadge, the said rate & pportiōn of proffitt to be paied vnto him after his retourne into England in such manner & forme as the gaine & proffitt of the said voyadge is paied to other the Aduenturoⁿ gen'allie vppon the some of £li by them adventured soe as he pceede in the said voyadge, & doe not retourne before the voyadge be ended. And yf he happen to die before the retourne of the shippes from the said East Indies haueing liued & Continued in the said voyadge vntill the shippes shall be laden, or vntill he or other ffactoⁿ shall haue contracted & made pvision for their ladinge then the said gaine proportioned the saide rate of

£li adventure to be paied to his Executoⁿ administratoⁿ or assignes, as yt should haue beene paied to him, yf he had returned wth the shippes. Provided alwaies that yf he decease before the shippes shall arrive in the East Indies that then the moneys ymprested & deliu'ed him before his goinge to Sea shall be vnto him in full recompence of his interteynem^t agreed vpon for the voyadge And vpon theis Condiçōns & provisoes before mentioned We the Gou'no' & Companie vnder o' Comon seale haue geuen vnto the said A B this present bill of Contract & adventure dated the 17th day of ffbruarie Anno Regni R^æ Eliz quadregesimo tertio.



HEAREAS A B one of the Adventurers & one of the brethren of the Gou'no' & Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies haueing sett downe for his Adventure wth the said Company for their first voyadge into the East Indies the some of £li starlinge hath not onelie paied the said some of £li to C D Threr of the said Company, but hath supplied accordinge to the Ordenances of the Company the

A bill of adventure
to the Company.

some of fti starlinge more w^{ch} is after the rate of ij^s the ft of his said Adventure. Wee therefore the said Gou^rno^r & Company doe by this o^r present bill of Adventure promyse & agree to & wth the said A B. That wee the said Gou^rno^r & Companie & o^r successo^r shall & will vpon the retourne of the shippes or any of them sett out by vs in this present voyadge, or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliuer vnto the said A B his executo^r & admīstrā a true & iust accompt & paym^{ts} of such stocke, benefitt & proffitt of stocke as god shall send vpon the said voyadge according to the gen^rall distribution proporcion & allotm^t w^{ch} shall be allotted disposed and geuen to all & eu^ry the seu^rall Adventuro^r in the said voyage pportionall to their seu^rall adventures. In Witnes wheareof the said Gou^rno^r & Companie haue heareto annexed their Comon seale The 17th daie of ffebruarie 1600.



THE CONDICON¹ of this Obligacon is such That wheareas vpon the spetiall request and intreatie of the aboue bound A B. the Gou^rno^r and Companie of the marchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies haue interteyned him the said A B. into their service. And alsoe the said A B hath agreed & pmysed to serue the said Gou^rno^r & Companie & their successo^r as their ffacto^r & Couenaunt servant in all & eu^ry such their traffique of m^rchandize busynes & affaires whatsoever as they or any by them authorized shall thinke ffit to ymploy him in, as well att, in, vnto, & from the East Indies, as att or in any other place or places whatsoever dureing the space of 5 yeares next ensueing the date aboue written, or dureing soe many & such tyme of the said ffive yeares as the said Gou^rno^r & Companie or their successo^r or such as shall be by them

The factors bonde.
bunde in 1000 m^rkes

¹ "Ytt is alsoe ordered that each ffacto^r giue his owne bonde for 1000 m^rks, and "their freindes Bond for 200^l." (*Court Minutes*, 31st Dec., 1606/7.) This and the succeeding bond are entered on the minutes of the 14th and 19th Jan., 1606/7.

authorized shall thinke meete for such wage & Considera^on as alredie is agreed vpon betweene the said Gou^rno^r & Companie & him the said A B. And wth is specified & sett downe in the Courte booke of the said Companie. If therefore the said A B doe henceforth during all the said terme of 5 yeares, or soe longe tyme thereof as the Gou^rno^r & Companie, or their Successo^rn shall reteyne him in their service well trulie & honestlie serue the said Gou^rno^r & Companie their successo^rn & assignes as their ffactor in all & eu^y such affaires & busines whatsoeu^r as they or such as shall be by them authorized shall thinke good to ymploy him. And doe from tyme to tyme dureing all the tyme of his service diligentlie ymploye & endevo^r himselfe to the vttermost of his power knowledge and skill and to the best pfitt he can devise for the vse and behoofe of the said Companie in & aboute the mannageing excerciseing pformaunce & execution of all & eu^y such traffique busines matters affaires & thinge whatsoeu^r as by the said Gou^rno^r & Companie or by their assignes anuthorized for the tyme being he shall be directed or appointed to deale in, pforme and doe. And alsoe yf the said A B. doe from tyme to tyme & att all tymes to the vttermost of his power strength and skill not onelie resist & wthstand all & eu^y such pson and psons as shall attempt or practise any matter or thinge whatsoeu^r to the hindraunce hurte or damadge of the said Companie, or of their goode m^cchandize trade or any of them or any parte thereof: but alsoe p^rvent and defeate all & euery such practizes attempte & ac^tions whatsoeu^r wth shall or may tend to the damadge defraudinge or p^riudice of the said Companie or of their goode or traffique or any pte thereof in any wyse. And ffurther yf the said A B doe from tyme to tyme giue true notice & intelligence by the spediest meanes he possiblie Cann vnto the Gou^rno^r & Comitties for the tyme being or to such as shall be by them authorized, or some of them, of all & eu^y such deceipte wronges abuses & hindrances as he shall knowe or vnderstand, or crediblie heare to be att any tyme or tymes practized done or offered agaynst the said Gou^rno^r & Company or their goode or trade, or any of them, by any pson or psons in any place or places, together wth the names of those psons by whom the same shall be soe offered practised or ppetrated. And alsoe yf the said A B,

doe from tyme to tyme wthin 14 daies next after eu^y resonable request to him to be made by the said Gou^rno^r & Comitties for the tyme being or by any by them in that behalfe to be aucthorized not onelie make yeald & giue to the said Gou^rno^m & Comitties for the tyme being or to such of their Officers or mynisters as in this behalfe shall be authorized or appointed a true iust & p^fect Accompte in writeinge of all & eu^y such money good^e m^rchaundize & other thing^e whatsoeu^r, as before the makeing of the same Accompt shall haue come to the hand^e chardge or possession of him the said **A. B.** or shall haue beene Consigned vnto him for the vse or behoofe of the said Companie, and of the disposeing factorage and ymploym^t of all the same money good^e m^rchandize and other thing^e whatsoeu^r & euery pte thereof, But doe alsoe vpon the makeing of the same Accompt, or wthin sixe daies then next ensueinge well & truelie deliu^r & paie vnto the said Gou^rno^r & Comitties for the tyme beinge, or their Officers or mynisters in that behalfe to be appointed, or to some of them. All & eu^y such money iewells pearles p^rcious stones Bezar stones muske & muske Codd^e sivit amber greece, good^e wares & m^rchandize whatsoeu^r as by the ffootte of the same Accompte shall appeare to be & remayne in his hand^e or possession and for w^{ch} he ought to be chardgable or aunsweareable in any manner of wyse. And furthermore yf the said **A. B.** doe not att any tyme heereaft^r dureing the tyme of his service aforesaid directlie or indirectlie by himselfe or by any other deale in vse or practise any buieing selling trading or m^rchandizeinge for the vse or benefitt of him selfe or of any other parson or p^rsons whatsoeu^r (except what is now ordered lymitted & allowed him by the said Companie as by their Register appeth¹[]): but onelie

¹ "Yt is resolved & agreed That yt shall be lawfull for every of the
 " said ffacto^m to Adventure and ymploie in eu^y voyadge for their private proffitt to
 " & agayne in the Companies shipp^s, the some, or value of xxv^{li} starlinge in any
 " Comoditie of those partes, except spices and drugges, and all manner of pester^{ing}
 " Comodities, payinge freight and other ordenarie duties for the same, The w^{ch} 25^{li} or
 " value whereof, is to be registred here in England befor shippinge of the same: as
 " alsoe how the same is ymployed in the partes beyond the Seas, & that in such manner
 " as the Company may haue publicke notice & knowledge thereof, The w^{ch} said
 " stock of 25^{li} wth the proffitt of the same is to be retourned in eu^y voyadge w^{thout}
 " any other private trade of the same & gaine thereof, dureinge the Continuance of

to & for the sole & ppper vse & benefitt of the Companie aforesaid and their Assignes. And alsoe yf the said A. B. doe from tyme to tyme wth as much speede as possibl^e he cann geue intelligence & notice to the said Gou'no' & Comitties for the tyme being aswell of all & eu'y such pson & psons, whoe being now or att any tyme hereafter shall be ymployed in the service & affaires of the said Companie, doe or shall vse exercyse or practise any secret or private tradinge buieing selling or m'chandizeing in any place or places whereby the said Companie shall or may susteyne or incurr any hindraunce or damadge, as alsoe of eu'y p^ticuler of the

And further if the said A B do not at any tyme or tymes during his Contin^uance in the service of the said Companie send any priuate or other lres from the said East Indies but that the same be inclosed in the publick lres to the Companie.

This ordered the 5 of April 1608¹

same private tradinge & dealeing accordinge to his best knowledge & vnderstandinge. A And alsoe yf the said A B. at all tymes dureing the tyme of his service aforesaid doe gentlelie, faithfullie & diligentlie vse behaue & demeane him selfe as a good & dutifull servant toward^e the said Gou'no' & Comitties & those by them aucthorized. That then this present obligacōn &c :



HE CONDICON² of this obligacōn is such That wheareas att the spetiall request and intreatie of J. B. the sonne of the aboue bound A B. the aboue named Companie of the East India m'chaunte

"their service wth the said Company, & further to giue advice in eu'y voyadge
 "whereby the Companie may haue knowledge thereof, that the same may be
 "Registred accordingly for better satisfaccoon herein & for performance of their Bondes
 "formerlie entred into for abstayneinge from all other private trade & such like."
 (Court Minutes, 20th Jan., 1606/7.)

¹ This marginal note has been inserted by a later hand. The text as it stands is that adopted for the factors of the *Third Voyage*: and it would appear that the same form was used for subsequent voyages, with the addition (after April, 1608) of the extra clause here given, which was inserted at the place marked by a caret. The entry in the Court Minutes ordering this insertion states that it was done "wth intent
 "that yt may appeare, what each man writeth thence, & that noe man doe write any
 "thinge of the generall affaires of the Company to their freindes or others, but onelie
 "in their gen^lall lres to m^r Gou'no^r and the rest of the Companie."

² See note, p. 140. From the entry on the Court Minutes it appears that

haue now hired him the said **J. D.** for one of the third sorte
of their ffacto^{rs} who by obligacōn of the date
The suierties Bonndes
bounde in 200^{ll}.
the aboue named S^r Wiltm Romeny¹ & Thomas
ffarrington² for thuse of the said Company in the some &
penaltie of 1000^{mrk} wth Condiçōn therevnto for his faithfull
service to the said Company & pformance of sundrie other
Condiçōns & thinge in the same Condition expressed as thereby
att lardge appeth. Now therefore in Case any breach or
breaches shall hereafter happen to be made of the Condiçōn
of the said obligacōn wherein the said **J. D.** standeth bound
as is aforesaid, or yf any clause article condiçōn matter or
thinge, in the Condiçōn of the same obligacōn expressed speci-
fied or conteyned, or of any pte or pcell thereof Then yf the
said **R. D.** & **J. P.** or either of them their or either of their³
heires Executo^{rs} or Administrato^{rs} doe & shall from tyme to
tyme wthin 14 daies next after notice in writeinge, to them or
any of them in that behalfe geven by the said S^r Wiltm Romeny
& Thomas ffarrington or either of them, their or either of their
Executors admīstrato^{rs} or asss or by the Gou^rno^r or Thr̄er of
the said Societie for the tyme being or by any other being sub-
stituted or aucthorized in that behalfe by the said Societie or
Companie well and trulie aunsweare satisfie & paie, or cause to
be aunswered satisfied & paied vnto the said S^r Wiltm Romeny
& Thomas ffarrington or either of them, or to the Gou^rno^r and
Thr̄er of the said Societie for the tyme beinge to thuse of the
said Societie the ffull some and value of good & lawfull money
of England That all & eu^ry damadge losse & hindraunce what-
soeu^r w^{ch} shall aryse or growe or be susteyned or incurred by
the said Gou^rno^r Thr̄er and Societie of the m^rchaunt^e of London

J. D. was John Dorchester, R. D. his father Richard, and J. P. John Perlam or Peryam.

¹ See page 46.

² Thomas Farrington, vintner, was one of the first adventurers, and was a committee from 1601. In 1607 he was elected treasurer, a post which he seems to have retained until his death in 1613 or 1614.

³ "His" is written above this word in the MS, in would-be correction of the draughtsman's grammar

trading to the East Indies or their successoⁿ, or by any of them by reason of any breach or breaches happening of the Condiçõn of the said obligation wherein the foresaid J. D. standeth bound, or yf any clause article condiçõn matter or thinge therein mencioned expressed or Conteyned shall amounte vnto, & whereof & for w^{ch} he the saied Iohn Dorchester shall not then formerlie haue made fitt and sufficient recompense and satisfacõn to the saied Gou'no' Threr and Societie or their successoⁿ wthout fraude or further delaie. That then &c:



THE TENOR¹ of the Bonde of the said m^r Kealinge: m^r Hawkins & m^r Middleton in 500^l apeece: of the mⁿ & mⁿ mate in 200^l apeece & of the pursars & their mate in 200^l apeece: bound to S^r Wilm Romeny & Thomas Harrington to thuse of the Companie wth their seu'all Condiçõns as foloweth. Viz.

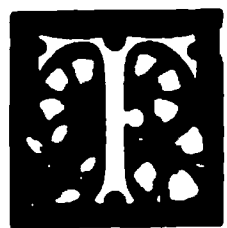
What the Gentalls:
mⁿ: mates: & Pur-
sars are bounde in.

THE CONDICON of this obligacõn is such. That whereas the aboue bound Wilm Kealinge is alredie hired & agreed wthall to be ymployed by the aboue named Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunt^r of London trading into the East Indies in this present voyage by them intended into the said East Indies: yf therefore the saied Wilm Kealinge shall not absent him self but willinglie goe in the said voyage & shall well and faithfullie serve the saied Gou'no' & Comp: duringe his ymploym^t in the said voyage, wthout deteynem^t or concealm^t of any money Gould Jewells goode wares or m'chandizes that shall come to his hande or be bought or pvided, by waye of buyinge barter or exchandise wth any m'chaunt or m'chaunt^r people or forreine nation wth whome he shall haue Comerse or traffique during the Continuance of the said voyage, or w^{ch} shall come to his hande by way of prize or other enterprize happeninge in the

The Captaines Con-
dicion
without surties

Entered on the Court Minutes of 24th Feb. 1606/7.

saied voyadge or by way of present or guift from any of the princes or others of those places. And alsoe shall vpon his retourne in the saied voyadge att any tyme after when he shall be therevnto required by the saied Gou'no' and Companie or their Assigne or Assignes giue atrue and iust accompt paym^t & deliu'y of all such moneys Gould Jewells wares and m'chandizes that shall come to his hande by any the waies or meanes afore-said duringe his said ymploym^t in the said voyadge. And shall not duringe his saied ymploym^t vse any private traffique or trade for him selfe or any other: but onelie for the Comon Adventure except what is allowed by the Register of the Companie.¹ That then &c:



THE CONDICON &c: That wheareas the aboue bound Hippon² is hired by the aboue named Gou'no' & Companie of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies to goe m^r of the good shipp called the Read dragon or in any other shipp where he shall be appointed in their present intended voyadge to the said Indies. Yf therefore the said Anthonie Hippon doe not absent himselfe but willinglie goe in the said voyadge & therein accordinge to his best skill and knowledge guide the said shipp & gou'ne the Marriners vnder his chardge in such sorte as belongeth to the place of a m^r during the said voyadge, and doe not during the said voyadge vse any private trade or traffique in m'chandize for his owne prop accompt, or adventure or Colo' the priuate trade of any other. That then &c:

The mrs: & m^{rs}
mates Condicon
without surties



¹ "Yt is alsoe resolved and agreed that yt shall be lawfull for the Captaines to Adventure in this voyadge for their priuate proffitt to & againe in the Companies shippes theris somes followinge, or the valew thereof viz m^r Kealinge 100^{li}, m^r Hawkins 100 m^rkes & m^r Middleton 50^{li} & that in manner how, the same is to be entred & ymployed, as is expressed & yealded to the factors the 20th of Iannarie last" (Court Minutes 5th March, 1606/7)

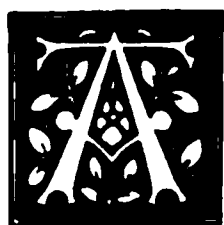
² Anthony Hippon (see page 114)



THE CONDICON &c: That wheareas the aboue
 bounde **A B.** is hired by the aboue named Gou'no'
 & Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into
 the East Indies to goe Pursar of the good shipp
 called the _____ in the present intended voyage to the
 said Indies. Yf therefore the saied **A B.** doe
 not absent himselfe but willinglie goe in the said
 voyage & doe accordinge to the place and
 charge of a Pursar ymployed in such voyage keepe a true &
 pfect accompt by Inventorie of all such pvision,
 tackle, municon, furniture, victualls, & other
 necessaries w^{ch} are or shall be duringe the saied voyage brought
 aboard the said shipp, or pvided for thuse of the same & the
 Companie thereof. And alsoe an Inventorie of all the goode
 wares & m'chandize as shall be brought into or carried out of the
 said shipp duringe the said voyage, aswell belonging vnto the
 said Companie, or any other pson or psons whatsoeu' And doe
 likewyse keepe an Inventorie & Accompt of the expence &
 bestowinge of all such pvision Tackle munition furniture and
 other necessaries w^{ch} shalle be brought into or carried out of the
 said shipp & of the remainder thereof, & doe att all tymes beinge
 theareto required deliuer vpp a true accompt of the same to the
 Gou'no' of the said m'chaunte or his deputie, and doe not in this
 voyage vse any private trade or traffique in m'chandize for his
 owne pper Accompte or adventure, or Collo' the priuate trade of
 any other That then &c :



A COPPIE of a tre sent to o' loueing freindē Gabriell Towerson
 Robert Browne and the rest of o' ffactoⁿ att Bantam vnder
 the Companies seale & m' Gou'noⁿ hand by the Dragon: &
 a Coppie thereof vnder the Comp: seale & the Secretaries
 hand by the Hecto' the 11th of March 1606.



AFTER oʀ hartie Comendaõns &c: yoʀ tre of the third of March 1604.¹ by the Hectoʀ we haue received: but that by the Suzan² is not come to oʀ hands, the w^{ch} shipp though we are in agreate doubt, to be miscarried for that hitherto we haue neuʀ had any vnderstandinge of her, yet neuʀthelesse pray you to make diligent inquirie of her, & thereby you comeing to knowledge of her to vse all possible meanes for recouʀy and saffeguard of the shipp men & goodē

A coppie of a lre sent to our louinge freindes Gabriell Towerson, Robert Browne and y^e rest of our factors at Bantam the 11th of Marche 1606.

ALSOE mʀ Sydalls tre of the first of October¹ by the Assenõn, & mʀ Towersons by the dragon of that date:¹ as alsoe mʀ Towersons of the 20th of Octob¹ & Sydalls of the 24th of the same monneth¹ sent by the Hollenders shipp, are like wyse come to oʀ handē. All w^{ch} we breefie aunsweare as followeth.

FIRSTE touching oʀ spices sent in oʀ 3 shipp the last voyadge wee finde them to fall out exceeding light in weight of that w^{ch} we doe comonlie accompt, & especiallie in the Cloues, w^{ch} we finde to want aboue 18 or 20 Tunns weightē, of w^{ch} wantē we much marvell, And therefore pray you to advice & Consider amongst yoʀ selues how to finde out the same: & thereof wth the first to geue vs informaõn, for trulie eyther there hath beene many more said to be paied for on the land, then hath been receiued into the shipp; or being putt into the shipp of necessitie by some indirect meanes they are missinge: But wee are rather pswaded they were neuʀ brought into the shipp, though we haue paied for them, & for that the shipp came not full home, the w^{ch} wantē as the same is greate wee cannott endure.

TOUCHINGE the Condiõn & qualitie of oʀ spices, you shall vnderstand first that the pepp was reasonable Cleane, although we lost much by yoʀ garblinge theare, w^{ch} Course notwthstandinge we rather wysh to be vsed, then to send yt home dustie & vnclensed, whereby wee are compelled to paie freight & Custome for garble yett desier that oʀ spices yf yt be possible be soe bought in, as theare shall not be in Clensing thereof soe greate losse.

¹ Not now extant.

See p. 134.

OUR Nutmegge were exceeding badd, beinge light, not haueinge their full ripnes, wth afterwarde wth Carriage & remoueinge tourned to dust, to o^r greate losse, as indeede not wth¹ the bringing home beside the freight & Custome we paid for them: Att wth ignoraunce of you, to buie such spices, we conceiue the Indians doe reioyce: But yf you shall be inforced to take such spice, or none att all, you are, as neare as you cann to make the price theareafter, and then haueing bought them, cause them to be theare clensed & garbled, to wth end & purpose we haue now as before sent you Garblers.

OUR mace bought att Bantam proueth indifferent good: but that pvided att the Molloccos verie euill blacke & burned, soe as they will heare yeald noe money, Yf they were drie & well Collo'ed when you putt them abourd: then yt must be that the ou'much lyme you putt amonge the Nutmegge & the mace on or amonge them spoyled both thone and the other.² Therefore henceforth haue an espetiall care herevnto both in buieing of Nutmegge & mace, & seu'ing the mace from the Nutmegge in some Convenient place by them selues: Although yt be necessarie in the Nutmegge for the avoydeing of the worme, yet you are to be carefull not to ou'lyme them: & for yo^r better helpe herein, & for choise of spices, wee haue now sent Symond Dickenson one of o^r ffacto^rs who can geue you good direc^on in this respect.

LYKEWYSE you are to be carefull as much as you may to avoied the buieing of Cloues when they are greene for p'venting the losse that happeneth thereby: As alsoe to foresee that there be not much dust or sand putt into them by the Countrie people to make them weigh heavie, yet we wish you not to garble yo^r Cloues, not yett to refuse greene Cloues: yf either the vse be to buie them soe: or that the Hollenders would otherwyse prevent you of them.

WEE vtterlie dislike of yo^r pticular advice to yo^r private freinde either of what Comodities are theare requested, or there alsoe to be had, or of the prices, wherein you are altogether verie sparinge to advice the Gou'no^r & Companie in yo^r gen'all tres

¹ Worth² See page 128.

vnto them: as we are yo^r m^r & beare yo^r Chardge & sallarie theare, soe ought you to vs in gen^rall to giue adverticem^t of all theis thinge the w^{ch} we expect att yo^r hande: wherein we requier you to be more carefull & more diligent to write vs, then heretofore you haue beene as alsoe in seeking out what sorte & kinde of all Clothes, kersies & wollen Comodities are theare most vendible wth the Coullorⁿ & kinde & in what place by name they may be best & in most aboundance vttered: As alsoe leade Iron Tynn safferon steele heedpeces long sworde kniues and glasses &c: & what els soeu^r of o^r Countrie Comodities are vsed & will vent in those places.

AND lykewyse to informe vs the quantitie kinde & prices of all Indea Comodities, & wheare they may be best had, namelie all sorte of spices Bezar stoanes, Diamonde, Rubies, pearles &c: Indico & booke Callicutte white w^{ch} are for England & all sorte and kinde fitting for the Mollocos And further yf Cheny silkes are not there presentlie to be had, that then you advise the Cheneses to bringe thereof thither both white soweinge silke, twisted of all sorte & sizes as also rawe & sleaue silke, of all w^{ch} we haue geuen m^r Keeling examples: the w^{ch} silke yf you can pcure to be brought thither att reasonable prices we suppose some good proffitt may be had thereby, of all w^{ch} you haue hitherto kept vs ignorant, whereby we must conceiue you to be either vnskilfull in m^rchandizeinge, or vnwillinge to pforme that for w^{ch} we keepe you theare: Not doubting but you will hereafter make yo^r ymploym^te theare more pffitable vnto vs, & o^r Comon wealth, as the takeinge examples by the Hollenders whoe are verie carefull, industrious & diligent in this respect.

AND because o^r tres doe some tymes miscarrie, or are by some evill willers intercepted, we wish you to write vs as often as you may & then diuers tres att one tyme, & send the same by sundrie passengers geveing them speciall Chardge for the saffe & speedie deliu^ry there of. And yf in the absence of o^r owne shipps, you doe att any tyme write by the Hollenders we pray you deliu^r yo^r tres to their ffactorⁿ theare, to inclose them in theirs w^{ch} they shall send either to m^r Arnold Verhoven to

Middleborrow,¹ or to m^r Dericke von Osse or other their principals att Amsterdam, but rather to Middleborrowe for that thereby they will come sooner to o^r hande.

WEE haue now in this o^r present voyadge sent m^r Wittm Kealinge wth Comission from his ma^{ty} authorizeinge him as Generall, and wth Comission from vs for his directions in this ymploym^t whome we will you to obey, & to yeald vnto him that obedience as hath beene formerlie yealded to his p^rdecesso^r in that place of Generall S^r Iames Lancaster, or S^r Henrie Middleton giueing accompt of all yo^r pceedinge since the deptime thence of o^r last shipp: As alsoe the best advice you may for his better pceeding in that busynes we haue now comitted vnto him & the rest of o^r ffacto^r. And as he shall thinke fitt to dispose of any of you in o^r affaires o^r will is yo^r obey his direc^{ti}on therein we haue espetiallie apointed him for this busynes, and traffique & trade in those places where we haue thought fittest wishinge him to take yo^r informa^{ti}on by yo^r aboade theare, yf you knowe of any place better for o^r trade, hopeinge that you haue made such good vse of yo^r staye theare all this whyle, as that you are able to direct & advise him for o^r best good.

AND touching the ffacte Comitted by S^r Edward Michelborne in the Indies,² though we knowe o^r selues to be meere lie innocent therein: yet yf by any meanes wee or o^r gooder should be dampnified thereby we wish you to seeke to that kinge & magistrat^e for redresse thereof, the w^{ch} yf you can not obtaine, then wee must [be] forced to seeke the best meanes we may for recompence & restitu^{ti}on thereof. Of w^{ch} pointe o^r Generall m^r Kealinge doth vnderstand o^r resolu^{ti}on more att lardge.

AND for that we finde best proffitt by the lardger sorte of the pepp according to the prices that you paye, both for thone & for thother, we pray you att any hand to buie soe much of the lardgest sorte, as by any meanes you can gett, & lett the same be putt by yt selfe into the shipp that yt may not be mingled wth any other.

¹ Middelburg, on the island of Walcheren, about five miles from Flushing, was at this time one of the most important trade centres of Northern Europe.

² See page 134.

AND thus not doubting of yo^r faithfull care & diligence herein we pray God to blesse you all & o^r affaires.

Yo^r loueing freinde¹ the Gou^rno^r Comitties
& gen^ralitie of the Companie of m^rchaunte^r
tradinge into the East Indies.



AFTER² o^r hartie Comendaçoens &c: yo^r lre dated att
Plymouth the 19th of this instant we haue rec^d whereby
we are verie sorrie to vnderstand of yo^r want of men,
but espetiallie of the evill Condição of yo^r shipp, w^{ch}
we hope, as she shall growe lesse laden by expence of her victuall
soe she will become in a better trym. ffor yo^r
resolução yf you heare not of yo^r Admirall & the
Hecto^r you will doe yo^r best endevo^r to gett
sufficient men, & begon to Sea wth the first: we

from the Comp: of
East India mar-
chaunts to Capt:
Dauld Middleton at
Plymouth.

¹ This familiar and affectionate valedictory form was observed by the Right Honourable the East India Company of England in all their letters to the employes in their trade, and continued to be used by them to the very close of their rule [1858] over British India. It implies, as did the Company's whole treatment of their employes, a humane and conscientious recognition of the risks to health and life incurred by those who were engaged in the promotion of their interests in the East; and who repaid tenfold, in steadfast faithfulness and zeal in the discharge of most trying duties, the regard and consideration extended to them by the Company. It was by these relations of staunch loyalty between employer and employed that the vast fabric of the Indian Empire was gradually built up; and this fact should always be borne in mind by the successors of the Company in the administration of the government of British India, and equally by the responsible Ministers and the subordinate officials of the Crown; for if servants are what their masters make them, masters are also just what their servants make them:—

"Nam ut servi volunt esse herum, ita solet,

Bonis boni sunt; improbi qui malus fuit."

² "At this court was red a lre from Captaine David Middleton dated at Plymouth
"the 19th of this instant, importeing his staie theare for the Dragon & Hecto^r, w^{ch}
"he dailie expected, wth intimacon of the want of some of his men, & his intencon to
"take vp moneys to hier men, & to departe on the voyage wthin 3 daies. wherevnto
"order was geuen to o^r Secretarie for aunsweare thereof, & for goeing not to Saldania,
"but to St Augustine: and in what manner &c: *As by the Register of lres &c: at large*
"affersith" (Court Minutes, 28th March, 1607.)

doe approue & like thereof, & the rather in regard, you feare yo^r shipp will be hardlie able to keepe Comp: wth the rest: yett we doe wish you not att any hand to goe for Saldania, but directlie accordinge to yo^r Comission for the porte of St Augustine in S^t Lawrence, & there haueing refreshed yo^r selues (& the other shippes comeing not thither in due tyme) o^r order is that seing yo^r are alone you shape not yo^r Course to the Iland of Sacatrina, or towarde Cambaya but to keepe the high Seas, & goe directlie to Bantam. And being theare to Conferr wth o^r ffacto^r aswell for sale there in Bantam of such Comodities as you carrie wth you, as alsoe for yo^r goinge to the Iland of Banda, to lade Nutmegge and Mace & to Tornato & Tedore to lade Cloues & to take wth you such of o^r stuffe as are alredie att Bantam, of o^r old remaynde: as alsoe such other thinge & m^cchandizes as you now carrie from hence, or shall thinke fitt to buie in Bantam to carrie wth you for o^r most proffitt: And likewyse some of o^r ffacto^r theare as are best acquainted wth theis businesses & places: doing yo^r best endevor to bringe thence onelie Cloues Mace & Nutmegge or what els you shall finde there to be pfitable, for yo^r better direction wherein we wish you to pvse the booke that we gaue you of the discription of the Molloccos & Banda¹ wth the Comodities that are to be carried thither, or to be bought theare. And thus haueing theare gotten yo^r lading of Cloues Mace & Nutmegge to retourne to Bantam. In the meane season we would haue you geue o^r ffacto^r theare greate chardge to make pvision of ladinge for the Dragon and Hecto^r against their comeing thither. Yet we leaue all all thinge to yo^r good discrecion (in this yo^r absence from the rest) where otherwyse Convenientlie you cannot doe: Praying you for p^rvencon of the daungers of Sea & Land: & inquirie for the Suzan &c: diligentlie to pvse o^r gen^lall Comission, & to make good observacon thereof. Wherein as we doubt not of yo^r vigilant & faithfull care we pray god prosp you. London the 28th of March. 1607.

Yo^r loueing ffreinde the
Companie of East
India m^cchaunte.



¹ Possibly the notes on pages 73-80 of the present volume



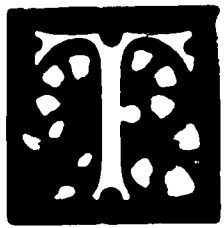
from the East India
Comp: to m^r Wm
Keeling Generall
aboard of shippe¹

AFTER o^r hartie Comendaçoens &c: forasmuch as amongst other thinge: Wee vnderstand by tres from m^r David Middleton at Plymouth, that he intendeth (yf you come not thither wthin 3 daies) to doe his best endevo^r to furnish himselfe wth men as he doth want & to goe directlie forward to Sea, & the rather in regard that by the evill condiçoⁿ of his shipp he maketh doubt she will hardly keepe Companie wth the rest, wthout some hindraunce to the voyadge. Wee haue thought good to advertise you thereof, & to that end we doe send you herewth the Coppie of m^r Middletons said tre vnto vs, & of o^r in aunsweare of his, whereby you may be the better furnished to dispose yo^r busines accordinglie: Yett least padventure he be forced, or through some occasion should not psecute his intended deptime, we pray you in any wyse to send one of yo^r Boate into the sound of Plymwoth to call him & take him wth you. And furder we wyshe you att yo^r arrivall att the porte of St. Augustine & finding the Pynnace there, & her saileinge soe amended as she may be fitt to keepe Companie wth you, then to proceede on yo^r voyadge alltogether, according to yo^r first gen'all Comission from vs, of w^{ch} we desier you to make good observaçoⁿ but yf her sayleing shall not be to yo^r likeing: but should hinder yo^r voyadge yf you should take her wth you, then wee pray you send her alone [by] the high Seas directlie to Bantam: And doe you pceede toward^e Sacatrina, Aden & Cambaya as to yo^r good discreçoens shall be thought most fittinge. Where vnto we refer vs, as not doubtinge of yo^r wysedome & greate care to dispose all thinge to o^r best good, wherein God giue you the most of his diuine pvidence. London the 28th of March 1607.



¹ Keeling seems to have been at this time in the Downs.

A REMEMBRANCE¹ of the Conference & agreem^t betweene the Gou'no^r and others of the *East India Comp:* & the ffarmoⁿ of his ma^{ty} Customes in the presence of the Lo: Thr̄r the 5th of Aprill. 1607.



HAT wheareas question is made touching the validitie in lawe of the Patent of the East India Companie for that pointe of transporta^{ti}on free of Custome, of such goodē brought in by them haueing form^{lie} paied Custome inwarde^t: & the matter in some sorte debated before his L^p: betwixt the Gou'no^r of the said Companie & the ffarmoⁿ of his ma^{ty} Customes, soe as his L: is pleased to write his tre to the kinge Attorney gen'all for his opinion touchinge the same.

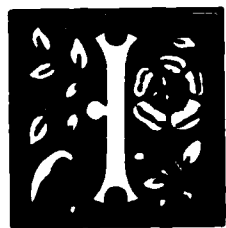
Note that his Lp: is further to be remembred according vnto his expresse pleasure that yf the said Pattent be founde insufficient in Lawe that then his Lp: is pleased to pcure a privie seale from his ma^{ty}, that the said Gou'no^r & Companie, or any free brother of the said Comp: that shall buy any of the said Companies goodē, may in gen'all & in p^ticuler transporte all or p^te of the said goodē brought in by them free of Custome wthin thirteene monnethes after the dischardginge of the said goodē, soe as the subsidie & Custome for the same haue beene paied or Compounded for inwarde^t. And that for such goodē as haue latelie beene brought in by the said Companie for w^{ch} the Custome is paied for & Compounded, may wthin 13 monnethes after the dischardge of the said goodē be freelie transported by any brother of the Companie, or any other of the kinge ma^{ty} subiectē wthout any further paym^t of Subsidie, or Custome for the same. And further to expresse in the said privie seale, that yt may be lawfull for the said Gou'no^r and Companie to shipp out their goodē for the East Indies free of Custome: 4 voyages accordinge to the Teno^r of their Charter.



¹ This memorandum is entered, but without explanation or comment, on the Court Minutes for 9th May, 1607. At the next meeting (13th May) it was ordered that "consideracon be had howe farr the agreem^t be followed, & by whome & when." but no further reference to the matter can be traced.

² See page 179

ORDINANCES¹ established and Confirmed for standinge Lawes, to be holden and observed by this Societie, vppon the seu'all penalties thereby seu'allie lymitted. As ffolloweth. viz.



Ordenances for the
trade to be carried
in a ioynte stocke
onelle.

IT IS ordeyned & decreed that all the p^rpara^on of moneys m^rchandizes and other provision for this present voyadge and all Comodities, moneys Iewells & other m^rchandize retourned in the said voyage, shall be holden reputed & accompted, and be carried mannaged ordered and handled as one entire, ioynt and Comon stocke of adventure Where in noe private traffique barter exchange or m^rchandizeing shall be vsed practized or admitted by any pticular Gou^rno^r Captaine Marchant Agent, ffacto^r, m^r, Mariner, Officer, or any other p^rson whatsoeu^r ymployed in the said voyadge, or p^rmitted to goe in the same, vpon paine of the losse and forfeiture to thuse of the Generall Comp: the Adventures in this voyadge of all somes of money Iewells wares, goodē or m^rchandizes w^{ch} shall be found in the said shipps, or elswhereare carried forth, or retourned home by any private or pticul^r man, & not Conteyned & brought into the gen^rall & Comon accompt and ioynt Aduenture of the said voyadge. And to thend this preiudice of private traffique may the better be avoyded. It is alsoe ordeyned & appointed, that due inquisi^on be made in all & eu^ry the seu'all shipps of the said voyadge, and elswhereare by search of all such Chestē boxes packes Packettē bookes writeingē & other meanes whereby discou^ry may be made of the breach of this Ordinance.

AND YT is in like manner ordeyned and decreed for the avoiding of all vnfaithfulnes & deceit to be vsed in the said voyadge in the defraudingē of the generall Adventure w^{ch} is p^rpared and sett forth att the greate Costē & Chardgē, of such as

¹ " At this Cort the companie accordinge to ther priviledg proceeding to establish
" and enacte certain Decrees and lawes fitt for the present occasion. and to be vsed
" as directions. for the guiding of the trade and traffique belonging to y^e present
" voyage. nowe to be sett forth Do at this assemblie ordeine and Decree thes severall
" ordinaunces to be holden and kept: as standing ordinaunces to be vsed in the voyages
" without alteration or chaunging the teno^r whereof hereafter ensue videlt."
(Court Minutes, 10th Feb., 1600/1)

repose their trust and Confidence in the Officers & ministers
 ymployed in the said voyadge, that what pson soeu' shall be
 found vnfaithfull or vniust in the said voyadge by
 ymbecillinge or wthdrawinge of any the goode
 wares m^cchandizes Jewels or other Comodities whatsoeu' either
 belongeinge to the Adventure sent out, or being pcell of the
 retourne of the same, w^{ch} was, is, or shall be eyther p^rpared
 bought or belongeinge to the comon or gen^lall
 stocke or Adventure, that such pson shall be
 barred & excluded to demand of the Gou^rno' &
 Companie of the said marchaunte of London
 tradinge to the East Indies any accompt reckoninge or paym^t of
 any wage sallarie Contracte or interteinem^t for his ymployment
 in this voyadge where vnto he was or otherwyse might haue
 beene interessed yf such Offence had not beene Comitted. And
 further that eu'y such pson soe offendinge shall be psecuted by the
 said Gou^rno' & Companie of the said m^cchaunte
 of London tradinge into the East Indies, accord-
 inge to the qualitie of his offence in that behalfe
 by the lawes and statute of this Realme.

AND furthermore yt is ordered that yf vpon the deliue^re
 of her ma^{ties} tres to the Princes of those places where
 o' ships shall arriue The Generall & ffacto^r shall be
 peaceable rec^d & interteyned as m^cchaunte to Commerce
 & traffique wth the people of those Countries or places, & be
 secured & warranted hereafter to frequent & visitt
 those p^tes. Then yt is ordeyned & decreed that
 there shall be elected out of the youngest sorte of ffacto^r, or
 others interteyned or voluntarilie suffered to goe in the voyadge
 such and soe many of the aptest, & towardest of them as o'
 principall m^cchaunte shall thinke meete, & w^{ch} shall [have] best
 approued themselves fitt for the ymploym^t of the said Companie,
 to resyde & abide in the said places where they shall be soe
 peaceable rec^d yf they may be pmitted there vnto Takeinge
 sufficient & carefull order for the defraying, & supplyinge of their
 chardge, vntill theis places shall be heere after visited wth another
 ffleete from hence. And leaueing wth them such advise &
 direc^{cion} for the better Informa^{cion} how to carrie themselves in

against ymbecill-
 ling

upon paine to be
 excluded from de-
 mande of any
 sallarie for their
 ymployment.

further punishment
 by the lawe accord-
 inge to his offence.

leaueing of factors
 in the East Indies

those places, as by the good direc^{co}n of o^r principall m^rchaunt wth thadvise of such as he shall Consult wthall thereof shall be thought meete as tyme & experience of those places shall direct them whilst the shippes doe lye in those pte.



WEARAS¹ the Queenes most excellent ma^{ty} by her gractres Pattente vnder the greate seale of England beareing date the 31th day of Decemb in the 43th yeare of her ma^{ty}s Raigne hath incorporated this Societie by the name of the Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^rchaunte of London tradinge into the East
Norwest passage Indies, & hath geuen them the sole trade of the said Indies by all such waies & passages as they shall thinke meete to visitt those pte, either by the way & passadge alreadie found out w^{ch} is by the Cape *bona spei* or by such wayes and passages as shall be heereafter found out by the parte of America to enioy the said trade for the terme of 15 yeares from the feast of the nativitie of o^r Lord God. 1600. And whereas this Societie in their settinge forth of their late voyadge by the Cape of *bona Spei*: towarde the Ilande of Sumatra, Iava, and other the ptes theareaboute intendinge to trade those Ilande, and places, for Pepp spice Gould and other m^rchandizes w^{ch} are

¹ "According to the gen^rall order taken at the last gen^rall Courte touching the
"devysing and conceaving of lawes and ordinaunces for the better govern^mt of the
"state of the trade, the Comitties then appointed did at this Court present ther
"opinions by certein ordinaunces by them devysed and offered the same to the
"Consideration of the Gen^ralytie w^{ch} severall ordinaunces being divers tymes
"distinctly read and waighed and in some pointes reformed by this Court in ample
"number assembled and throughly digested and severally putt to Scruteny and
"erection of handes the same severall lawes are agreed vpon establyshed and
"confirmed for standing lawes and ordinaunces to be holden and observed by this
"Socycety vpon the severall paines and penalties therein severally Limited the tenor
"of w^{ch} Lawes Do followe in thes wordes videlt (Court Minutes, 11th Jan., 1601/2)

There are a few variations in the copy entered on the Court Minutes but none of any importance.

See also Preface to *Down of British Trade to the East Indies*, p. xiv, and the note on page 21 of the present volume

likest to yeald the most pfitable retourne for the Adventuro^r in the same voyadge haue sett forth the greatest pte of their Aduenture in English money Coynd a purpose for the said voyadge,¹ & other forreyne Coyne currant in those Ilande, w^{ch} moneys & Coyne they could not p^rpare but w^{ch} greate difficultie & trouble, and not wthout some mislike of the transporta^{ti}on of Treasure out of this land. They therefore being desirous to vse the priuiledge to them graunted, rather for the good of the Comon weale of their Countrie, then for their private benefitt, & to maintaine the trade of the East Indies, yf yt be possible by the transporta^{ti}on and vent of Cloth, & other the Natieue Comodities of this Realme, wthout any money att all, or els soe little as may be Convenientlie tollerated, doe resolute to attempt the discourie of a passadge by Seas into the said East Indies, by the Norwest thorough some pte of America, w^{ch} yf they finde Navigable then shall they by that passadge arryue in the Countries of Cataya and China being the East pte of Asia and Affrica Climatte of that temperature, w^{ch} in all likelihood will afford amost liberall vent of Englishe Clothes and kersies to the gen^lall advauncem^t of the traffique of m^{ch}andize of this Realme of England. And to thend to putt in execu^{ti}on aswell this their resolu^{ti}on of discourie of the said passadge, as other wyse to bringe them selues and their trade generallie to any Conformitie and order They doe accordinge to the libertie to them geaven by the said tres Pattente for the makeing of Lawes, constitu^{ti}ons, orders and Ordenances for the better advauncem^t & contynuaunce of their trade and traffique, make, ordeyne and Constitute theis seu^lall lawes constitu^{ti}ons, orders, & ordenances, following Viz.

FFYRSTE yt is ordered and decreed by & wth the gen^lall Consent of this Courte for a standing & vnchangable decree that wthall convenient expedi^{ti}on there shall be p^rpara^{ti}on made for the attemptinge of the discoury of the Norwest passadge to the East Indies: wherein shall be vsed twoe shipps or pynnace of such burthen & makeing as shall be heereafter Considered of & resolved to be fitt for the said voyadge, & manned victualled

¹ See page 13.

furnished & pvided wth such numbers of men & muniçõn, furniture victuall m'chandize, & other thinge as the Comitties hereafter nominated, & appointed for the pvision thereof shall thinke meete & for the levyinge of such moneys as shall defrey the Charge of the p'paraçõn of the said shippes or Pynnasses, & all other thinge incident to the said voyadge. And for the bringing in of the said moneys: It is ordered that eu'y brother of this ffellowshipp that hath Contributed & adventured in the former voyadge to the East Indies by the Cape of *bona Spei*: shall contribute to the settinge forth of this present voyadge after the rate of xij^d att the least vpon eu'y pounce of his former Adventure by him adventured, or wherein he is interested wthout supply. And yf any brother of this ffellowshipp shalbe willinge voluntarilie to bringe in agreater contribuçõn, then after the said rate of xij^d in the pound of his said Adventure in the former viadge yt shall be att his pleasure. And to thend to stirr vpp men the rather to enlardge their said contribuçõns to this enterprize. It is alsoe ordered & agreed that after what rate or pporçõn soeu' any man shall Contribute in this discou'y, yf the passadge be found out, That he shall in all viages hereafter to be made by the said passadge be aporcioned or stinted in his Aduentures according to the same ppor-
The bringinge in of the money. tion or rate And noe otherwyse. And yt ys alsoe ordered and agreed that the said contribuçõn shalbe brought in by eu'y the Contributo^r in this manner Viz^t. The one halfe before the xxth day of Ianuarie next comeinge, & the residue or soe much thereof as shall be found necessa[rie] att the goinge away of the shippes to be paied to the hande of m^r Ald Cambell¹ appointed Threr for the same viadge.

¹ Thomas—afterwards (1603) Sir Thomas—Cambell, Alderman, Sheriff (1600-1), and Lord Mayor (1602-10), was one of the most prominent of the early adventurers, and was governor of the Company in 1602-3. He acted as treasurer for the voyage to the North-West here referred to and the first court book contains numerous references to his services in that capacity. He was one of those nominated for the post of governor in 1609, but was not elected. During the year of his mayoralty, he preferred a demand for 100 lbs of pepper at 2s per lb., but the Company refused to comply "for precedent's sake", in recognition however, of his favours towards them about the Bridgehouse, Leadenhall, &c., they sent him half the quantity asked for, as a free gift. He died on the 13th Feb., 1614.

Provided alwaies that yf any brother of this fellowship [shall deny] to bringe in his said Contribucon att the Rate of xij^d the pounce of his form^r Adventure, or doe not bringe in the same att or before the daies & tymes before lymitted That then he or they that shall make default on that behalfe shall satisfie & paye for a fine by way of deduccon out of his stocke adventured in the laste viadge fyue tymes the value of the Contribucon by him payable by vertue of this Act. The same to be ymployed to the full furnishinge of the said discoury. And yf there remaine an ou'plus to the vse of the Adventuro^r in this intended voyadge pporcionably according to their seu'all Adventures.

fine of fyue tymes the value.

ITT IS alsoe ordered and decreed by the gen'all Consent of this Co'te concerninge the generall trade of this Societie and the p'paracon of all voyadge, Contributions, and generall adventures of this fellowship heereafter to be sett forth That yf any daies or tymes be lymitted and appointed by order of anie gen'all Courte for the bringing in of of any contribucons, adventures or supplies and that default be made in the pformeinge of those paym't contribucons and supplies att the daies lymitted, by any of the Adventurers or Contributors of such voyage that the stockes or adventures of such Contributors shall be taxed and chardged to aunsweare to the comon Treasure or vse of this socyetie such damage chardge & Allowaunces for not pformeinge of such paym't att the daies lymitted as the Audito^r of the Companie for the tyme being appointed to audite the gen'all accompte shall finde to be equall, and that the Gou'no^r deputie & Comitties, or the most of them shall censure to be fitt to be paid wthout any abatem^t.

The stockes of the Adventuro^r to be charged for not bringing in moneys of the daies lymitted

IT YS alsoe ordered & agreed by like gen'all consent of this Societie That yf any brother of this Companie shall be sumoned or warned by the Officer of this fellowship thereto appointed, to appeare att any gen'all Courte of this Societie, or att any other meeting of m^r Gou'no^r his Deputie, & the Comitties, & the said summons or warninge geaven to the ptie him selfe, or left att his howse: yf then such pson shall make defaulte, & not appeare att all or not appeare att the hower assigned, he shall forfeit for eu'ry

forfeiture for default of appearance & late coming to Courtes.

default of non apparaunce 12^d, & for eu^ry default of comeing late 6^d. vnlesse he can giue a sufficient reason of his absence or or late comeinge, & the same to be allowed by the gen^rall consent of the Assemblie or the more pte of them present, either att a gen^rall Courte or meeteinge of Comittees

forfeiture for often speakeing to matters propounded. FFOR the better and more orderlie pceedinge in the deliberacon of matters propounded in gen^rall Court^e cyther for the establishing of any Act^e or Ordenanc^e, or in any other matters concerning the Companie. It is ordered, that yt shall not be lawfull for any brother of this Companie to speake to any one matter ppounded aboue three sundrie tymes, vpon peyne of fforfeiture [of] iij^s iiij^d for eu^ry such excesse in speache.

agaynst vnciuill & intemperate speeches or behaviour. YT IS alsoe ordered by late Consent of a gen^rall Courte that yf any brother of this Companie shall in any contencon or Argument houlden wth any other pson either in gen^rall Courte or meeting of Comittees vse any vnciuill, or intemperate speeches or behavio^r & soe censured by the gen^rall Courte, or the psons assembled in Comittee, he shall forfeit for eu^ry such Offence x^s.

Against confusion of speach or discourse in deliberacon of matters. AND for the avoydeinge of Confusion of speach or discourse in the deliberacon of matters to be handled in any gen^rall Courte or meeteinge of Comittees concerning the Affaires of the Companie. It is ordered that noe brother of this ffellowshipp shall interrupt any other in his declaracon or discourse of any matter declared or discoursed to the Companie nor duringe such declaracon or discourse hould pvooke Whisperinge, speach or talke wth any other to the disturbance of him that speaketh. But yf he be disposed to aunsweare or reply to the speeches ppounded, then to direct his aunsweare or reply to m^r Gou^rno^r or his deputie vpon peine of fforfeiture of ij^s vj^d for euery such Offence.

Against lowde and confused Speeches. IT YS alsoe ordered for the pacificacon of contencon in argum^t in gen^rall Court^e and other meeting^e, and of lowde or confused speeches, that when m^r Gou^rno^r or his deputie comaundeth scilence by the strooke of the Hammer, that then eu^ry pson keepe scilence vpon peine of forfeiture of vj^d for euery Offence.

AND yt ys alsoe ordered that yf any brother of this ffellow-

Commitment to prison
vppon forfeitures

shipp shall vppon comaundm^t or demaund of m^r Gou^rno^r or his Deputie refuse to pay such fynes, or fforsetures as he shall haue fallen into by the breach of any of the ordenaunces, or Acte of this fellowship or doe not pay them beinge required that then such pson shall be Comitted to prizon, theare to remayne duringe the pleasure of the Generalitie.

Against departure
out of y^e Courte.

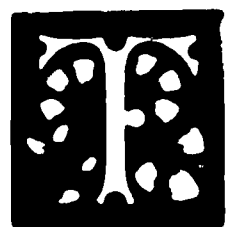
AND yt is funder ordered that yf any brother of this Societie shall att any gen^rall Courte or meetinge of Comittees depte out of the Courte or meetinge before the Courte shall breake vpp or the busines be ended, except yt be by lycence asked of m^r Gou^rno^r or Deputie, and by their lycence graunted that he shall forfeite for eu^y default, depteing wthout lycence xij^d.

All forfeitures to be
paied and geaven to
the generall and
comon use of this
societie.

AND yt is lastlie ordered that all fynes and forfeitures forfeited and lost by any brother of this fellowship by the breache of any ordenance now heretofore, or heereafter to be made shalbe paied & geaven to the gen^rall & comon vse of this Societie, & to be ymployed to the beareinge of the comon chardge of the same, & to the releefe of the poore, to dispose accordinge to order from tyme to tyme to be geaven in that behalfe.



A PRIVILEGE¹ for xv^{years} yeares graunted by her ma^{ty} to certeine Aduenturors for the discou^y of the trade for the East Indies.



LIZABETH by the grace of God Queene of England ffrance and Ireland defendor of the faith &c: to all o^r Officers mynisters and subiecte, and to all other people aswell wthin this o^r Realme of England as elswheare vnder o^r obedience and Iurisdic^{cion} or otherwyse vnto whom theis o^r tres Pattente shalbe seene shewed or read

¹ This is the famous first Charter of the Company, granted by Queen Elizabeth on the last day of the sixteenth century. In the absence of the original (of the fate of which nothing is known) the above is the oldest and most authoritative version in the India Office collection. There is another manuscript copy among the "Parchment Records" (No. 2), but it is of later date, and, so far as can be judged, of inferior

greetinge, wheareas o^r most deare and loueing Cozen George Earle of Cumberland, & o^r welbeloued subiecte S^r Iohn Harte of London knight, S^r Iohn Spencer of London knight S^r Edward Michelborne knight Withm Cavendish Esquier, Paule Banninge, Robt Lee, Leonard Hollyday, Iohn Watter¹ Iohn more² Edward Holmeden Robt Hampson Thomas Smyth & Thomas Cambell Cittizens and Ald^r of London. Edward Barker Esquier, Thomas Marshe Esquier, Samuell Backhowse Esq, Iames Lancaster Richard Stap Thomas Cordall, Withm Garway Oliu^r Style, Withm Quarles Bartholomew Barnes Withm Offley Robt Chamberlyn, Iohn Harby³ Richard Wyseman Withm Stone ffrancis Chery,⁴ Tho: Allabaster, Richard Barrett, Iohn Swinarton the younger Tho: Garway Withm Romeny, Iames Deane,⁵ Iohn Eldred,⁶ Andrew Baninge, Edward Leanynge, Thomas Iaxon,⁷ Nickis Leate, Iohn Wolstenholme, Nicholas Peard, Withm Chamber, Rowland Backhowse, Humfrey Smyth Robt Sandie, Henrie Robinson, Richard Pointell, Iohn Highlord, Withm Harryson, Humfrey Style, Humfrey Robinson, Nickis fferro^r Thomas ffarrington Iohn Combe, Robt Offley, Roger How, Iohn Hewet, Iames Turno^r, Morrice Abbott,⁸ Robt Carill, Robt

accuracy. As, however, it is evidently taken from an independent source, the two have been carefully compared, and the differences noted, where at all important. Besides these, there is a very early copy, in excellent preservation, in vol. 306 of the *Harleian MSS.* in the British Museum; this also has been collated with the present text, and all variations (except where the difference is merely one of spelling) have been recorded in the footnotes. Finally, the version printed by Purchas has been consulted in cases where the others disagree; and thus, it is hoped, the materials for a fairly reliable text of this most important document have been obtained and placed on record.

¹ Afterwards Sir John Watts, Sheriff in 1596-97, and Mayor in 1606-7. He was governor of the Company from 11th April, 1601, to 6th July, 1602.

² Moore (*Harl. MS.*).

⁴ Cherie (*Harl. MS.*); Cherry (*Purchas*).

³ Haruy (*Purchas and Parch. Rec.*)

⁵ Beane (*Parch. Rec.*)

⁶ Whilom (1583) a pioneer of trade in the East, in company with Fitch and Newbery, though he did not himself go farther than Bassora; now "a graue, rich and principall Citizen" (*Purchas*). He was a large subscriber to the early voyages of the Company, and one of the first committees (see page 169).

⁷ Iuxon (*Harl. MS. and Parch. Rec.*); Jackson (*Purchas*).

⁸ Maurice Abbott, brother of George, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of Robert, Bishop of Salisbury. In 1615 he visited the East Indies; and on his return was made deputy governor of the Company, to which post he was re-elected 8 times. He was one of those appointed to treat with the Dutch Commissioners in London in 1619, and in the following year was sent, with Sir Dudley Digges, on a special

Brooke Richard Chamblyn George Chamblen, Leonard White, John Cornelius, Raphe Busbie,¹ Wifm Iennyngē, Gyles Paslowe Robt Bell, Thomas Whyte, Nichis Lynge, Wifm Palmer, Ellis Crippes, George Bowles² Nichis Crispe³ John Merricke Humfrey Hanford, Thomas Symonde, Robert Coxe, Wifm Wastall,⁴ John Humfrey, Thomas Bostocke, Bartholomew Holland, Richard Cockes, Wifm Walton, Wifm ffreeman, Thomas Southacke, John ffryre, ffancis Dent, Richard Ball,⁵ Richard Pearce, Roger Heminge,⁶ Robt Cobbe Robert Robinson, ffrancis Evington, ffrancis Taylo^r, Thomas Westwray,⁷ John Middleton Robt Gore Raphe Gore, Wifm Cater, George Cater, John Busbridge, Thomas Horton, Wifm Bond,⁸ Wifm Cotton, John, Stockley, Roger Ofield, Augustyne Skinner, Richard Wiche⁹ Robert Towerson, Richard Talby, Robt Middleton, Robt Bateman, Richard Gosson, Robt Waldoe Richard Wragge, John Wragge Wifm Dale, Lawrence Waldoe,¹⁰ Henrie Bridgman, Samuell Armitage, Edward Harrison, Edmond¹¹ Nicholsonn, Clement Moseley, John Newman, Humfrey Wallcott¹² Thomas Richardson, Thomas Boothby, John Cowchman,¹³ Reynold Greene, Richard Burret,¹⁴ Robert Mildmay, Wifm Hinde, George Chandlo^r, Edward Lutterford, Wifm Burret,¹⁵ Stephen Harvy, Thomas Henshawe Wifm fferris, Wifm Aldersey, Wifm Hewett, Wifm ffysher, Iosephe Salbucke, Nichis Manley Nichis Salter Wylliam Willaston, Wifm Angell, Nicholas Barnestey,¹⁶ John Hawkins Roger Dye, Richard Clarke, Thomas Hewett, George Whitmore,

embassy to Holland on the same business. He became governor of the Company in March, 1624, and held that post until some time in 1638 or 1639, the period of his mayoralty. He was a member of parliament for several years, and spoke often in defence of the Company. He was knighted on the accession of Charles I., who, some 14 years later, made him "king's lieutenant" of London and suburbs during his Majesty's absence in the expedition against the Scots. He died 10th Jan., 1641/2

¹ Hasby (*Purchas*).

² Bolles (*Harl. MS.*)

³ *Purchas* omits both this and the preceding name

⁴ Walstall (*Parish Rec.*); Wustall (*Purchas*).

⁵ Bull (*Purchas*).

⁶ Henyng (*Purchas*).

⁷ Westrow (*Purchas*), Westrowe (*Parish Rec.*).

⁸ *Purchas* and *Parish Rec.* add "Merchant Tayler of London."

⁹ Wise (*Purchas*).

¹¹ Edward (*Purchas*).

¹² Coachman (*Purchas*).

¹⁰ Waldore (*Purchas*).

¹³ Wallott (*Purchas*).

¹⁴ Barret (*Harl. MS.*).

¹⁵ Barret (*Harl. MS.*); Burrell (*Purchas* and *Parish Rec.*).

¹⁶ Barnesly (*Harl. MS.* and *Purchas*); Barnesley (*Parish Rec.*).

Henry Polsteed,¹ Wifm Greenwell, Robt Johnson, Barth:
 Haggett² Humfrey Basse, Robt Bucke, Ambrose Wheeler, Wifm
 Hale Richard Hale³ Iunio^r, Iohn Hodgson, Alphonsus fflowle,⁴
 Edmond Spencer, Robt Ducie,⁵ Richard Pyott, Wifm Bonham,
 Edward Barkam, George Coles,⁶ Raphe Hamo^r, Iames Culli-
 more,⁷ Samuell Hare, George vtley, Gregorie
 Allen, Henry Archer, Icoffrey Kirby, Iohn Cason,
 Richard Beale, Thomas Shipton, Iohn fletcher
 Thomas Talbott, Robt Pennyngton, Humfrey Milward, Richard
 Hearne, Raphe Allen, Iohn Brooke, Anthonie Gibson, Robt
 Kayes, Hugh Crompton Richard Washer, George Holman Morrice
 Lewellen, Richard Persons, ffrancis Barker, Wifm Turno^r, Iohn
 Greenwood, Richard Deane, Richard Ironside, George Smythes,
 Iames Dunkin, Edward Walter, Andrew Chamblyn, Robt Strat-
 forde⁸ Wifm Millett, Symon Lawrence, Thomas Lydall Stephen
 Hodgson, Richard Wright,⁹ Wifm Starkey, Wifm Smyth, Iohn
 Ellacott Robert Bayly & Roger Cotton haue of o^r c'teine know-
 ledge beene petitioners vnto vs for o^r Royall assent and lycence to
 be graunted vnto them, that they of¹⁰ their owne Adventures
 Coste & chardges aswell for the Hono^r of this our Realme of
 England as for the increase of o^r Navigaçon and advauncem^t of

George Vtley disfranchised the 6th of Iulie, 1601.⁸

¹ Polstee (*Purchas*).

⁴ Foote (*Purchas*).

⁶ Colles (*Hart. MS.*).

² Haggett (*Purchas*).

⁵ Dewsy (*Hart. MS.*).

⁷ Colymer (*Purchas*).

³ Hull (*Purchas*).

⁸ For non payment of his adventure (see Court Minutes of that date). Curiously enough the marginal entry occurs in all four texts, possibly it had been noted on the original charter.

⁹ Ant^r Stratford should follow this name (*Hart. MS., Purch. Rec. and Purchas*).

¹⁰ Richard Wright was the first secretary of the Company, mention being made of him in that capacity on the 8th Oct., 1600, and he was still secretary in July, 1602. The loss of the second Court Book prevents us from saying how long he held this post, but there is reason to think that it could not have been to a later date than July, 1602. In 1603, he married the widow of John Stockley, who had been also a member of the Company, and a committee in 1605-6. Mrs. Stockley seems to have been a woman of some wealth, for at her husband's funeral the governor, deputy and committee were invited to dinner (*Court Minutes*, 27th Jan., 1614), and in the same year she adventured £1200 in the Company's stock (*Ibid.*, 18th Feb., 1614). On 15th May, 1615, "Lyonnell, son of Richard Wright, of Walthamstow," was admitted to the freedom of the Company, and as the admission was by patrimony, this entry probably relates to a son of the whilom secretary.

¹¹ At (*Hart. MS. and Purchas*).

trade of merchandize, wthin o^r said Realmes and the dominions of the same might Adventure and sett forth one or more voyage wth Convenient number of shipps and Pynnasses by way of traffique & m^cchandize to the East Indies in the Countries and parte of Asia and Affrica & to as many of the Ilande Port^e Citties Townes and places theareabout, as where trade and traffique of m^cchaundize may by all liklihood be discour^d established or had. Diuers of wth Countries & many of the Ilande Citties and port^e thereof, haue longe sithence beene discour^d, by others of o^r subiect^e: albeit not frequented in trade of m^cchandize. KNOWE yee therefore that we greatelie tendringe the Hono^r of o^r Na^cõn, the wealth of o^r people, and the encourradgment of them and others of o^r loueing Subiect^e in their good enterprises for the encrease of o^r Naviga^cõn and the aduancem^t of lawfull traffique to the benefit of o^r Comonweale haue of o^r speciall grace c^teine knowledge and meere mo^cõn geuen and graunted, and by theis p^sente for vs o^r heires and Successo^r doe giue and graunte to o^r¹ loueing subiect^e before in theis present^e expreslie named. THAT they and eu^y of them from henceforth be and shall be ^{a body politicke} abody Corporate & politicke in deede and in name by the name of the Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^cchaunt^e of ^{the style of the corporation} London tradinge into the East Indies, & them by the name of the Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^cchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies one body Corporate & politticke in deede & in name reallie, and fullie for vs o^r heires and successo^r we doe erect make ordeine constitute establish and declare by theis present^e. And that by the same name of Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^cchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies they shall haue succession, and that they and their Successo^r by the name of the Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^cchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies be & shall be at all tymes heereafter p^sons able & capable in Lawe and a body corporate and polli[ti]cke & capable in lawe to haue, purchase, receiue, possesse, enioy & reteine land^e, tent^e,² priueledge, liberties, Iurissdic^cõns, franchises, & hereditam^te of whatsoeu^r kinde,

¹ The other three texts insert "said."

² Rents (*Parrh. R^e*)—an obvious blunder.

nature, and qualitie soeu^r they be, to them and their Successo^r
 And alsoe to giue, graunte,¹ alien, assigne, and dispose lande,
 Teñte, and hereditament, and to doe & execute all and singuler
 other thinge by the same name, that to them shall or may apper-
 teyne to doe. AND that they and their Successo^r by the name
 of the the Gou^rno^r & Comp: of m^rchaunte of Londondon tradinge
 into the East Indies may plead & be ympleaded aunsweare and
 be aunsweared defend & be defended in whatsoeu^r Court &
 places and before whatsoeu^r Iudge and Iustices and other psons &
 officers in all and singuler accōns pleas suite quarrells causes and
 demaunde whatsoeu^r of whatsoeu^r kinde nature or sorte in such
 manner and forme as other o^r Leidg people of this o^r Realme of
 England beinge psons able & capable in lawe, may or can haue
 purchase receiue possesse enioye reteyne, giue graunte, demyse
 alien assigne dispose plead & be ympleaded, aunsweare & be
 aunsweared defend & be defended release & be released doe pmitt
 & execute And that the said Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^rchaunte

A Comon seale.

of London trading into the East Indies and their
 successo^r may haue a comon seale to serue for
 all the Causes and busynes of them and their successo^r. AND
 that yt shall & may be lawfull to the said Gou^rno^r & Companie &
 their successo^r the same seale from tyme to tyme att their will
 and pleasuer to breake chandge & to make new or alter as to
 them shall seeme expedient.

AND further we will and by theis present for vs o^r heires
 and successo^r we doe ordeine that there shall
 be from henceforth one of the same Companie
 elected and appointed in such forme as heercafter in theis present
 is expressed w^{ch} shall be called the Gou^rnor of the said Company,
 and that there shall be from hencforth Twenty flower of the said
 Companie elected & appointed in such forme as heereafter in theis
 present is expressed, w^{ch} shalbe called the Comitties of the said
 Company² for the tyme beinge shall haue the direcōn of the
 voyage of or for the said Company and the pvision of the
 shippinge and m^rchaundizes thereto belonginge, and alsoe the

The office of the
 Comitties

¹ Insert "demise" (*Harl. MS. and Purchas*).

² *Purchas* and *Purch. Rec.* add here "who together with y^e Gov^r of y^e said Comp^a."; but the *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text as it stands.

sale of all m'chaundizes retourned in the voyage, of or for the said Companie, and the manageing and handling of all other thinge belonging to the said Company, and for the better execution of this o' will and graunte in this behalfe, We haue assigned, nominated, constituted and made, & by theis presentē for vs o'

Thomas Smyth Alder:
the first Governour

heires and successo^r we doe assigne nominate constitute and make the said Thomas Smyth Ald: of London to be the first & present Gou'no' of the said Company to continue in the said office from the date of theis presentē vntill an other of the said Companie shall in due manner be chosen and sworne vnto the said Office accordinge to the ordenances and pvision heereafter in theis presentē expressed and declared yf the said Thomas Smyth shall soe longe lyue, And alsoe we haue assigned nominated and appointed and by theis presentē for vs & o' heires and successo^r Wee doe assigne nominate constitute & make the said Paule Bannynge Leonard Holliday, Iohn Moore, Edward Holmeden, Richard Stap Thomas Cordell, Wiltm Garway, Olyuer Style, James Lancaster,¹ Richard Wyseman, ffrauncis Chery, Thomas Allabaster, Wiltm Romeny, Roger Howe, Wiltm Chambers, Robt Sandy, Iohn Eldred, Richard Witche, Iohn Highlord, Iohn Middleton, Iohn Combe, Wiltm Harrison, Nickis Lynges, and Robt Bell to be the Twentie flower first and

the first Comitties
for the direccion of
the affaires of the
Company being said
in Number

present Comitties of the said Company to Continue in the said Office of Comitties of the said Company from the date of theis presentē for one wholle yeare next following

AND further we will and graunte by theis presentē for vs o' heires and successo^r vnto the said Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies and their successo^r that yt shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Gou'no' and Comp: for the tyme beinge or the more parte of them present at any publick assembly Comonly called the Courte houlden for the said Company, The Gou'no' of the said Company beinge alwaies one from tyme to tyme, to elect nominate &

A depute to the Gou'no:
to take an Oath
before 5 or more of
the Comitties

appointe one of the said Company to be Deputie to the said Gou'no' w^{ch} Deputie shall take a corporall Oath before the Gou'no' and ffyue or more of the Comitties of the said Companie for the tyme being

Lanchaster (Hart. MS.).

well faithfullie and trulie to execute his said Office of Deputie to the Gou'no^r of the said Company, and after his Oath soe taken shall & may from tyme to tyme in the Absence of the said Gou'no^r exercyse and execute the Office of Gou'no^r of the said Company in such sorte as the Gou'no^r ought to doe.

AND further we will & graunte by theis present^e for vs our heires and successo^{rs} vnto the said Gou'no^r & Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies & their successo^{rs}, that they or the greater pte of them, whereof the Gou'no^r for the tyme being or his Deputie to be one from tyme to tyme & at altymes heereafter shall and may haue auctoritie and power yearelie & eu^{er}y yeare on the first day of Iulie, or at any tyme wthin 6 daies after that day to assemble and meete together in some Convenient place to be appointed from tyme to tyme by the Gou'no^r or in his absence by the Deputie of the said Gou'no^r for the tyme being. And that they being soe assembled yt shall & may be lawfull to and for the said Gou'no^r or Deputie of the said Gou'no^r and the said Comp: for the tyme beinge or the greater pte of them, w^{ch} then shall happen to be present whereof the Gou'no^r of the saide Companie to be one,¹ or his deputie for the tyme being, to elect and nominate one of the said Companie, w^{ch} shall be Gou'no^r of the said Company for one wholle yeare from thence next followinge: w^{ch} pson being soe elected and nominated to be Gou'no^r of y^e said Comp: as is aforesaid before he be admitted to the execu^{cion} of the said Office shall take a corporall Oath before the last Gou'no^r being his predicesso^r, or his deputie, & any sixe or more of the Comitties of the said Company for the tyme beinge, that he shall from tyme to tyme well and trulie execute the Office of Gou'no^r of the said Company in all thinge concerninge the same, & that imediatelie after the Oath soe taken he shall and may execute and vse the said Office of Gou'no^r of the said Companie for one whole yeare from thence next ffollowinge,

eu^{er}y brother to take
a corporall oath

And in like manner² we will and graunte that aswell eu^{er}y one aboue named to be of the said Companie, or ffellowshippe as al others heereafter to be admitted,

¹ *Purchas and Parch. Rec.* transfer "to be one" to the end of the clause, after the word "being," but the *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

² Sorte (*Harl. MS.*); sort (*Purchas and Parch. Rec.*).

or free of the said Companie shall take a corporall oath before the Gou'no' of this said Company or his Deputie for the tyme being being to such effect as by the said¹ Gou'no' & Comp: or more pte of them In any publicke Courte to be held for the said Company shall be in reasonable manner sett downe & devised before they shall be allowed or admitted to trade or traffique as a ffreeman of the said Company.

AND further we will & graunte by theis presentē for vs o' heires and successoⁿ vnto the said Gou'no' & Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies & their successoⁿ that the said Gou'no', or the Deputie of the said Gou'no' and the Comp: and their successoⁿ for the tyme beinge or the greater parte of them whereof the gou'no' or the Deputie of the Gou'no' from tyme to tyme to be one, shall & may from tyme to tyme and att altymes heereafter haue authoritie and power ycarelie & eu'y yeare on the first day of Iuly, or att any tyme w^hin sixe daies after that day to assemble & meete together in some convenient place to be from tyme to tyme appointed by the said Gou'no' of the said Company, or in his absence by his Deputie And that they being soe assembled yt shall & may be lawfull to & for the said Gou'no' or his Deputie & the Company for the tyme being, or the greater pte of them w^h then shall happen to be p'sent whereof the Gou'no' of the said Companie or his Deputie for the tyme being to be one to elect & nominate Twentie flower of the said Comp: w^h shall be Comitties of the said Company for one whole yeare from thence next ensueinge, w^h psons being soe elected & nominated to be Comitties of the said Companie as aforesaid before they be admitted to the execucon of their said

^{as by Comitties to be ycarelie elected on the first of Iuly or within 6 daies followinge.}
The Comitties shall take a corporall Oath.

Offices shall take a Corporall Oath before the Gou'no' or his Deputie & any 6 or more of the said Comitties of the said Company being their last predicessoⁿ for the tyme beinge that they & eu'y of them shall well & faithfullie pforme their said Office of Comitties in all thinge concerning the same. And that ymediatelie after the² Oath soe

¹ Not in *Harl. MS.*

² *Purch. Rec.* and *Purchas* interpolate "said," but the *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

taken they shall & may execute and vse their said Offices of
 Comitties of the said Companie for one whole
 yeare from thence next ensueinge.¹ And moreou^r
 o^r will & pleasuer is and by theis present^e for vs
 o^r heires and successo^rs we doe graunt vnto the said Gou^rno^r &
 Company of m^rchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies,
 & to their successo^rs that when and as often as yt shall happen
 the Gou^rno^r of the said Company for the tyme beinge att any
 tyme wthin one yeare after that he shall be nominated elected
 & sworne to the Office of the Gou^rno^r of the said Companie as is
 aforesaid to die or to be remoued from the said Office, w^{ch} Gou^rno^r
 not demeaninge him selfe well in his said Office, we will to be
 remoueable att the pleasure of the said Company, or the greater
 pte of them, w^{ch} shall be present at any their publike Assemblies,
 comonly called their² gen^rall Courte houlden for the said Com-
 pany. That then & soe often yt shall & may be lawfull to & for
 the residue of the said Company for the tyme being, or the
 greater pte of them, wthin convenient tyme after the death or
 remoueinge any such Gou^rno^r to assemble themselues in such
 convenient place as they shall thinke ffitt, for the elec^{ti}on of the
 Gou^rno^r of the said Companie, and that the said Company, or
 the greater parte of them being then and there present shall and
 may then & theare before their deptime from the said place elect
 & nominate one other of the said Companie to be Gou^rno^r of the
 said Company in the place or steede of him that soe died or
 was soe remoued w^{ch} pson beinge soe elected & nominated to the
 office of Gou^rno^r of the said Company shall haue and exercise
 the said office for & during the residue of the said yeare takeing
 first a corporall Oath as is aforesaid for the due execu^{ti}on thereof,
 and this to be done from tyme to tyme soe often as the case shall
 soc requier.

AND alsoe o^r will and pleasure is and by theis present^e for
 vs o^r heires and successo^rs we doe graunte vnto
 the said Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunt^e of
 London trading into the East Indies and to their
 successo^rs that when and as often as yt shall happen any of the

¹ Followinge (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

² The (*Harl. MS.*).

said¹ Comitties of the said Company for the tyme being at any time w^hin one yeare next after that they or any of them shalbe nomynated² & sworne to the Office of Comitties of the said Company (as is aforesaid) to die or be remoued from the said office, w^h Comitties not demeaneinge them selues well in the said Office we will to be remouecable att the pleasuer of the said Gou'no' & Company or the greater pte of them whereof the Gou'no' of the said Company for the tyme being or his depth for the tyme being to be one. That then and soe often yt shall & may be lawfull to & for the said Gou'no' and Company for the tyme beinge or the greater pte of them, whereof the gou'no'³ or his Deputie to be one w^hin Convenient tyme after the death or remoueing of any of the said Comitties to assemble themselves in such convenient place as is or shall be vsuall or accustomed for the elec^{ti}on of the Gou'no' of the said Companie, or whereells the Gou'no' of the said Companie for the tyme being or his deputie shall appointe and that the said Gou'no' & Companie or the greater pte of them, whereof the Gou'no' for the tyme being, or his deputie to be one being then and theare present shall & may then and theare before their deptime from the said place elect & nominate one or more of the said Companie to be Comitties of the said Company in the places and steede, place or steede of him or them that soe dyed or were or was soe remoued, w^h pson or psons soe elected⁴ to the office or offices of Committee or Committees of the said Company shall haue & exercyse the said Office and Officees for and during the residue of the said yeare takeinge first a corporall Oath, as is aforesaid for the due execu^{ti}on thereof and this to be done frome tyme to tyme soe often as the case shall requier.


AND fflurther we doe by theis p'sente for vs o' heires and successo^r will and graunte vnto the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies & their successo^r that they and all that are or shall be of the said Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies

¹ Not in the other three texts.

² The other three texts add "elected."

³ *Purch Rec.* and *Purchas* add "for the time being." *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text

⁴ The other three texts add "and nominated."

& eu^y of them and all the sonns of them, & eu^y of them att their seu^rall ages of Twentie one yeares or vpwardes. And further all such the apprentices ffacto^r or servaunt^e of them and eu^y of them, w^{ch} heereafter shall be ymployed by the said Gou^rno^r & Comp: in the said trade of m^rchandize of or to the East Indies beyond the Seas or any other the places aforesaid in any pte of the said East Indies shall and may by the space of xv^{teene} yeares from the feast of the birth of o^r Lord God last past before the date hereof ffreelie traffick & vse the trade of m^rchandize by Seas in & by such waies and passages already found out and discour^d and ¹ w^{ch} heereafter shall be found out and discour^d as they shall esteeme and take to be fittest into and from the said East Indies into the Countries and pte of Asia & Affrica and into & from all the Iland^e port^e Havens Citties Creeke Townes & places of Asia Africa & America or any of them beyond the Cape of Bona Esperansa to the straight^e of Magalaⁿ where any trade or traffique of m^rchaundize may be vsed and ¹ had and to & from eu^y of them in such order manner forme libertie and Condi^cõn to all entent^e & purposes as shall be from tyme to tyme at any publique assemblee or Courte held by or for the said Gou^rno^r or Companie, by or betweene them of the said Company of ffellowshipp of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies, or the more pte of them for the tyme being present at such assemblee or Courte The Gou^rno^r or his Deputie being alwaies present att such Courte or Assemblee lymitted and agreed: and not otherwyse wthout any molestac^õn impeachm^t or disturbance any statute vsage diu^rsitie religion or faith or any other cause or matter whatsoeu^r to the Contrarie notwthstandinge; soe  alwaies the same trade be² vndertaken nor addressed to any Country, Iland, porte, Haven Cittie Creeke Towne or place alreadie in the lawfull and actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or state as att this present is or at any tyme heereafter shalbe in league or amity wth vs o^r heires or successo^r and who doth not or will not accept of such trade but doth ou^rlie declare and publish the same to be vtterlie against his or their good will and likeinge

¹ The other three texts read "or."

² Be not (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

AND further o^r will & pleasuer is, and by theis present^e for vs
 o^r heires and successo^rs we doe graunte vnto the
 That the Comp: may
 assemble in any con-
 venient place.
 said Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunt^e of London
 trading into the East Indies and to their suc-
 cesso^rs, that yt shall & may be lawfull to and for the said
 Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunt^e of London tradinge into the
 East Indies & their successo^rs from tyme to tyme to assemble
 themselues for or aboute any the matters causes affaires or
 busines of the said trade in any place or places for the same
 convenient during the said terme of ffifteene yeares wthin o^r
 dominions or elswheare, & there to hold Courte for the said
 Companie and the affaires thereof, & that alsoe yt shall & may be
 lawfull to & for them or the more pte of them being soe
 assembled, & that shall then & theare be present in any such
 place or places whereof the Gou^rno^r or his deputie
 for the tyme being to be one, to make, ordeine &
 Authoritie to make
 reasonable lawes by
 the greatest part of a
 gen^rall assembly.
 constitute such and soe many reasonable lawes
 constitu^{ti}ōns, orders & ordenances as to them or the greater pte
 of them being then and theare present shall seeme necessarie and
 convenient for the good gou^rnm^t of the same Companie & of all
 ffacto^rs mⁿ Mariners & other Officers ymployed¹ in any of their
 voyage, and for the better advauncement & continuance of the
 said trade and traffique, and the same lawes constitu^{ti}ōns orders
 and ordenaunces as by them or the greater pte of them shall be
 thought necessarie being² soe made to putt in vse, & execu^{ti}ōn
 accordingle, & at their pleasuer to revoke or alter the same, or
 any of them, as occasion shall requier and that the said Gou^rno^r
 & Companie soe often as they shall make ordeine or establish any
 such lawes constitu^{ti}ōns orders & ordenances in forme aforesaid
 shall & may lawfullie ympose, ordeine lymitt &
 To punish offenders
 eyther in body or
 purse soe as the
 same be not contrary
 to the lawes of the
 Realme.
 pvide such peines punishment^e and Penalties by
 ymprisonm^t of bodie, or by fynes or³ amercement^e,
 or by all or any of them vpon & against all
 Offenders contrary to such lawes Constitu^{ti}ōns orders and orden-

¹ The other three texts add "or to be employed."

² *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas* omit "as being." *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

³ And (*Harl. MS.*, *Parch. Rec.* and *Purchas*).

ances or any of them as to the said Gou'no' & Companie for the tyme being, or the greater pte of them then & there being present the said Gou'no' or his Deputie being alwaies one shall seeme necessary requisite and Convenient for the observaõn of the same lawes constituõns orders and ordenances, & the same fynes, & amercem'te, shall and may levy fyne take & haue to the vse of the said Gou'no' and Cõpanie & their successo^r wthout the ympedim't of vs o' heires or successo^r or of any the Officers or mynisters of vs o' heires or ¹ successo^r, or wthout any accompt to vs o' heires or successo^r to be rendred or made. All & singuler w^{ch} lawes, constituõns, orders, and ordenances soe as aforesayd to be made we will to be dylie observed and kept vnder the peines and penalties therein to be conteyned: Soe alwaies the said lawes Constituõns orders ordenance ymprisonm'te fynes and amercem'te be reasonable & not contrary or repugnant to the lawes statutes or Customes of this o' Realme

AND forasmuch as the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte^r of London trading into the East Indies haue not yet experience of the kinde of Comodities and m'chandizes w^{ch} are or will be vendible or to be vttered in the said pte of the East Indies and therefore shall be driven to carrie to those pte in their voyadge dyvers & sundry Comodities w^{ch} are likeli to be retourned againe into this o' Realme. WEE therefore of our speciall grace certeine knowledge and mcere moõn for the better encourageing of the said Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunte^r of London trading into the² East Indies and for the advauncem't of the said trade doe graunt vnto the saide Gou'no' and Company, and to their successo^r that they and their successo^r during the fower first voyage w^{ch} they shall make or sett forth for or towards the said East Indies shall & may transporte and carrie out of o' Realme of England, & the port^e Creek^e & havens thereof all such and soe much goode & m'chandizes, being good^e and m'chandizes lawfullie passable & transportable out of this Realme and not prohibited to be transported by any lawe or statute of this Realme as shalbe by them their ffacto^r or assignes shipped in any shipp or shipps vessell or

freedome of Custome
of goodes outwards
graunt³

¹ And (*Harl. MS.*).

² Granted?

³ Said (*Harl. MS.*).

vessels to be ymployed in any of the said fower first voyage free of Custome subsidie or Pondage or any other duties or paym^te to vs or o^r successo^rs due or belonging for the shippinge or transporting of the same or any of them: And yett neu^rthelesse our will & pleasure is and we doe by theis present^e straightly chardge & Comaund that all & eu^ry such good^e & m^rchandizes soe to be transported out of this Realme from tyme to tyme during the¹ flower first voyage as ys aforesaid shall from tyme to tyme be duly entered by the Customer Comptroller or other officer of such porte Creeke or place where the same good^e or m^rchaundizes shall happen to be shipped and laden before such tyme as the same shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid.

AND alsoe of o^r further espetiall grace certeyne knowledg
6 & 6 monnethes tyme
for paym^t of Custome & subsidie inward and meere mo^ooⁿ we doe for vs o^r heires and successo^rs graunte to & wth the said Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies and their successo^rs that when & as often at any tyme during the said terme and space of ffyfteene yeares as any Custome pondage subsidie or other duties shall be due & payable vnto vs o^r heires or successo^rs for any good^e wares or m^rchandize whatsoeu^r to be retourned out or from any the Iland^e & port^e Havens Citties Townes or plac^e aforesaid vnto the porte of London or any of the Havens Creeke members or places to² the said porte belonging that the Customers and all other officers for the tyme being of vs o^r heires or successo^rs for or concerning receipt^e of Custome Pondage subsidies or other duties vnto whom yt shall apperteyne shall vpon the request of the Gou^rno^r & Company of the said m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies or any their Agent^e ffacto^rs or assignes³ sixe monnethes tyme for the payment of the one halfe, and after those sixe monnethes ended other sixe monnethes tyme for the payment of the other halfe of their said Custome pondage or other subsidie or duties receyueing good & sufficient bond^e wth suertie to the vse of vs o^r heires & successo^rs for the true pay-

¹ The said (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

² Of (*Harl. MS.*).

³ *Parch. Rec. and Purchas* add "give unto the said Gov^r and Comp^a Their Agents ffactors or Assigns." *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

ment of the same accordinglie and vpon the receipt of the said bonde wth suertie from tyme to tyme to giue vnto the said Gou^rno^r & Comp: of m^rchaunte of London trading into the East Indies for the tyme being their Agent^e ffacto^r or Assignes their Cockett^e or other warrant^e to take out & receiue on land the same good^e wares & m^rchandizes by vertue thereof wthout any disturbaunce. And that alsoe as often as at any tyme duringe

If goodes miscarry going outward the value of Custome shall be allowed in other goodes afterward shipped

the said terme of ffifteene¹ yeares any good^e wares or marchandizes of the said Gou^rno^r & Company for the tyme being Laden from o^r porte of London or any the Creek^e members or places to² the same porte belonging to be transported to or toward^e any of the port^e Iland^e Havens Citties townes or places aforesaid shall happen to miscarrie or be lost before their safe arrivall or dischardge in the Port^e for and to w^{ch} the same shall be sent that then and soe often, soe much Custome pondage subsidies or other duties as they aunsweared to vs for the same before their goinge forth of o^r said port^e Havens or Creek^e shall after due prooffe made before the Th^rer of England for the tyme beinge of the said losse and the iust quantitie thereof be by vertue hereof allowed by the said Gou^rno^r and Company their Agent^e or ffacto^r by warrant of the said Th^rer to the said Customers or officers in the next good^e wares or m^rchandizes that the said Gou^rno^r & Company or their successo^r shall and may shipp for or toward^e those places³ accordinge to the true rate of the Customes pondage or subsidies before paid for the good^e wares or m^rchaundizes soe loste or myscarrying or any pte thereof and for y^t the⁴ Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies are like to bringe into this o^r Realme a much greater quantetie of forreine Comodities from the part^e of the said East Indies then can be spent for the necessarie vse of the same o^r Realme w^{ch} of necessitie must be transported into other Countries and there vented, We for vs o^r heires and successo^r of o^r espetiall grace c^teine knowledge & meere mo^oon doe graunte to and wth the said Gou^rno^r

¹ Blank in *Parch. Rec.*

² In (*Harl. MS.*).

³ Partes (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

⁴ The said (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

The Custome of
goodes being paid at
the comeinge into
this Realme it shalbe
lawfull for any
naturall subiect to
shipp yt out againe
vpon the first Custome
within 13
monnethes

& Companie of marchaunte of London trading into the East Indies and their successo^r that at all tymes from tyme to tyme during the space of thirteene monnethes next after the dischardge of any of the said forreine Comodities soe to be brought in the subsidies pondage Customes & other

duties for the same being first paied or compounded for as afore said, It shall be lawfull for the said Gou^rno^r & Company and their successo^r or any other naturall subiecte of this o^r Realme w^{ch} may or shall buie the same of them or¹ transporte the same in English Bottoms freelie out of this Realme aswell vngarbled as garbled wthout paym^{ts} of any further Custome, pondage, or any further subsidie to vs o^r heires or successo^r for the same whereof the subsidy pondage Customes or other duties shall be soe formerlie paid or Compounded for as aforesaid and soe prouided² and the said Customer or other officer or officers to whome yt shall in that behalfe appteine for the tyme being by vertue hereof shall vpon due and sufficient prooff thereof made in the Customes³ howse⁴ or belonging to the said⁵ port of London giue them sufficient cockett or certificate, not⁶ for the safe passinge out therof accordinglie. And to theend noe deceit be vsed therein⁷ to vs our heires or successo^r Certificate shalbe brought from the Collecto^r of the Custome, subsidie, pondage, or other duties inwardes of vs our heires or successo^r that the said goodē wares or m^rchandizes haue wthin the tyme lymitted aunsweared their due custome subsidy pondage or other duties for the same inwardes vnto the Collecto^r⁸ of the Custome subsidy pondage or other duties outwardē of vs o^r heires or successo^r.⁹

AND moreou^r we of o^r further espetiall grace certeine

¹ The other texts read "to."

² Proved (*Parch. Rec.*). The others agree with the text.

³ Customes (*Harl. MS. and Parch. Rec.*).

⁴ *Parch. Rec. and Purchas* add "of."

⁵ The other texts read "same."

⁷ Herein (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

⁶ Omitted in the other three texts.

⁸ Collectors (*Harl. MS.*).

⁹ In *Parch. Rec. and Purchas*, this last clause ("vnto successo^r") is made to precede the words "that inwardes." In the *Harl. MS.*, however, the arrangement is the same as in the text.

That yt shall be lawfull in the first voyadge to carry out in forreine coyne procured by the Comp: or bullion the value of xxx m^{ll} soe as 6 m^{ll} thereof be new coyned in the mynt

knowledge and meere mo^oñ haue graunted & by theis present^e for vs o^r heires & successo^r doe graunte vnto the said Gou^rno^r & Company of marchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies that yt shall & may be lawfull for them their ffacto^r or Assignes in their first voyadge or ffleete w^{ch} is now in p^rparinge for their first Adventure to the said East Indies to transporte out of this o^r Realme of England all such forreine Coyne of sylver, eyther spannish or other forreine sylver as they haue pcured p^rpared & gotten, or shall procure prepare or gett as likewyse all such other Coyne of sylver as they haue pcured or shall pcure to be coyned in o^r mynte wthin o^r Tower of London out of such plate or bullion as ys or¹ shall be puided for² the said Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies their ffacto^r or assignes before the goinge forth of the same ffleete in³ this their⁴ first voyadge⁵ soe as the whole quantetie of Coyne & moneys to be transported in this their said first voyadge⁶ doe not excede the value or some of Thirtie Thowsand pound^e starlinge And soe as the some of sixe thowsand pound^e att the least pcell of the said some of Thirtie thowsand pound^e be first Coyned in o^r minte wthin our Tower of London⁸ before the same shall be transported as aforesaid any lawe restraunte or phibition

After the said first voyadge in all the rest of the voyages they may carry but⁷ in eury vyadg xxx m^{ll} of such forreine Coyne as they bringe into the Realme soe as thereof 6 m^{ll} be new coyned in the mint.

in that behalfe notwthstandinge. And in like mann^r of o^r espetiall grace c^rteine knowledge & meere mo^oñ, we haue graunted and⁹ doe for vs o^r heires and successo^r graunte vnto the said Gou^rno^r and Company of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies & their successo^r.

That yt shall and may be lawfull to & for the said Gou^rno^r & Companie and their successo^r after the said first voyadge sett forth yearclie for and during the residue of the

¹ As it (*Purchas*).

² By (*Purch. Rec.*).

³ Altered to "if" in *Harl. MS.*, probably in consequence of the omission noticed in note 6, which destroyed the sense of the passage.

⁴ Their said (*Harl. MS.*).

⁵ In these three first voyages (*Purchas*).

⁶ *Harl. MS.* omits this clause ("soe voyadge").

⁷ Out?

⁸ See page 13.

⁹ The other texts read "and by these presents."

said terme of ffifteene yeares to shipp and transporte out of this o' Realme of England or dominions of the same in any their other voyadge to or towarde any the parte aforesaid in forme afore mencioned all such forreine Coyne of sylver, spanish or other forreine sylver or bullion of sylver, as they shall duringe the said terme bringe or cause to be brought into this Realme of England in¹ the pte beyond the Seas, eyther in the same kinde sorte stampe or ffashion w^h yt shall haue when they bringe it in, or any other forme, stampe or fashion to be coyned w^hin o' Mint w^hin o' Tower of London at their pleasuer, soe as the whole quantities of coyne or moneys by them to be transported in any their said voyage during the residue of the said terme doe not exceede the value or some of Thirtie Thowsand pounde in any one voyage, and soe as the some of sixe thowsand pounde at the least pcell of the said some or value of xxx m^l soe to be transported as aforesaid, be first coyned w^hin o' said Tower of London before the same shall be transported in any of the said voyage any lawe statute restrainte or phibiçôn in that behalfe in any wyse notw^hstandinge.

AND further we of o' ample and abundant grace, more² moçôn and certeyne knowledge haue graunted by³ theis present⁴ for vs o' heires and successors, doe graunt vnto the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies & their successoⁿ that they and their successoⁿ and their ffactoⁿ servant^e or assignes in the trade of m'chandize for them & on their behalfe & not otherwyse shall for the said terme of ffyfteene yeares, haue, vse, and enioy the wholle entyre & onelie trade & traffique and the wholle entire & onelie libertie vse & priuiledge of tradinge & traffiqueing & vsinge feat & trade of m'chandize to & from the said East Indies & to & from all the Ilande Porte Havens Citties Townes and places aforesaid in such manner & forme as ys aboue mencioned And that⁴ the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into

That the trade shalbe
traided according to
vs Ordynances of the
Company & not other-
wyse

¹ The other texts read "from."

² Mere (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas.*)

³ And by (*Harl. MS., Parch. Rec. and Purchas.*)

⁴ That they (*Harl. MS. and Parch. Rec.*).

the East Indies, & eu'y pticuler & seu'all pson that now is, or that heerafter shalbe of that Company or incorporaçon shall haue full and free authoritie libertie facultie lycence & power in forme aforesaid to trade & Traffique to & from the said East Indies, & all & eu'y the pte thereof in forme aforesaid according to the orders ordenances & agreem'e heereafter to be made & agreed vppon by the said Gou'no' & Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies & their successoⁿ or the more pte of them present at any Courte or publique assemblee of or for the said Companie the Gou'no' of the said Companie or his Deputie for the tyme beinge alwaies present att such Courte or assembly & not otherwyse.

And for that the shippes sayleing into the said Indies must take their due & propp tymes to pceede in theis voyage wth otherwyse as we well pceaue cannot be pformed in the rest of the yeare followinge. THEREFORE we of o' especiall grace

That 6 good shippes
& 6 pynnaces shalbe
yearelie permitted to
goe into the East
Indies & 500 ma-
riners any restraint
notwithstandinge ex-
cept the Saue Royall
be forth.

certeine knowledge & meere moũon for vs o' heires & successoⁿ do graunt to & wth the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies and their successoⁿ, that in any tyme of restraunte sixe good shippes & sixe good Pynnaces well furnished wth ordenance & other muniõn for their defence, & five hundred Mariners Englishmen to guide & sayle in the same sixe shippes & sixe Pynnaces att all tymes during the said terme of fyteene yeares shall quietlie be pmitted & suffered to departe & goe in the said voyages accordinge to the purport of theis p'sente wthout any stay or contradicõn by vs o' heires or successoⁿ or by y^r Lo: High admirall or any other officer or subiect of vs o' heires or successors for the tyme being in any wyse any restraunte lawe statute vsage or matter whatsoeu' to the contrarie notwthstandinge.

PROVIDED neu'theles that yf we shall att any tyme wthin the said terme of fyteene yeares, haue iust cause to arme our Navy in warlike manner in defence of o' Realme or for Offence of o' enymies or that yt shall be found needfull to ioyne to the Navy of vs o' heires or successoⁿ the shippes of o' subiecte to be alsoe armed for the warres to such a number as can not be supplied yf the said sixe shippes and sixe Pynnasses should be pmitted to

departe as aboue is mentioned then vpon knowledge geuen to¹ vs o' heires or successoⁿ or by any² Admirall to the said Gou'no' & Company aboute the xxth day of the monneth of Iulie, or three monnethes before the said Gou'no' and Companie shall begynn to make readie the same sixe shipps and sixe Pynnasses, that we may not spare the said sixe shipps & six Pynnasses & the Mariners requisite for them, to be out of o' Realme during the tyme that o' Navy shall be vpon the Seas. That then the said Gou'no' and Company shall forbear to send sixe such shipps & sixe Pinnace for their trade of m'chandize, vntill that we shall revoke or wthdrawe o' said Navy for this³ service. And we of o'

A prohibition to all other subjectes not free of this comp^y for trading into those partes upon oruerall p^rntes without the licence & assent of the Companie.

further royall favo' and of o' especiall grace certeine knowledge and meere mo^oon haue graunted, and by theis present^e for vs o' heires & successoⁿ doe graunte vnto the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies and to their successoⁿ That the said East Indies nor the Ilande Havens Port^e Citties Townes or places thereof, nor of any pte thereof shall⁴ be visited frequented or haunted by any of the subiect^e of vs o' heires or successoⁿ during the said terme of xv^{year}es contrarie to the true meaneing of theis present^e. And by vertue of o' p'rogative royall, w^{ch} we will not in that behalfe be argued or brought in question: We straight chardge comaund and phibitt for vs o' heires & successoⁿ all the subiect^e of vs o' heires or successoⁿ of what degree or qualitie soeu' they be, that none of them directlie or indirectlie visitt haunte frequent or Trade, traffique or adventure by way of m'chandize into or from any of the said East Indies, or into & from any of the Ilande, Port^e Havens, Citties Townes or places aforesaid other then the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies, and such pticuler psons as now be or heereafter shall be of that Companie their Agent^e ffactoⁿ & assignes duringe the said terme of fyfteene yeares⁵ vnlc.

¹ By (*Purch. Rec.*)

² Our (*Purch. Rec.*).

³ From the said (*Purch. Rec.*).

⁴ *Purch. Rec.* and *Purches* read "shall not"; *Harl. MS.* agrees with the text.

⁵ "This prohibition reacheth to all englishe men w^o do aduenter thither amonge the duche men yf there goodes should be brought into England that we might seaze on it" (*Note in another hand in the margin of Harl. MS.*)

yt be by & wth such licence and agreement of the said Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London tradinge to the East Indies in wryting first had & obtayned vnder their Comon seale to be graunted, vpon payne that euery such pson or psonns that shall trade or traffique into or from any of the said East Indies other then the Gou^rno^r & Company of m^rchaunt^e of London & their

forfeiture of goodes & shippes successo^rs shall incurr o^r indigna^{ti}on and the forfeiture & losse of the goodes m^rchaundizes & other thing^e whatsoeu^r w^{ch} soe shall be brought into this o^r Realme of England or any the dominion[s] of the same contrarie to o^r said phibition, or the purporte or ¹ true meaneing of theis present^e as alsoe the shipp and shipps wth the furniture thereof wherein such good^e m^rchaundizes or thing^e shalbe brought:

Division of the forfeitures. The halfe² of all the said forfeitures to be to vs o^r heires and successo^rs, and the other halfe of all & eu^ry the said forfeiture[s] we doe by theis present^e of o^r espetiall grace certeine knowledge & meere mo^{ti}on clearlie and whollie for vs o^r heires and successo^rs giue and graunte vnto the said Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies. And further all & eu^ry the said Offendo^rs

Imprisonm^t. for their said Contempt to suffer imprisonment duringe o^r pleasure and such other ponishm^t as to vs o^r heires or successo^rs for soe high a Contempt shall seeme meete & convenient & not to be in any wyse deliu^red vntill they & eu^ry of them

entring into bond of 1000^{li} shalbe come bound vnto the said Gou^rno^r for the tyme being in the some of 1000^{li} att the least at noe tyme then after during this present graunte to sayle or traffique into any of the said East Indies contrarie to o^r expresse Comaundement in that behalfe herein sett downe & published.

How the Comp: may graunt lycence to others & what tymes. And further for the better encouragem^t of m^rchaunt^s straungers & others to bringe in Comodities into this our Realme, we for vs o^r heires and successo^rs doe graunt vnto the said Gou^rno^r & Companie of m^rchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies that they & their successo^rs shall from tyme to tyme for any Considera^{ti}on or benefitt to be taken to their owne vse graunt or giue

¹ And (*Harl. MS.*).

² One halfe (*Parch. Rec.*).

³ Merchauntes (*Harl. MS.*).

licence to any pson or psons to sayle trade or traffique into or from any of the said East Indies soe as such licence be graunted or geuen before such goodē wares & m'chaundizes be laid on land, & soe as such lycence be made by the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies for the tyme beinge vnder their Comon seale. And further of o' especiall

That her maie will
not graunt lycence
to any others to enter
into the parties aforesaid
during the terme
of xvth yeares

grace certeyne knowledge, & meere moōn, we haue Condescended and graunted, and by theis presentē for¹ o' heires and successoⁿ wee doe condescend & graunt vnto the said Gou'no' &

Companie of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the¹ East Indies and their successoⁿ that we o' heires & successoⁿ during the said terme of xvth yeares will not graunte libertie licence or power to any pson or psons whatsoeu' contrary to the Teno' of theis o' tres Pattente to sayle passe trade or traffique to the said East Indies or into or from the Ilande portē Havens Citties Townes or place aforesaid or any of them contrarie to the true meaneinge of theis presentē wthout the Consent of the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies or the most pte of them. And o' will and pleasure is and hereby we doe

That the Company
may admitt others
at their pleasures
into this freedom

alsoe ordeyne that that yt shall & may be lawfull to & for the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East

Indies or the more pte of them whereof the Gou'no' for the tyme being or his deputie to be one to admitt into, & to be of the said Company all such apprentises to any of the said fellowshipp or company and all such servaunte & ffactoⁿ² of or for the said Company, & all such others as to them or the more pte of them present at any Courte held for the said Company the Gou'no' or his deputie being one shalbe thought fitt and agreeable wth the orders and Ordenances to be made for the Gou'nm^t of the said

That if any named
in the patent doe not
bring in his promysed
adventure sett downe
yt shall be lawfull for

Company PROVIDED alwaies that yf any of the psons before named and appointed by theis presentē to be free of the said Companie of

¹ For Us (*Parch. Rec. and Purchas*).

² The said (*Harl. MS.*).

³ "We may by generall consent admyt & make free our other servantes w^o were not employed as ffactors; and all suche other persons as we thinck good." (*Marginal note in Harl. MS.*)

¹ The Company to disfranchise him.

m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies shall not before the goinge forth of the flecte appointed for this first voyadge from the porte of London bringe in & deliur to the Threr or Thrers appointed, or w^h w^hin the space of Twentie daies next after the date hereof shalbe appointed by the said gou'no' & Company or the more pte of them, to receiue the Contribucons and adventures sett downe by the seu'all Aduenturoⁿ in this first¹ & present voyadge now in hand to be sett forth such somes of money as haue beene by any of the said psons by theis present^e nominated to be of the said Company expressed sett downe & written in a booke appointed for that purpose, & left in the hande of the said Thomas Smyth Gou'no' of the said Company or of the said Paule Bannynge Ald of London and subscribed w^h the names or² of the same aduenturoⁿ vnder their hande & agreed vpon to be aduentured in the said first voyadge that then yt shall be lawfull for the said Gou'no' and Companie or the more pte of them, whereof the said Gou'no' or his deputie to be one at any their generall Courte, or generall assembly to remoue disfranchise & displace him or them att their wills and pleasures. And the said Gou'no' &

The Companie doe promise to bring in after eu'y voyage retourned within 6 monnethes as great a quantetie of silver gould or forraigne Coyne as they shall carry out th first vialg excepted

Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies for them and their successoⁿ doe by theis present^e couenant pmyse & graunte to & w^h ³ o' heires & successoⁿ that they the said Gou'no' & Company and their successoⁿ in all & eu'y such voyage as they att any tyme or tymes heareafter duringe the said tearme shall make out of this Realme by vertue of this o' graunt and tres Pattente the first voyadge onelie excepted shall & will vpon eu'y retourne w^h shall be made backe agayne into this o' Realme or any of o' dominions or w^hin sixe monnethes next after eu'y such retourne bringe into this o' Realme of England from the said East Indies or from some other part^e beyond the seas out of o' Dominions, as greate or greater value in bullion of gould or syluer, or other forreyne Coyne of gould or silver respectiuelie for eu'y voyadge, the first voyadge

¹ The other three texts read "last."

² Omitted in the other texts.

³ The other texts add "U^a."

onelic excepted as shall be by force of theis presentē transported and carried out of this Realme by them or any of them in any kinde of sylver abouesaid whatsoeu' in any of the said voyadge and that all such sylver as by vertue of this o' graunte & tres Patentē shall be shipped or laden by the said Gou'no' & Company or their successoⁿ to be transported out of this Realme in any of the said voyage, shall from tyme to tyme at the settinge forth of

All sylver or gould
carried forth by the
Comp^y shall be ship-
ped att the portes of
London Dartmouth
or Plymouth.

eu'y such pticuler voyadge be shipped or laden att the Portē or Havens of London Darmouth or Plymouth, or at some of the same portē or havens, & at no other porte or haven whatsoeu' w^hin this o' Realme or the dominions thereof and that all & eu'y such sylver as from tyme to tyme shall be shipped & laden in the said Portē of London Dartmouth or Plymouth, or any of them to be by force of theis presentē transported out of this Realme as³ aforesaid shall from tyme to tyme be dulle entered by the Customer Comptroller Collecto' or other officer to whome yt shall appteyne of eu'y such Porte or Haven where the same shall happen to be shipped or laden in the Custome booke belonging to the said porte or Haven before such tyme as the same shall be shipped or laden to be transported as aforesaid w^hout any Custome or subsidye to be paied for the same. And that in like manner all & all manner of gould & sylver whatsoeu' w^h shall be brought into this realme or any of o' dominions by the said Gou'no' & Companie or any of them accordinge to the true meaneinge of theis presentē shall be likewyse³ from tyme to tyme dulle entered by the Customer Comptroller or other officer of eu'y such Porte Creeke or place where the same gould or silver shall happen to be vnshipped or brought to land before such tyme as the same gould or silver, or any pte thereof shall be vnshipped or brought to land as ys aforesaid. PROVIDED alwaies neu'theles & o' will & pleasure is that theis o' tres Patentē or any thinge therein Con- teyned shall not in any sorte extend to giue or

This priviledg shall
not extend into any
place being in the
actuall possession of
any prince in league
or amytie wth her
maie.

¹ "We have not any liberty granted to carry out any gold by name but only sylver." (*Marginal note on Harl. MS.*)

² The other texts add "is."

³ The other texts transpose this and the preceding word.

graunte any lycence power or aucthoritie vnto the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies or to any of them to vndertake or addresse any trade vnto any Countrie Port, Iland, Haven, Cittie, Creeke Towne or place being alreadie in the lawfull & actuall possession of any such Christian Prince or state as at this present is or at any tyme heereafter shall be in league or amytie wth vs o' heires or successo^r, or wth doth not or will not accept of such trade but doth ouertlie declare and publishe the same to be vtterlie against his or their good will & likeing any thinge beinge¹ before in theis presentē conteyned to the Contrarie thereof notwthstandinge.

PROUIDED alsoe that yf yt shall heereafter appeare to vs o' heires or successo^r that this graunte, or the Continuance thereof in the wholle or in any pte thereof shall not be pffitable to vs o' o' heires and successo^r & to this o' Realme that then and from from thenceforth vpon & after two yeares warneinge to be geven to the said Company by vs o' heires or successo^r vnder o' or their priue seale or signe Manuell, this present graunt shall cease, be voided, and determined to all entente construcōns & purposes. And further of o' espetiall grace certeine knowledg & meere moōn we haue Condescended and graunted, and by theis presentē for vs o' heires and successo^r doe Condescend & graunte to the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies & their successo^r that yf att the end of the said tearme of fifteene yeares yt shall seeme meete & Convenient vnto the said Gou'no' & Company or any the pties aforesaid that this present graunte shall be continued. And yf that alsoe it shall appeare vnto vs o' heires and successo^r that the Continuance thereof shall not be preiudiciall or hurtfull to this o' Realme but that we shall finde the further continuance thereof proffitable for vs o' heires and successo^r and for our Realme wth such Condiōns as are herein mencioned, or wth some alteracōn or qualificacōn thereof that then we o' heires or successo^r at the instaunce and humble petiōn of the said Gou'no' and Company or any of them

If this priviledge be found unprofitable for the Realme then within 2 yeares warning given vnder y^e priue seale the same shall be voyde, but yf it shalbe found beneficiall then y^e same to be renewed with some addicions &c :

¹ Omitted in the other three texts.

to be made vnto vs o' heires & successoⁿ will graunte and make vnto the said Gou'no' and Company or any of them soe suinge for the same and such other pson or psons o'¹ subiecte as they shall nominate and appointe or shall be by vs o' heires or successoⁿ newly nominated not exceedinge in number fower & Twentie new tres Patentē vnder the greate scale of England in due forme of lawe w^h like graunte couenante² clauses & articles as in theis presentē are conteyned or w^h addiçōn of other necessarie articles or changeinge of theis into some other partē for and duringe the full terme of ffyfteene yeares then next followinge Willinge hereby and streightlie chardgeinge and Comaundeinge all & singuler o' Admiralls viceadmiralls Iustices Maiors Sheriffe Escheatoⁿ Cunstables bayliffe and all & singuler other o' Officers ministers leidgmen and subiecte whatsoeu' to be aydeinge favo'inge helpeinge and assistinge vnto the said Gou'no' and Company and to their successoⁿ and to their deputies officers ffactoⁿ servaunte assignes & mynisters and eu'y of them in executeing and enioyeinge the premisses aswell on land as on Sea from tyme to tyme when you or any of you shall there vnto be required any statute, acte, ordenance provisoe proclamaçōn or restraite heretofore had made sett forth ordeyned or puided, or any other matter cause or thinge whatsoeu' to the Contrarie in any wyse notw^hstandinge Although expresse mençōn of the true yearelie value or certeinete of the premisses or of any of them, or of any other Guifte or graunte by vs or any of o' progenitoⁿ to the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London tradinge into the East Indies, or to any of them before this tyme made in theis presentē is not made Or any statute Acte ordenaunce pvision pclamaçōn or restraite to the Contrary hereof heretofore had, made, ordeyned or puided, or any other thinge cause or matter whatsoeu' in any wyse notw^hstandinge.

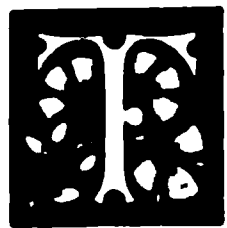
IN WITNES whereof wee haue caused theis o' tres to be made Patentē Witnes o' selfe att Westminster the xxxith day of December in the three & forteth yeare of o' Reigne

p bre de privato sigillo &c^a
Huberd.

¹ Or (*Harl MS.*)

² The other texts transpose this and the preceding word.

An agreem¹ wth W^{thm} Cobreth for discou'y of the Norwest
Passadge wth C:² Waymouth.



THIS Indenture made the xxth day of Aprill Anno Dni 1602. & in the 44th yeare of the Reigne of o^r sou'eigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: Betweene Thomas Cambell of London Alderman on thone ptie & W^{thm} Cobreth of Ratliffe in the Countie of Midds Mariner on thother ptye. Witnesseth that whereas a c'teine voyadge is p'tended by gode grace, to be made from hence into the Norwest pte of China, Cataia, or Iapan or any other land in the latitude of 50 Degres Northward in the pte of³ beyond the Seas. It is Couenanted, condescended, and now fullie agreed by and betweene the said pties to theis presentē in manner and forme following that is to saie. The said W^{thm} Cobreth for him his Executo^r and Administrato^r & for euery of them doth Couenant and graunte to and wth the said Thomas Cambell his Executo^r & Administrato^r & eu'y of them by theis p'sentē. That he the said W^{thm} Cobreth shall and will be readie in the Cittie of London & goe on the said voyadge, & therein Contynue for the discou'y of the said Norwest pte, from hence of China Cataia or Iapan or any other land in the latitude of 50 Degres Northward at the Comaundem^t will & appointm^t of Capt: George Waymouth in such a ship as the same Capten shall thinke good. And on the same voyadge shall proceede and saile effectuellie to thutmost of his skill or knowledg w^{thout} fraude or Coven, and not depte or goe from the said voyadge w^{thout} the spetiall lycence of the said Capt: George Waymouth first had and obtayned in that behalfe. In Considera^{ōn} whereof the said W^{thm} Cobreth hath receiued in hand at thensealeing & deliu'y hereof the some of xx^{li} of &c: in pte of paym^t of his wages for the said pretended voyadge, whereof he acknowleth himselfe fullie satisfied and contented. And the said Thomas Cambell for him his [executors] and Admini^r & for eu'y of them doth Couenante & graunte to & wth the said W^{thm} Cobreth his Executo^r & Admi^r by theis p'sentē That he the said

¹ See page 21.

² Captain.

³ A word has been omitted here.

Thomas Cambell his Execu or Ass^s shall well and trulie paie or cause to be paid vnto the said Wifm Cobreth his Execū or Ass^s vpon the discou'y of the said Norwest passadg or pte of China, Cataia, or Iapan, or any other land in the latitude of 50 Degres Northward and retourne from thence into the Realme of England the some of six pounde of &c, for eu'y monneth that the said Wifm Cobreth shall be vpon the said voyadge (the said xx^{li} paid in hand as aforesaid being reconed as pte & pcell thereof[]). Provided alwaies that yf the said Wifm Cobreth & his Comp. shall not fortune to discou' the said Norwest pte of China, Cataia or Iapan or any other Land in the Latitude of 50 Degres Northward as aforesaid: Then the said Thomas Cambell his Execū or Assignes shall well & trulie paie or cause to be paid vnto the said Wifm Cobreth his Executo^r or Assignes, onelie the some of iij^{li} of &c: for eu'y monneth that the said Wifm Cobreth shall be vpon the said voyadge the said xx^{li} paid in hand as aforesaid being alwaies accompted as pte & pcell thereof. In Witnes &c:



A Coppie of a tre of Reprisall for the East Indian
Marchaunte.¹



CHARLES Earle of Notingham² Baron of Effingham knight of the most noble order of the Garter, Lord Leiuetenante of her ma^{ties} Counties of Sussex & Surrey Constable of hir ma^{ties} hono^r³ and Castle of Windsor Ld: High Admirall of England Ireland and Wales and the Dominions & Iles of the same, Of the Towne of Callis & m^{ches} thereof Normandy Gascoyne and Guines & Capteine Gen^{all} of her ma^{ties} Seas & Navy royall. To all Christian People to whome theis presentē shall come or other wyse appteyne greeting in o^r Lord god eu^rlasting. Whereas o^r souereigne Lady

¹ See note on the subsequent document.

² Well known as the commander of the English fleet in its conflict with the Armada of 1588.

³ Cp. *Stow*, speaking of Whitehall, "King Henry VIII. ordained it to be called an knowe."

Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffrance & Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: beinge Credible adverticed that the kinge of Spaine hath of late made staye of the shipps goodē & m^rchandizes of hir ma^{ties}: loueing subiectē wthin the Realme of Spaine & Portingale & other places of his Dominions, & hath caused them their¹ being for the trade of m^rchandizes to be reteyned & kept in prizon Contrary to the order of Lawe & Iustice. Upon the humble and pitifull sute of hir ma^{ties} said subiectē the m^rchauntē owners & others interested in the said ships goodē and psonns soe stayed made to hir ma^{tie} for tres of Reprisalls to be graunted vnto them and that they not haueing any other meanes by order of Iustice to be yealded vnto them might by lycenced to stay apprehend and take the shipps goodē & m^rchandizes of the kinge of Spaine, or any his Subiectē wheresoeu^r vpon the Seas to aunsweare and satisfie the losse and damadge by them susteyned by reason of their ships and goodē soe taken and reteyned hath by her ma^{ties}: tres Patentē beareing date the ninth day of Iulie—1585. vnder her ma^{ties}: seale willed and authorized me as hir ma^{tye} Admirall to graunt Comission for the apprehending and takeing the shipps goodē & m^rchandizes of the kinge of Spaine, or any his subiectē to such hir ma^{ties} loueing subiectē soe dampnified & in such manner and forme and according to such articles & orders as by the lordē & others of her ma^{tye} privie Councell or by any six of them should be agreed vpon & set downe vnder their handē. And whereas tenn of the Lordē & others of her ma^{ties}: privy Councell haue agreed upon Certeine articles & orders in that behalfe & haue set downe the same in writeing vnder their handē & haue deliuered the same to me for my direcōn herein wth ar^{lrs} & orders be & remaine wth me of recorde. And whereas further the Gou^{no^r} and Assistantē & Companie of the m^rchauntē of London trading for the East Indies, haue made prooffe before me that certeine of their goodē shipps & m^rchandizes, were of late stayed arrested & deteyned in the pte of Spaine by the kinge order & authoritie there, & that the losse & damadge thereof vnto them by reason of the said stay & seasure ariseing doth amounte to the some of 2000^{li} ster: or thearaboutē wherevpon the said Gou^{no^r} & Assistauntē & Company of the m^rchauntē of London trading for

¹ There.

the East Indies aforesaid haue reedy victualled & furnished to the Seas one Shipp Called the Suzan¹ of London of the burthen of 250 Tonnes or thereaboutes whereof Iohn Havard goeth Capteine & Samuell Spencer m^r wth mariners & menn of Warr being victualled for monnethes & furnished wth Caste peeces & haue likewyse entred into bond in hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiralty that neither the said shipp nor any the Company thereof shall not attempt against any hir ma^{ties} loueing subiecte the subiecte of the ffrench kinge the kinge of Scotland Denmarke or Sweden or any the Inhabitants of the United provinces of the Haunce Townes or lowe Countries or the subiecte of any other Prince or potentate being in good league and amity wth her ma^{ties}, but onelie against the Subiecte of the kinge of Spaine: And alsoe shall bring or cause to be brought all such shippes gooder or m^cchandizes as they shall soe take & apprehend of the kinge of Spaine or any his subiecte together wth three or fower of the Company of eu^{er}y such prize as shall be of most accompte whereof the m^r & Pilott to be twoe to some porte of this hir ma^{ties} Realme of England as shall be most Convenient for them, And shall not breake, bulke, waste, spoyle, sell or diminish any such shippes & gooder soe taken vntill the shall be adiudged in hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiraltie to be lawfull prize. And therevpon an Inventorie to be taken by the viceadmirall of the place or his Deputie & other publique Officers of the same, And appraisment made of the same gooder by some six honest menn Inhabitant^e of the said Porte where they shall soe arriue, and that the same Inventory & appraisment shall be retourned into hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiraltie wthin six week^e then next ensueing. Know ye therefore that I the said Charles Earle of Notingham Lord High Ad^l aforesaid by vertue of her ma^{ties} said tres Pattente to me directed doe lycence and authorize the said Gou^rno^r & Assistaunte & Company of the m^cchaunte of London trading for the East Indies to sett forth to the Seas the said shipp called the Suzan, soe as is aforesaid

¹ This commission is only for the one vessel, the *Suzan*. But in the letter of instructions to the Judge of the Admiralty Court, which follows the present document, all the four ships are mentioned. It seems probable therefore that a separate commission was issued for each ship, of which this particular one was entered as a specimen.

furnished & munitied and therewth to sett vpon and by force of Armes to staie & apprehend of the ships goodē & m'chandizes of the kinge of Spaine, or any his subiectē in as ample manner as if it were in the tyme of open warr betwixt her ma^{ties}: & the said kinge of Spaine, & the said ships goodē & m'chandizes soe taken and brought into some porte of this hir ma^{ties} Realme of England, & thereof an Inventory taken, appraisment made & iudgment geuen in the said high Courte of the Admiraltie: in the said high Courte of the Admiralty for the Approbation of the same to be agood & lawfull prize in manner & forme aforesaid. Then the said ships goodē & m'chandizes to keepe and reteyne in his or their possession & to make sale & dispose thereof in open markett or howsoeuer els to their best benefitt in as ample & beneficiall manner, as if the said ships goodē & m'chandizes had bene Come by, through the lawfull traffique & trade of m'chauntē or of iust prize in the tyme of open warr betwixt hir ma^{ties} & the said kinge of Spaine soe that neither the said Capteine master nor any the Company thereof that shall in his or their owne person serue in the shipp aforesaid, or otherwyse bear Chardge in the Adventure, or in any other sorte further or sett forwardē the said enterprize in manner & forme aforesaid, shall not be reputed or challendged for any offendor against hir ma^{ties} lawes and that alsoe it shall be lawfull for any manner of person to buye the said ships goodē & m'chandizes soe as aforesaid taken prayzed Inventoryed & adiudged without any daunger losse hindraunce trouble molestacion or incumbrance whatsoeuer Provided alwaies that yf by Color of this Comission there shall be taken any shippes goodē or m'chandizes of any hir ma^{ties}: loucing subiectē the subiectē of the ffrench kinge, the kinge of Scotland Denmarke or Sweden or any the Inhabitantē of the united prouinces of the hance Townes or lowe Countries or the subiectē of any other Prince or Potentate being in good league & amity wth hir ma^{ties} & the same or any other shippes taken by authoritie hereof shalbe spoyled sould imbeaselled or dyminished before they shall be adiudged in her ma^{ties} high Courte of the Admiraltie: to belong to the king of Spaine, or any of his subiectē that then this Comission to be void and of noe sufficient authoritie, either to take the said shippes & goodē or to warrante

or saue harmlesse such as shall receiue, bye or intermeddle therein, but that alsoe both the prizes soe taken, & the shippes of warr shall be Confiscate to o^r vse. Prouided alsoe that the said shippes goodes and m^cchandizes soe as is aforesaid, after an Inventory taken, appraisment made & iudgment geuen in manner and forme aforesaid shall be equallie devided into three ptes, whereof one pte to goe to the m^cchaunte & owners of the said shipp, another pte to the victuallers & the third parte to the Captaine master mariners & souldiers thereof. Provided further that this Comission shall remaine and be in force during this their present voyadg, & noe longer In witnes whereof I haue herevnto caused the greate seale of myne office to be affixed: Yeuen at London in hir ma^{ties} high Courte of the Ad^v aforesaid the 23th day of Aprill. 1601. And in the 43th yeare of the Reigne of o^r sou^eigne Lady Elizabeth by the grace of god Queene of England ffraunce & Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c :



A tre from the Earle of Notingham to m^r Ceasar¹ Iudge of the high Courte of the Ad^v :



C Ceasar the marchaunte of London haueing prepared fower good shippes for the voyadg to the East Indies in the trade of m^cchandizes haue beene sutoⁿ vnto me² for Comission to take any shippes or goodes belonging to the king of Spaine or to any of his subiectes either in their way outwarde, or in their retourne, w^{ch} I haue beene Contented to graunte vnto them. Therefore I doe pray you to cause Comission to be drawen for them, to furnish vnto the

¹ See note 2, page 25.

² Nothing can be traced in the Court Minutes as to this application. The only reference to the matter is under date of 22nd Jan., 1600/1, when, the question having been raised of the mariners' share "upon such reprisals as may happen in the "voyage," it was answered that there was "no intention to make any attempt for "reprisals, but only to pursue the voyage in a merchantlike course. Yet notwithstanding if any opportunity be offered without prejudice or hazard of the said "voyage" Captain Lancaster was to take such course therein as he should think meet

Seas in warlike manner for that purpose, the Read Dragon of London, whereof Iames Lancaster goeth Capteine, The Hecto^r the Assençon & the Suzan of the same Porte vnder such articles & Cauçon as are prescribed by hir ma^{tie} for reprisalls, for w^{ch} yo^r soe doing this shall be yo^r warrante, ffrom the Courte at Whitehall the 14th of Ianuary 1600.

Yo^r loueing freind
Notingham



Lres Pattente¹ for transportaçon of 20000^{li} in money to the
Gou^rno^r of East India 1606.



JAMES by the grace of God kinge of England ffraunce and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: To all to whome theis presentē shall come greetinge. Wheareas o^r late deare sister Q: Elizabeth by her tres Patente vnder the greate seale of England beareing date at Westminster the xxxjth day of Decemb^r in the xliijth yeare of her Reigne vpon petiçon made vnto her by diu's her loueing Subiectē, for her Royall assent and lycence to be graunted vnto them. That they at their owne Adventure Costē and Chardgē aswell for the Honor of this Realme of England, as for increase of Navigaçon & Advancem^t of Trade of m^cchandize w^{thin} the same, might Adventure and set forth c^teine voyadge wth a Convenient number of shippes and Pinnaces by way of Traffique & m^cchandize into the East Indies in the Countries and Porte of Asia & Africa did incorporate the said Peticioners into abodie pollitique by the name of the Gou^rno^r and Companie of the m^cchaunte of London trading to the East Indies. To haue hould and enioye the sole benefitt of the trade and traffique of the said East Indies for the space of xv yeares from the byrth of o^r Lord God then last past before the date of the said tres Patente. And

¹ There is no entry of this document in the *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, and it would seem that the copy here printed is the only one extant. The origin and scope of the Patent are clearly explained in the document itself.

whereas by the same tres Patent^e lycence was graunted to the said Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies to transporte out of this Realme into the said Indies in eu'y of their voyadge duringe the said terme of 15 yeares all such fforreigne Coyne of silver, spanish or other fforraine sylver, or bullion of sylver, as they should duringe the said tearme bringe or cause to be brought into this Realme of England, from the pte beyond the Seas, either in the same kinde, stampe, sorte or fashion, w^{ch} yt should haue when they brought it in, or in any other forme, stampe, or fashion coyned in the Mynte w^{thin} the Tower of London; soe as the whole quantities of Coyne or moneys by them to be transported in any their said voyage during the said tearme should not exceed the value of 30000^l in any one voyadge, and soe as the some of vj^m poundes at the least pcell of the said some or value of 30000^l to be transported as aforesaid should be first Coyned w^{thin} the same Tower of London, before the same might be transported in any of the said voyadge as by the said tres Patent^e more at lardge appeareth.

Now forasmuch as the said Gou'no' and Companie of the said m'chant^e since the said tres Patent^e to them graunted, haue made 2 seu'all voyadge into the said East Indies, & retourned their ships from thence laden wth sundrie kinde of m'chandizes pffitable for o' kingdomes, and haue alsoe prepared & are readie to set forth an other voyadge into the said East Indies, & haue humblie besought by peti^{ti}on, & shewed vnto vs, that by experience they haue form'lie found that they could not wthout greate difficultie, & losse vnto them in the value of their moneys new coyned, make trade for their m'chandize into the said East Indies, because they were not such as the people of those pte were acquainted wthall: but stamped wth an Image or supscrip^{ti}on straunge & vnknowne vnto them.¹ And that they haue beene and are desierous by all good meanes to manadge, & carrie their said trade as neare as they Cann for the benefitt of o' kingdomes and dominions rather by the transporta^{ti}on of the Natiue Comodities of the same and by bartringe & exchange of them for fforreine Comodities w^{ch} now they purpose more

¹ See note, page 13.

lardglie to attempt and haue good hope to accomplish, then by vsing the whole libertie graunted to them by the said tres Patente for carrying out of the full some of 30000^l in eu'y voyage in manner aforesaid. And that they will content them selues in this their now third entended voyage into the East Indies, wth the libtie of transportinge xx^m onelie in forreine Coynes wthout transporta^on of any other Coyne, bullion, or silver. In regard whereof they did humblie pray in their said peti^on that we would be graciouslie pleased to graunte them lycence that they may transporte the value of xx^m of forreine Coyne in this their entended voyage, wthout new coyninge the same or any pte thereof. Know yee therefore that we favoringe the said m'chant^e, & being desierous to giue them all furtherance & encouradgm^t to proceede & goe forward in their trade of o' especiall grace, certeine knowledge and meere mo^on, haue geuen and graunted, and by theis present^e for vs, o' heires & Successo^r doe giue and graunte lycence vnto the said Gou'no^r and Companie of m'chaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies. That it shall and may be lawfull for them their facto^r & Assignes in his^l now p'tended voyage into the East Indies to transporte out of this o' Realme of England all such forreine Coine or sylver, either spanish or other forreine silver, as they haue prepared, pcured, or gotten, or shall prepare pcure or gett being alredie brought or to be brought from the part^e beyond the seas, before the deptime of their shippes out of the Ryver of Thames. Soe as the whole quantitie of the Coyne and moneys by them to be transported in this their p'sent intended voyage toward^e the said East Indies, doe not exceed the said value of 20000^l. The same to be transported in the same kinde, sorte, stampe, or fashion, as the said moneys, are or shall be pcured, gotten, or brought into this Realme of England, and that wthout any new coyninge or altringe the said moneys or any pte thereof, from the stampe it beareth, any statute restrainte or phibi^on in that behalfe made to the Contrarie in any wyse notwthstandinge. In Witnes whereof we haue caused theis o' tres to be made Patente. Witnes o' selfe at Westminster the vth day of Ianuarie

¹ Should evidently be 'this'

in the 4th yeare of o^r Reigne of England ffrance & Ireland,
& of Scotland the xlth.¹

Ravencroft
p bre de priuato sigillo &c :



A COPPIE² of the Patent for mitigacōn of the Statute
for garbling spices.



JAMES by the grace of God king of England Scotland
ffraunce and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: To o^r
high Treasurer, and Admirall of England, and to all
other o^r Admiralls Viceadmiralls Captaines and others
seruinge vpon the Sea. And to all Maiors Sheriffe Constables
Customers Comptrollers Surveyo^r Searchers, Keeps of o^r Porte,
Creeke and Passadge and to all others o^r Officers Ministers, and
subiecte whatsoeu^r to whome in that behalfe it shall or may
appteine and to eu^y of them greetinge. Wheareas in the first
Session of o^r Parliament holden at Westminster, in the first yeare
of o^r Reigne of England ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the
seaven and thirteth one Acte³ was made intituled an Acte for the
well garbling of Spices wheareby it was ordeyned & enacted that
from and after the last day of September then next ensueing the
end of that Session of Parliam^t, All spices wares druggē and
other m^cchandizes garbleable, that is to say Pepp, Cloues, Mace,
Nutmegge, Cynamon, Ginger Long Pepper, Wormeseede⁴,
Comynseede, Annyseede, Colyanderseede, Bynny pepp Almonde

¹ 5th Jan. 1606/7.

² The original grant is preserved among the India Office "Parchment Records" (No. 3). it is, however, in so damaged a condition that it has not been found practicable to collate it with the present document. A Minute of the License is in the Public Record Office (*Grant Bk.*, Jac. I., p. 28). For the petition which led to its issue, see page 205.

³ 1^o Jac. I. c. 19.

⁴ Semen Contra, Semen Cinæ, Semen Sanctum, Santolin, the seeds of *Artemisia maritima* (*A/ianim-[d]iirther-ul-baher*), *A. vulgaris*, *A. judaea* and other species of *Artemisia*. It would seem (see note 2 on next page) that wormseed was at this time occasionally included under the term "Zedoary."

Date Galles Gumes of all sorte and kinde garbleable Spikenard
Galingath¹ Turmericke, Setweth² Cassia fistula Gynny Pepp

¹ Galangal (*Kulanjan*), the tuberous root of *Alpinia Galanga* and other species of *Alpinia* (see note 2).

² Obviously the copyist's corruption of *Setwall*, the "cetewale" and "setewale" of Chaucer and "setuale" of Spenser, corruptions of the Low Latin *zedoaria*, a corruption of the Arabo-Persian *djeduar*, a denomination which in the mediæval commerce of Europe with India originally included *Zedoaria rotunda*, the tuber of *Curcuma Zedoaria*, *Zedoaria longa*, the tuber of *Curcuma Zerumbet*, *Zedoaria flava*, or *Cassu-manar*, the tuber of *Zingiber Cassu-manar*, and *Zerumbet*, the tuber of *Zingiber Zerumbet*, the last trade denomination being a corruption of the Arabo-Persian *zurumbad*. Chaucer and Spenser, however, by *Setwall* probably meant either the "Common Valerian" (*Valeriana officinalis*) or "Spanish Valerian" (*V. pyrenaica*); and our English botanists of the seventeenth century also included under the term the drug Spikenard, the *sumbul* or *jatamansi* of the bazaars of India, the fleshy rhizome of the "Himalayan Valerian" (*Nardostachys Jatamansi*), the *vâpōs πικρικός* of the Gospels of St. Mark and St. John, where the qualifying adjective (meaning in Greek "faithful," "genuine") obviously came to be attached to the substantive *vâpōs* (the Persian *nard* from the Sanskrit *nar*, "a perfume") from its phonetic resemblance to the Sanskrit *fisita*, "fleshy." As, however, "Spikenard" is separately denominated in the previous line of the present list of drugs, while "Setweth" is named after "Galingath" and "Turmericke," it is clear that in the early trade of the Company, *Setwall* still continued to stand for one or more of the varieties of *Zedoary* above enumerated.

"A chambir had he in that hostillerye
Alone, withouten eny compaignye,
Ful fetisly i-dight with herbes soote,
And he himself as swete as is the roote
Of lokorys, or eny cetewale"

Chaucer: *Milleres Tale*

"Ther was eke waxing many a spice,
As clove gelofre, and lycorice,
Gyngevre, and greyn de Parys,
Canelle, and setewale of prys"

Chaucer: *Roman of the Rose*

Embathed Balme and chearfull Galingale

Dull Poppy and drinke quenching Setuale

Spenser: *Maypole*

Went forth when May was in her prime (O S)
To get sweet Setywale"

Drayton: *Pastorals*, Ec: IV.

See also John Gerarde's *Herball or Generall Historie of Plants* (London, 1633): and the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius (London, 1585), in which the entry regarding *Zedoary* is—"Zadura vulgo Zedoaria. Cretonart Zedoarie, or [as some say]

Senie¹ Barbaries² Rise³ Erius⁴ Stavisaker⁵, Calamus ffemyquicke⁶ Cassia Lignum Graines⁷ Carrowaie seede and all other spices drugges wares and other m'chandizes that had beene vsuallie garbled, or ought to be garbled clensed seuered sorted or deuided in the Cittie of London and the libties thereof, should for the ffees vsuallie allowed in that behalfe be sufficientlie clensed seuered garbled and deuided, and afterwarde settled⁸ by the Garbler therevnto appointed for the tyme being, or by his sufficient Deputie or Deputies servant or servant before that the same or any pte thereof should be sould vpon payne of fforsfecture of all and eu'ry such spices drugges wares or other m'chaundizes, or the value thereof w^h should be sould as by the said Acte more at lardge appeth. And whereas the true intent and meaneing of the said Acte was that none of the said spices drugges wares and m'chandizes brought into this Realme should be vttered or sould to the end to be vsed in meate drinke, or other needfull occasions amongst o' subiecte w^hin this Realme before such tyme as the same were sufficientlie clensed seuered garbled and deuided as is

wormseede." In Florio's *Worlds of Words* (London, 1598). It is:—"Zedoaria, the herbe Zederie, or wormseede;" and in Skinner's *Etymologicon* (London, 1671):—"Setwall, Valeriana sic dicta vel quod seratur circa Muros, vel quod Muros sponte sua obsideat." The term "Cretonart" in the above quotation from the *Nomenclator* of Adrianus Junius I find again only in Vansleb's *Present State of Egypt* (London, 1678), where it follows Ginger, in the list of druggists' roots exported from Egypt in the seventeenth century.

¹ Senna, the leaves of *Cassia elongata*, *C. Senna*, and other species of *Cassia*; or possibly *Radix Chinæ*, the root of *Smilax China*, enumerated by Vansleb under the name of "Sine," in French "Squine," among the exports from Egypt in the seventeenth century.

² "Barbaries" may here stand for Aleppo Senna (*Cassia obovata*), as in the case of Barbary Wormseed; but most probably the drug indicated is the extract (*rusul*) of the wood of *Berberis Lyrium* and other species of Barberry.

³ Rice.

⁴ Perhaps *rrindi*, the seeds of *Ricinus communis*, the Common Castor Oil plant.

⁵ The seeds (*hub-ul-jabbul*) of *Delphinium Staphisagria*, Stavesacre.

⁶ Fennugreek, the seeds of *Trigonella Foenum Græcum*.

⁷ Grains of Paradise ("greyn de Parys" in the extract from the *Romanus of the Rose* quoted above), called also "Attare" and "Malaguetta Pepper," the seeds of *Amomum Grana Paradisi*, *A. grandiflorum*, *A. xanthioides*, and other species of *Amomum*; and Cardamoms, the seeds of *Alpinia*, now *Elettaria Cardamomum*, are sometimes included under the term.

⁸ "Sealed" in the Act, which is evidently the proper reading.

aforesai[d] And the true meaneing of the same Acte did not in any wyse extend to the clensing seu'ing garbling and deuiding of any such of the said spices druggē wares and m'chandizes, as should be transported out of this Realme in such sorte as they were brought into the same And wheareas yt is found that by some generall worde that passed in the said Acte, no wares marchandizes or Comodities that are garbleable being brought into this Realme can be sould betweene m'chaunt and m'chaunte vngarbled to the intent to transporte the same into the ptē beyond the seas but the seller therof by the strict tre of the said statute shall thereby be in danger to forfeit all the said spices druggē wares and marchandizes w^{ch} he shall soe sell vngarbled. And wheareas o' loueing subiectē the Gou'no' and Companie of m'chauntē of London trading into the East Indies, haue crediblie informed vs that they haueing latelie brought from the said East Indies into this o' Realme a greate quantitie of spico and other wares and comodities garbleable more then can be vttered and spent wthin this Realme in many yeares, & haue been therefore humble suiters to vs to haue o' lycense to sell some of the same spices in grosse to other m'chauntē to be transported in grosse into diu's place beyond the seas w^{ch} by reason of the said Statute they make doubt to doo wthout o' spetiall lycense in that behalfe, w^{ch} favo' if we graunte them not, and that verie speedelie other m'chantē of other naçons will happilie prevent them in serucing those places wth such like spices & soe theirs shall lye vpon their handē to their greate losse and damadge. Know ye therefore that we grationslie tendring the welfare and Comoditie of o' said loueing subiectē the Gou'no' and Company of m'chantē of London trading into the East Indies. And to the end they may be the better enabled to maineteyne and Continue their trade and traffique in the said East Indies of o' espetiall grace c'teine knowledg and mere motion haue geuen and graunted & by theis presentē for vs o' heires and Successo^r doe giue and graunt full and free libtie licence power & authoritie vnto the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chauntē of London tradinge into the East Indies and to their Successo^r that it shall & may be lawfull to & for them & eu'y of them hereafter to vtter sell and put to sale any of the said spices druggē wares and m'chandizes by them

or any of them alreadie brought from any pte of the said East Indies into this Realme or any pte thereof in whole packes sackes or Caskes vnbroken vngarbled & not clensed seu'ed sorted or deuided to any m'chant or m'chaunte aswell o' naturall borne subiecte as Aliens Benicens¹ or Straungers that shall wthin the space of 3 monnethes next after the date thereof transporte the same in whole packe sacke or Caskes vnbroken as aforesaid into any the pte beyond the Seas wthout any damadge losse forfeiture and penaltie against the said Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies, or against any of them by vs o' heires or successo^r, or to o' or their vse and behoofe to be had lost forfeited or incurred or wthout any manner let interrupcion or disturbance of any other pson or psons whatsoeu' The said statute or any other thinge to the Contrarie thereof in any wise notwthstanding. And we doe further for vs o' heires and Successo^r of o' like especiall grace certeine knowledge and mere mocon giue and graunte full free and lawfull power & authoritie vnto all and eu'y m'chant and m'chant^e whatsoeu' aswell o' naturall borne subiecte as Aliens Denizens & straungers that they and eu'y or any of them shall and lawfullie may bargaine for buy receiue and take of the said Gou'no' and Company of marchaunte of London trading into the East Indies and their Successo^r for the tyme being, or of any of them, any of the said spices drugges wares and m'chandizes in whole sacke packe or Caskes not broken as aforesaid vngarbled and not clensed seu'ed sorted or deuided & the same spices Drugges wares & m'chandizes soe b'gayned for, bought receiued & taken & eu'y pte and pcell thereof in such and the same sorte as the same shall be bought in whole packe whole sacke or in Caske not broken up wthin this o' Realme of England or any pte thereof after the same shall be soe sould by the said Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies as is aforesaid shall and may lawfullie and freelie wthin the space of three monnethes next followinge after the said date thereof transporte carrie or Convey out of any porte haven Creeke or other place of

lading or vnlading wthin o^r Realme of England into any the part^e beyond the seas and theare at their free wills liberties and pleasures vtter sell distribute and dispose the same to their or any of their most proffitt Comoditie and aduantage wthout any damadge losse forfeiture or penaltie against them or any of them by vs o^r heires or Successo^r or to o^r or their vse and behoofe to be had lost forfeited or incurred and wthout any manner lett interrup^{ti}on or disturbance of any other p^{er}son or p^{er}sons whatsoe^r, The said statute or any other thinge to the Contrarie thereof in any wise notwthstandinge Paying vnto vs o^r heires and Successo^r from time to tyme all and eu^{er}y such Customes subsidies, somes of money, and other duties as are or ought to be aunsweared and paid vnto vs o^r heires and successo^r for or by reason of the transporta^{ti}on of any of the said spices drugg^e wares and m^{er}chandizes so to be transported as aforesaid.

Provided alwaies neu^{er}thelesse that if there shall not be from tyme to tyme and at all tymes hereafter sufficient quantitie or store of the said spices drugg^e wares and Merchandizes to be garbled clensed seuered sorted and deuided left and being wthin this o^r Realme of England & to be vsed spent and occupied by o^r loueing subiect^e wthin the same Realme in their meate drinke and other needfull occasions, and the sane to be sould vttered and put to sale to any of o^r said loueinge subiect^e at reasonable and indifferent prices That then and from thence forth aswell the said Gou^{er}no^r and Companie of m^{er}chant^e of London tradinge into the East Indies shall cease and forbear to sell and vtter any of the said spices drugg^e wares and m^{er}chandizes vngarbled as is aforesaid as alsoe the said m^{er}chant^e and others shall cease and forbear to buy receiue and take the same vngarbled any thing before in theis present^e to the Contrarie in any wyse notwthstandinge.

Although expresse men^{ti}on of the cleire yearelie value, or c^{er}teynetie of the premisses or of any of them or of any other guifte or graunte by vs or any of o^r progenitors to the said Gou^{er}no^r and Company of m^{er}chant^e heretofore made in those¹ present^e is not made, or any statute Acte Ordinance p^{ro}vision proclama^{ti}on or restraite to the contrarie thereof made ordeyned

¹ These?

or prouided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoeu' to the contrarie notwthstanding. In witnes whereof we haue caused theis o' tres to be made Patent. Witnes o' selfe at Westminster the ixth day of August in the fourth yeare of o' reigne of England ffrance & Ireland & of Scotland the xlth.¹

p bre de priuato sigillo. Tho: Ravenscrofte.



1606

To the kinge most excellent ma^{ty}:

The humble petiçon² of yo' ma'c faithfull Subiecte the m'chant of London trading [into] the East Indies.



AY it please yo' sacred ma^{ty}: to be informed that in the first year of yo' most happie reigne there passed an Acte against vttering of c'teine spice vngarbled vsed in meate drinke and other needfull occasions amongst yo' ma'c Subiecte whereby greate deceite hurte & damadge

Humble praying that yo' ma^{ty} will be pleased to grant them a respite vpon the statute for garbling made in the first yeare of yo' highnes Reigne for such spices & other merchandise vngarbled as shall be transported out of the Realme according to their chart without danger of lawe. And for yo' ma^{ty} better satisfaction & informacon y^e this their request is iuste and reasonable, & according to thintent of y^e said statute they humble desire that the consideration thereof may be by yo' highnes referred to the Lo:

happened to such as bought and vsed the same: ffor remedie whereof, the said Acte was purposely made & not for garbling such spice as should be transported out of yo' Realmes But by some generall worde in the said Acte it is comprized contrarie to the true meaneing thereof that noe comodities brought into this Realme garbleable cann be sould betweene m'chaunt and m'chaunt vngarbled to thintent the same may be transported into fforreine pte, but the seller thereof, by the strict tre of the said statute is in danger to forfeit all the said spice he shall soe sell vngarbled. Now soe it is most Excellent ma^{ty}:

¹ 1606.

² The loss of the second volume of Court Minutes prevents us from tracing the events that led up to this petition; but the reasons for it are explained very clearly in the document itself, and the result of the application is shewn by the preceding entry, which is that of the letters patent issued in compliance with the Company's prayer.

cheefe iustice of England & the Lord cheef iustice of the comon ples, or such other learned in the lawe as yo^r ma^{tie} shall thinke fitt.

That yo^r m^rchant^e of London trading [into] the East Indies, haueing latelie brought from thence into this kingdome a greate quantitie of spices more then this land can vtter in manie yeares, or the Garblers can garble in any due tyme fitt for the sale thereof: They are desirous to sell some pte thereof vngarbled to be transported beyond the Seas as by Charter they are allowed: But by reason of the said statute they make doubt to doe the same, for avoieding of danger By meanes whereof the shall be much inabled¹ to furnish the like voyadge againe in any convenient tyme the w^{ch} will proue hurtfull vnto yo^r ma^{tie} in yo^r Customes and to yo^r people, & a greate discouradgm^t to yo^r m^rchaunt^e to proceed in the same Trade, whoe in verie truth, hartelie doe desier abundantlie to supplie the want^e of the land wth the best of their spices, at reasonable rat^e & not to haue any of the same spent wthin yo^r Realme, but what shall be garbled according to the said statute: But those onelie to be exempt that by way of m^rchandize shalbe sent beyond the Seas. May it therefore please yo^r sacred ma^{tie}: That for yo^r highnes better informa^{cion} what was the true intent of the said statute, to referr the Considera^{cion} thereof to the Lo: cheefe iustice of England & the Lo: cheefe iustice of the comon ples & such other learned in the Law as yo^r ma^{tie}: shall thinke fitt. And if they vpon due examina^{cion} thereof shall soe hold it reasonable. That yo^r ma^{tie} would then be pleased to graunte vnto yo^r Petitioners a *non obstante* vpon the said statute for selling of spices & other m^rchandize vngarbled, soe as the spices be transported, & not retailed or spent wthin the Realme. And as most bound we pray God giue yo^r ma^{tie}: a long & most happie reigne ou^r vs.

A reference from his ma^{tie}:

The k^e ma^{tie} is pleased that the Lo: Th^rer & Earle of Salisburie shall vpon conference wth the twoe LL cheefe Iustices consider whether this desier of the m^rchant^e be against [the] true intent of the statute, or noe: & whether it be wthout p^riudice to

¹ The sense seems to require "disabled."

the Realme that such a *non obstante* vpon the said statute be graunted & if they finde it reasonable to be done that they giue order to his ma'ᵑ Attorney to drawe such a booke as shall be requisite

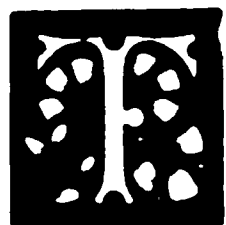
Tho: Lake.



1606.¹

To the right Ho: the Lorde of his ma^{ties} most
Ho: privie Councill.

The Petición of the Comp: of m'chantᵑ trading into the
East Indies humblie shewing.



THAT wheares by o' Charter we are lycensced to carrie for the said Indies eu'y voyage to the some of 30000^l of all such fforreine Coines as we shall bring into this kingdome soe as 6000^l theareof be heare first Coyned: Now soe it is right Ho: that the Companie haueing made twoe voyadge wth retournes verie comodious to his ma^{ties} in his Customes and his Realmes, & haue alsoe now alredie sent forth a 3 voyadg & are in a redines to sett forth a 4th voyage, aswell for those place where they haue form'lie beene as for discou'y of furder trade in those pte, & are desirous to manadge & carrie their trade as neare as they can rather by the transportaçon of o' Natiue Comoditie[s] then by vsing the benefitt granted them for transportaçon of fforreine coine as aforesaid: But thingᵑ soe stand that as yett noe trade cann be theare driuen wthout some moneys, & espetiallie such fforreine coines as they are acquainted wthall. In consideraçon whereof & forasmuch as in o' c'teine knowledge diu's of o' Company haue latelie brought into this Realmes greate somes of fforreine Coines farr exceeding that wth

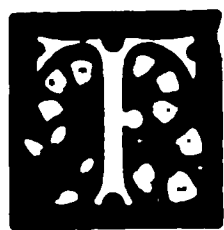
¹ This date is evidently wrong, even if it is to be read 1606/7. The ships of the *Third Voyage* did not sail till March, 1606/7, and preparations for the *Fourth* were not commenced until the following May. Taken in connection with the related documents, it seems more likely that the present petition should be assigned, at the earliest, to the autumn of 1607.

we now requier: We humblie beseech that by yo^r ho: good favo^r his ma^{tie} may be moued to vouchsaffe vs his highnes graunte for transporta^{cion} in theis o^r shipps for theast Indies the some of 15000^{li} onelie in forreine coines, wthout new coyning any pte thereof: & the rather in regard y^t forasmuch as we haue form^rlie had in the first voyadge, much difficultie and losse in such moneys as weare heare coyned by reason those people ar altogether vnacquainted wth the stamp of this kingdome, beside the stay of o^r shipps now for coyning thereof wilbe to thutter ou^rthrow of the voyadge. And we as most bound beseech god to geue yo^r Lo^{ps}: all health and happines.



To the right Ho: the Lordē of his ma^{ties}: most
Ho: priuie councell.

The Peti^{cion} of the Company of m^rchauntē trading into
the East Indies humblie shewing.



THAT whearas of late vpon o^r humble Peti^{cion} it pleased yo^r lops: for the reasons therein mencioned to conceiue it fitt we should be pmitted to transporte 15000^{li} in fforreine Coines of those 30000^{li} graunted vs by o^r Charter, & that wthout new coyning any pte thereof. The w^{ch} some of 15000^{li} vpon better advice & Considera^{cion} of o^r inten^{cion} funder to discou^r & enlarde that trade, we vnderstand will not be sufficient (notwthstanding the comodities we now carrie of dyvers sortē) to manadge the same wth good order, & for retournes in this present voyadge. We therefore humblie pray that by yo^r honorable good favo^r his ma^{tie} may be now moued to vouchsaffe vs his highnes graunte for transporta^{cion} in theis o^r ships for the East Indies the some of 20000^{li} in forreine Coines in place of the said 15000^{li} wthout new coyning any pte thereof. And as most bound we pray god giue you all health & happines.





HEAREAS¹ we haue hired diu's saylo^m to goe in o^r voyadg now intended for the East Indies who haue not onelie subscribed to o^r Booke, to pforme the same but alsoe haue receiued wage of vs & some ymprest moneys, and yet we may doubt (as in form^r tyme hath beene vsed) that aswell before the shippes were readie to depte, as at their deptime some of such a number may be missing not onelie wth o^r losse, but alsoe tending to the ou^rthrowe of the wholle voyadge: ffor preven^on thereof we humblie pray that a warrant may be graunted, or some convenient meanes vsed for app^rhen^on & ponishm^{te} of such as are or shall goe away or depte & absent them selues from their place and service in this present voyadg after they shall be hired and agreed wthall.

for app^rhen^on of
such saylers as shall
goe away.



To the Lord High Admirall of England



HEAREAS we are informed that there now is a presse for men to be sent downe to Chatham & we are in doubt that thereby o^r men appointed for bringing in one of o^r shippes into the docke at Debtford may be pressed thither, the w^{ch} will proue an exceeding hindrance vnto the voyadge w^{ch} we are now in hand to prepare for theast Indies. We humblie pray that yo^r Lo^p: wilbe pleased to graunte yo^r warrant that o^r men may not be taken from vs in this tyme of necessitie: & soe much the rather as the omitting of this oportunitie of bringing the said shipp now into the Docke may be the ou^rthrow of o^r said intended voyadge.

A peticon not to
presse men from o^r
shippe.



¹ No date or superscription is given, but from the almost literal agreement of the wording with the resolution recorded in the Court Minutes of 23rd Jan. 1606/7 (see page 110, note), it seems probable that the present document is a copy of the application that was then ordered to be made to the Judge of the Admiralty, or, if necessary, to the Lord High Admiral.

To the kinge most excellent ma^{tie}:¹



THAT wheareas now after a longe & chardgable voyadge such retournes as we made from thence is for the most pte pepp, & in such quantitie as we shall not be able to vent the same neither at home nor abroad, but wth intollerable losse, and discouradgm^t to follow that trade any further vnlesse Restraint be made that noe pepp be brought hither from any the pte beyond the Seas till we shall be able to haue made sale of o^r, and soe much the rather for that how willing soeu^r we shalbe to afford the same at any lowe rate, yet the Netherlanders studious how to wearie vs out of that trade by prevençons in o^r sales & retournes both in theast Indies and heare at home, will soe watch their times as they will much hurte vs either by affording to o^r People bad pepp better Cheepe, to beate downe the prize of o^r better pepp wth the hurte of the comons of this land whoe buie the same for their owne spendinge, or by some other deuicē, as by experience we daylie finde. Now forasmuch as we will be eu^r readie to afford o^r best pepp at such rate as shall be reasonable not exceeding ij^s a pounce we most humblie beseech yo^r sacred ma^{tie}: of yo^r gracious clemencie in consideraçon hereof, to vouchsaſſe vs yo^r most Princelie warrant for restrayning aswell yo^r ma^{tie} subiecte, as any other to bring any pepp into any yo^r ma^{tie} dominions from any forreine pte for the space of yeares next ensueing vnles it be by vs from theast Indies. And we as most bound beseech thalmightie God to giue yo^r ma^{tie}: a longe and happie reigne ou^r vs.



¹ The date of this petition may be fixed as some time in November, 1609. There are several references in the Court Minutes to the negotiations on the subject, which resulted in the issue, on the 30th November of that year, of a Royal Proclamation inhibiting the importation of pepper from foreign parts by any other persons than those of the East India Company, and limiting the price at which they should sell it to two shillings and sixpence per pound. [See *Cal. S. P., East Indies*, 1513-1616, pages 196-199, and *The Voyage of Sir Henry Middleton* (Hakluyt Society, 1855), Appendix, page 43, where the proclamation is printed at length.] It appears that the Company had offered to pay a tax of sixpence per pound on all pepper sold under this monopoly, and this no doubt had a great influence in obtaining for them the desired favour.

To the right ho: the lordē of his ma'e most
hono: priuie Councell.

The petiōn of the Company of East India m'chantē humblie
shewing vnto yo' Lo^{ds}:¹

THAT wheareas we haue alredie wth o' greate chardge &
Adventure settled a trade in the East Indies verie
pffittable for this comon wealth & for furder enlardgm^t
thereof, are even now prepareing of shipps & other
puicōns wth good hope that the same will proue dailie more &
more Comodious aswell for ventinge of o' natie
Comodities, as for retournes of thingē verie need-
full for this o' land at reasonable rate.

That none but yo^r
Company may trade
to the East Indies.

Soe it is right Hono: that ptelie by reason of S' Edw:
Michelbornes hard dealingē in the East Indies² by surprising the
ships & goodē of some such as we haue & of others whome we
intend to haue trade wthall, vpon p'tence they ar Infidells: & ptlie
for that there is some reporte that theare are others suiters alsoe
for Commission to doe the like: Not onelie the most of the
cheefest of the Companie are discouradged to Adventure any
more: but alsoe such as haue alreadie sett downe their Adven-
tures begynn to drawe backe whereby vnlesse some good course
be taken herein, that trade will whollie decay wth the intollerable
hurte & dishono' of this o' land & nation.

In consideraōn whereof & forasmuch as we giueing ou' the
trade yt will remaine whollie in the handē of the Hollenders:
whoe as they haue endeavored to bringe the same to passe by diu's
kinde of meanes: soe it is not to be doubted but that they will
then sell such thingē, as now are, or shalbe brought thence at
what Rate them please. Wee humblie beseech: That by yo'
honorable good meanes some convenient course may be entred
into, to take away theis & such like obstacles as may hinder soe
good & honorable an endevor: the w^{ch} wilbe easilie effected, if
that from hencforth noe way be geuen to any such Comission
and that by some publick edict, all others his ma'e subiectē be

¹ 1606 or 1607

See note, page 134

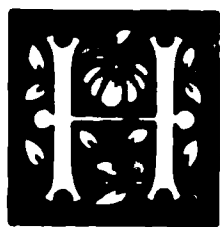
phibited from any manner of trade or dealing in those ptē, during
 the time of oʳ graunte. And further more right
 ho: it would be agreater incouradgm^t vnto vs
 cherefullie to pceed herein yf that for oʳ better saffitie in theis
 doubtfull occasions, his ma^{tie} by yoʳ ho: good favo^r would alsoe
 be moued to graunte vs Comission to repell force by force if the
 same be offered vs. As alsoe that we may wthout doubt of any
 lett or danger of the statute to send wth oʳ ships soe much forreine
 Coine as shall be needfull for vs, the w^{ch} wilbe now much lesse
 then formerlie we haue done by vertue of oʳ
 Charter And furdur that in some convenient
 sorte the states of the Low Countries may be alsoe dealt wthall:
 That notwthstanding their Peoples contençons wth the Portugalls
 whoe should haue all the trade in those ptē we may freelie trade
 wth them in all placē theare as neighbo^r and ffreinde^r wthout
 excepçōn. And &c :

To repell force by
force.

That we may carry
forreine Coine



A petiçōn to the Lord Thēer.¹



U^MBLIE declareing vnto yoʳ Lo^p : That amongst other
 Comodities now brought from thence we finding the
 Nutmegge of such evill Condiçōn as they are for the
 greater pte Rumps & noe Nutmegge we thought good
 to make oʳ entries thereof in the Custome house accordinglie

The difference for
entrie of the Nut-
megs to be mediated.

The w^{ch} entries the ffarmo^r altogether seekinge
 their owne priuate proffitt wthout haueing any
 regard to the quallitie of the same or of oʳ longe
 and chardgable voyadge & Adventure refuse to take: vrging vs to
 enter them all for Nutmegge the w^{ch} paith more then twice the
 Custome of Rumps, whereas in verie deed 2 ptē theareof are
 Rumps & that of the worst sorte: The w^{ch} course seemeth not
 onclie against the ratē sett downe for paym^t of Custome but alsoe
 against all comon reason wth oʳ intollerable iniurie. wherefor
 we humble beseech: that by yoʳ Lo^p: good meanes the matter

¹ Probably 1606.

may be soe mediated as that neither we nor [the] ffarmoⁿ may haue any Iniurie or losse herein. And as most bound we pray god giue you all health and happines.



To the Right ho: the Lorde of his ma^e: most ho: priuie Councill.¹



THAT whereas we haue wth o^r greate chardge sought all possible meanes for setling & inlardgeing of a trade in the East Indies, aswell for venting o^r Natiue Comodities, as for retourne of thinge comodious & needfull for this o^r Realme at reasonable rat^e. Soe it is Right

Touching S^r Edw:
Michelborne's fact
comitted in the East
Indies.

ho: That even now when we were in a course further to enlardge the same we vnderstand by tres & Certificate from o^r ffactoⁿ at Bantam.

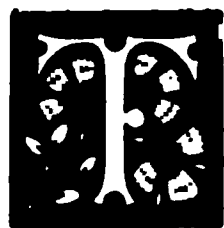
That S^r Edward Michelborne hath taken & spoiled some of o^r freinde there, whereby not onelie the vtter ou'throwe of the whole trade is much indangered: but alsoe the saffetie of o^r men & good^e remayneing in those pt^e are greatlie to be feared.² In tender considera^on whereof we humblie beseech y^e by yo^r ho: good^e meanes, some speedie course may be taken herein for o^r saffetie either by sequestra^on of the good^e wth the said S^r Edw: Michelborne hath now brought home, or otherwyse, as in yo^r hono: discre^ons shall be thought fitt: vntill vpon better informa^on the estate and saffetie of o^r ffactoⁿ & good^e theare may be further knowne. ffor at the writeing of the said tres now come, noe c^teintie of the takeing of the Guzarat & Cheny Iunck wth the said S^r Edw: now confesseth: nor some other thinge wth are heare now reported, was then there acted, or come to knowledge.



¹ Undated, but apparently soon after Sir Edward Michelborne's return to England in July, 1606.

² See page 134

To y^e Right ho: y^e Lord^e of his ma^te: most honorable
priuie Councell.¹



THAT wheareas by o^r Charter we are lycenced to carrie
for the said Indies eu^y voyage to the some of
30000^{li} of all such forreigne Coines as we shall bring
into this kingdome soe as 6000^{li} thereof be heare first
coyned. Now soe it is right hono: That the Company haueing
made twoe voyage wth retournes verie comodious
to his ma^{tie}: in his Customes & his Realmes, and
haue alsoe now alredie sent forth a 3 voyage &
are in a readines to sett forth a 4th voyage aswell for those
places where they haue form^rlie beene as for discoury of furdre
trade in those pt^e, and are desierous to manadge & carrie their
trade as neare as they cann, rather by the transporta^{co}n of o^r
natiue comodities, then by vsing the benefitt graunted them for
transporta^{co}n of forreine Coine as aforesaid: But thing^e soe
stand that as yet noe trade can be there driuen, wthout some
moneys, & espetiallie such fforreine coines as they are acquainted
wthall. In Considera^{co}n whereof & forasmuch as in o^r c^rteine
knowledge diu^rs of o^r Company haue latelie brought into this
Realme greate somes of forreine Coines, far exceeding that w^{ch}
we now requier: we humblie beseech that by yo^r ho: good favo^r
his ma^{tie} may be moued to vouchsaffe vs his highnes graunte for
transporta^{co}n in theis o^r ships for theast Indies the some onelie
of 18000^{li} in forreigne coines wthout new coyning any pte thereof:
and the rather in reguard that forasmuch as we haue form^rlie
had in the first voyage much difficultie and losse in such moneys
as weare heare coyned by reason those people are altogether

A peticon for trans-
portacon of moneys
vncoynd.

¹ This document is somewhat of a puzzle. It is identical with that given on page 207, with the important exception that £18,000 is named as the limit, instead of £15,000. It might be assumed that there were three petitions in all, viz. one for £15,000, another for £18,000, and a third for £20,000; but this supposition is negatived by the fact that the petition for liberty to carry out £20,000 (page 208) mentions only one previous petition, viz. that for £15,000. A possible explanation is that the present petition was drafted but not presented.

vnacquainted wth the stampe of this kingdome beside the staie of o' ships, now for coyning thereof wilbe to the vtter ou'throw of this voyadge. And we &c :



To the kinge most excellent ma^{ty} :¹



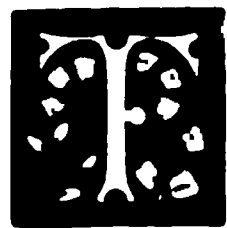
THAT by Charter we are lycensed to carrie for the said Indies in eu'y voyadge to the some of 30000^{li} of all such forreine Coines or siluer as we shall bringe into this Realme soe as 6000^{li} thereof be heare first coyned. But forasmuch as in the first voyadge to those pte we had much *difficultie & losse in such moneys as were heare* then coyned those People beinge vnacquainted wth the stampe of this kingdome : *in reguard Thereof* we haue eu' since (vpon o' petiçõn) beene lycenced to transporte *such* forreine Coines as *we haue sent thither* wthout new coyning any p^{te} of the same. *In consideracon whereof & for that in o' c'teine knowledge* diu's of o' Company haue latelie brought into this Realme greate somes of fforreine Coines farr exceeding that we shall now haue occasion to vse, & *we are desirous to manadge o' trade as nere as wee cann rather by transportacon of o' Native comodities then by rsing the benefitt granted vs for transportacon of fforreine Coines as aforesaid* we humblie beseech that yo' ma^{ty} wilbe now pleased vpon this o' petiçõn to vouchsaffe vs yo' highnes grante as heretofore for transportaçon of such forreine Coines or siluer as we shall send in the shippes now preparing for the said Indies wthout new coyning any pte thereof, & the rather for that all the moneys & siluer w^{ch} we shall soe now send thither will be vnder the some of 20000^{li} in the whole. And we &c :



¹ To be dated about December, 1607 (see the letter on the next page). In the manuscript of this petition there are several interlineations and corrections in another hand ; while the words printed in Italics are underlined, and were probably omitted.

To the Right Ho: thearle of Salisburie principall Secretarie to
his ma^{tie}:

The petiçon of the Companie of m'chaunte trading into the
East Indies humblie shewing.¹



THAT wheareas in Ianuarie last it pleased his ma^{tie}: to
vouchsaffe vs his highnes tres in o' behalfe to diu's
Princes in theast Indies² the w^{ch} tres were then sent by
the conveyance of o' shipps we prepared at that tyme
to goe for those parte: Now soe it is right ho: That we haueing
noe meanes as yet to knowe whether the same
tres be deliuered or by any Accident miscaried or
deteyned in o' mens hande we then sent thither.
And being shortlie to send other shipps for further
trade and discour'y of those kingdomes. We
humblie pray in regard thereof That yo' lo^p: will be a meanes
vnto his ma^{tie}: in o' behalfe That his highnes will be now againe
pleased to vouchsaffe vs his most gracious tres vnto the said
Princes to the like effect as before wth some addiçon as shalbe
fitt, together wth his ma^{ties} Comission to such of o' ffacto^r as shall
goe now Principall in this voyadge. And as most bound we pray
god to giue yo' lo^p: many happie yeares.

To the Lo: of Salisburie for procureing his Ma^{ties} tres and Comission in the 4th voyadge & the Copie of the former tres in the 3 voyadge to be presented if need be.



12th of Decemb^r 1607



TH^Ro: lake, I haue mooued his Ma^{tie}:, That wheareas
by Charter the m'chaunte trading to theast Indies are
allowed to Carrie forth 30000^{li} of all such floraine
Coynes as they shall bring into this Realme So as
6000^{li} thereof be heare first Coined: But forasmuch as in the
first voiadge to those pte, they affirme that they
had much losse, in such money as were then here
Coined, those People being vnacquainted wth the

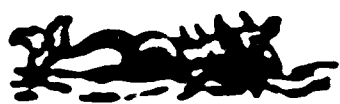
A lre to Sr Tho: lake from the lo: Thier to drawe a Bill for his ma^{ties} signature for

¹ This should be dated at the end of 1607 or beginning of 1608.

² See pages 10; 107;
21 at end of letter.

transportation of ^{stampes} of this kingdome : & for that euer since,
written with my
 handes owne hand they haue been licenced vppon humble petiçon to
 traunsporte forraine Coines wthout new Coyninge
 any pte of the same And for that as they also affirme diu's of that
 Companie in their Certaine knowledge haue latelie brought into
 this Realme greate soñes of forraine Coine, farr exceeding that the
 shall now haue occasion to Carrie forth, being as they saie but
 20000^l, w^{ch} is 10000^l les then by their Charter they may transport.
 In respect of all w^{ch} his ma^{ty} hath pleased most graciouslie to grant
 their said petiçon vppon my humble sute yesterday made vnto
 his h^y. Theis ar therfore to pray yo^r to cause a Bill redie for
 his mate^r signiture to be drawne & to present the same to his
 ma^{ty} : accordinglie, giuinge authoritie vnto me to suffer 20000^l
 at this tyme, to be traunsported, notwthstandinge that noe pte
 thereof be Coynd here. This 21 of decemb 1607

Yo^r verie louing freind
*T Dorset.*¹



To the right ho : the Earle of Salisburie principall Secretarie
 to the kinge most excellent ma^{ty}:

The Petiçon of the Gou^rno^r and Companie of m^rchaunte
 tradinge to the East Indies humblie shewinge



THAT we haueing wth o^r greate chardge & Adventure
 settled a trade in the East Indies we are desirous to
 enlardge the same aswell for the ventinge of o^r natieue
 Comodities as for retournes of thinge verie needfull for
 this kingdome at reasonable prices And to that end amongst
 diu's other Citties and Countries the w^{ch} we
 intend god Willinge to discou^r in those pte we
 haue and doe purpose to visitt the Citties of Aden and Moccha at
 the mouth of the red sea & some other place thereabout vnder
 the dominion of the Grand signio^r whose tres of saffe Conducte
 would be verie helpfull vnto vs in this behalfe. We humblie
 desier that it will please yo^r Lo^d : of yo^r ho : favo^r to vouchsafe vs

The some of the saffe
 Conduct is in fo: 98.²

¹ See page 28. For the grant itself, see page 224.

² i.e. page 266.

yo^r lo^p tres To S^r Thomas Glover Ambassador wth the Grand-signio^r at Constantinople comanding him in his ma^{ties}: name to doe his best endevo^r to obtaine for vs wth expedi^{ti}on such tres of Comenda^{ti}on & saffe Conduct from the Grandsignio^r as Convenientlie may be by him procured for vs to the effect of that wthin written And as most bound we pray god giue yo^r lo^p: manie happie Yeares.¹



To the right ho: the Lo: of his ma^{ties} most ho: priuie Councell.²



WE the Company of the m^rchaunte^r of London tradinge theast Indies, most humblie declare vnto yo^r Lo^p: That we haueing now brought a shippes ladinge of Cloues out of those p^{te}, & findinge the same to be very full of dust & garble by the longe Carriage thereof, we haue beene enforced to make o^r entries in the Custome howse accordinglie, otherwyse we should haue beene compelled to pay the Custome of Cloues, onelie for dust & garble of small or noe valew at all. The wth manner of entrie, the ffarmo^r (seekinge their owne priuate gaine haueing noe regard to the quallitie of the same, or of o^r longe & Chargeable voyadge & Adventure) refuse to take Vrdginge vs to enter them all for Cloues wth o^r intollerable iniurie. wherefore o^r humble sute is. That by yo^r lo^p good meanes, this difference betweene us & the ffarmo^r may be soe mediated, as that neither we, nor they may be iniured herein, & that we by noe such offers of hard measure may be any way discouraged from that trade soe longe, soe dangerous & chardgeable vnto vs, & beneficiall to this kingdome. And we as most bound beseech god to giue yo^r Lo^p: all health & happines.

¹ See also page 266 The required "pass" was duly obtained by Sir Thomas Glover, and was read at the Court Meeting of 5th Oct., 1608.

² This petition, resolved on at a Court Meeting of 16th Jan., 1608/9, was read and approved on the 18th idem The cloves to which it relates formed the cargo of Capt. David Middleton's ship, the *Convent*, which had just before arrived in port. The dispute appears in the end to have been amicably settled.

To the right ho: the Earle of Salisburie Lord
high Thier of England.

The humble petiçon of the m'chaunte of London tradeing
into the East Indies.¹



UMBLIE shewing That in the yeare 1607. wth o^r greate
chardge & Adventure wee sent three shipps for trade
of m'chandize into those pt^e wth order in the way of
their passadge thither, to make alsoe trade at Aden,
Surate, & vpon the Coaste of Cambaia yf soe convenientlie and

¹ The following extracts will give an approximate date to the petition, and will at the same time explain the circumstances under which it was presented:—

"Lisbon—July 18. 1609 Hugh Lee to Thos. Wilson. The *Hector*, a
ship of London, trading to Surat, where she arrived in August last, intercepted by
four Portugal frigates 3rd October following and taken prize, and the men prisoners
for using commerce within their conquest without the King of Spain's licence;
value of the goods, 2,000*l*. 19 prisoners carried to Goa, three brought to Lisbon,
the rest at Goa. Fras. Bucke and Anthony Marlowe, [see note 3, page 120] Walter
Romney died on the ship's arrival, prisoners in the Trunk in Lisbon, in great
necessity, without apparel, money or other means." *Cal. S. P., East Indies, 1513-1616*, p. 189.)

[Lee was mistaken in saying that the *Hector* itself was taken; he should have said two English boats engaged in carrying goods from Surat down the river to the *Hector* at Suhali.]

"Was alsoe red twoe lres the one from Anthonie Marlowe thother from Francis
Bucke the Companies servauntes dated at Lisborne the 15th of Iulie last, Alsoe wth
a discourse of their goings to Surate & of their takeinge & mishapps therein: & of
their ymprisonment at Lisborne &c. And their request to the Companie for their
inlardgm^t. Upon Consideracon whereof it was thought fitt That
wth all expedicon the Lord Threr be made acquainted wth theis their lres, wth
request of his honorable favor to his ma^{ty}: for releefe theirin, for diuers respectes
mentioned, As by the peticon in the Register at lardge appereth. And for the effectinge
of this busines m^r Gou^rno^r, m^r Deputie, m^r Harrison, m^r Iohnson, & m^r Hamersley
were intreated wth all Convenient speede to repaier vnto the Lord Threr at
Salisburie, or where his Lord: may be found, to acquainte his Lord: therewth, & wth
what ells they shall thinke fitt for the good & speedie dispatch hereof." (*Court Minutes*, 8th Aug. 1609.)

"Att this Courte m^r Gou^rno^r declared how kindlie he & those appointed to goe
wth him to the Courte were intreated by the Lord Threr whos promyseth to haue
a spetiall care of their sute vnto his Ma^{ty}: & at his Lord: retourne to London wth
would be wthin Tenn daies, he would give them further satisfaccoon touchinge their
sute." (*Ibid.*, 14th Aug., 1609.)

A further letter on this subject will be found on page 306. It would appear that the prisoners were set at liberty at the end of 1610 or the beginning of 1611, through the good offices of the English ambassador in Spain.

peaceable they might doe the same, where vpon one of o' said shippes comeing to Surate noe way in the Actuell possession of the kinge of Spaigne & o' men being there kindlie vsed & suffered to trade by those Country people: Notwthstanding certaine Portugalls Subiecte of the kinge of Spaigne¹ liueinge at Deu and Goa neare to Surate watching their fitt oportunitie wthout any offence offered haue vsed such violence against o' men there as they haue beene Compelled to flee thence wth the losse not onelie of nyneteene men a penasse & alonge Boate but alsoe of a greate quantitie of moneys and goodē beside the danger of the losse of o' said shipp wth her adventure for want of a sufficient number of men to saile her As by diu^m tres from some of o' people then theare taken & since ymprisonned at Lisborne readie to be shewed at lardge appeth Our humble suite now is. That in regard we haue beene & at this present now are at a greate chardge for buildinge shippinge fitt for this trade the wth we doubt not but will proue very proffitable for this kingdome, aswell by venting Comodities vnneedfull as by bringinge home such as are needfull for the vse and benefitt of this o' Realme, And that theis placē where o' men did now trade is not in the actuell possessio[n] of the kinge of Spaigne. That by yo' honorable goodē meanes his Ma^{ty}: will be pleased graciouslie to enter into some good course for o' releefe herein aswell for the freeing of o' men theare taken, as for satisfaccōn of o' losses and wrongē there sustayned Contrarie to the Amitie and agreem^t betweene his ma^{ty}: & the kinge of Spaigne as we humblie vnderstand yt. And as most bound we beseech God to giue yo' Lo^{ty}: all health and happines.



THE Condiçōn² of this Obligaçōn is such That wheareas the aboue bounden **A B** is now hired by the aboue named Gou'no' and Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies to goe as Pursar of the good shipp called the Assençōn in this present intended fourth

¹ It will be remembered that at this time Portugal formed part of the dominions of the king of Spain.

² Compare the bond on page 147.

The Condition of a
Pursar y^e tyeth him
selfe for certayne yeres
& further service.
in w^{ch} with suerties¹

voyadge for the said Indies and yet neu'thelesse hath agreed to serve the said Gou'no' and Companie & their successoⁿ as their Couenante servant in all and eu'y such their busines & affaires whatsoeu', w^{ch} they or any by them authorized shall thinke fitt to ymploie him in, aswell at, in, vnto and from the said East Indies as at or in any other place or places whatsoeu' during the space of yeares next ensueing the date aboue written, or during soe many and such tyme of the said yeares as the said Gou'no' and Company or their successoⁿ, or such as shall be by them authorized shall thinke meete, and for such wage and Consideraçon as alredie is agreed vpon betweene the said Gou'no' and Company and him the said A B. as is specified and sett downe in the Courte Booke of the said Company. Yf therefore the said A B doe from hencforth during all the said terme of yeares, or soe longe tyme thereof as the Gou'no' and Company or their successoⁿ shall reteine him in their service well trulie and honestlie serve the said Gou'no' and Company their successoⁿ and Assignes as their servant in all and eu'y their affaires and busines as Pursar or otherwyse whatsoeu' as they or such as shalbe by them authorized shall thinke good to ymploie him. & doe his best endevo' for pformaunce & execuçon of what he shall be sett aboute or ymployed in as aforesaid for the proffitt and good service of the said Companie. And according to the chardge he is now ymployed in as a Pursar doe keepe a true and pfect Accompt by Inventorie of all such provision tackle muniçon furniture, victualls and other necessities w^{ch} are or shall be during the said voyadge brought abourd the said shipp or provided for thuse of the same. And alsoe an Inventorie of all the goodē wares & m'chandize as shalbe brought into or caried out of the said shipp, aswell belonging vnto the said Companie as any other. And doe likewise keepe an Inventorie & Accompt of the expence & bestowinge of all such provision tackle muniçon furniture and other necessities w^{ch} shall be brought into or caried out of the said shipp & of the remainder thereof. And doe at all tymes being therevnto required deliu' vp a true

¹ These last four words have been added by another hand.

Accompt of the same or any other his ymploym' to the Gou'no' of the said m'chaunte or his Deputie, or to such as shall be authorized thereunto by the said Companie: And doe not in this or any other voyadge or voyadge of the said Company vse any private trade or traffique in m'chandize for his owne propper Accompt or Adventure, or Colo' the private trade of any other. That then &c:



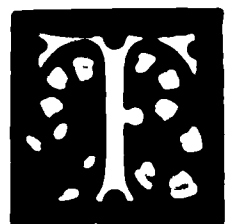
THE Condiçõn of this obligaçõn is such. That wheareas the aboue bound Samuell Broadshawe¹ is now hired by the aboue named Gou'no' & Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies & hath agreed to serue the said Company & their successoⁿ as their Couenante servant in all & eu'y such busines and affaires whatsoeu' wth they or any by them authorized shall thinke fitt to ymploy him in, aswell at in vnto and from the East Indies as at or in any other place or places whatsoeu' during the space of yeares next ensueing the date aboue written, or during soe many and such tyme of the said yeares as the said Gou'no' & Company or their successoⁿ, or such as shalbe by them authorized shall thinke meete & for such wages & Consideraçõn as alreadie is agreed vpon betweene the said Gou'no' & Company & him the

The Condiçion of hired seruantes to be imployed in any place bound in 200^{li} wth suerties.

¹ Samuel Bradshaw or Broadshawe was engaged by the Company on 15th Dec., 1607, for service "at home or abroad, as they see fit, at 16^{li} per annum" On the 29th of the following month, he was told off to attend Mr Rowles, the lieutenant-general of the voyage. Later on (26th Feb.) he is referred to as a factor. We learn from *Purchas* that, on the murder in Malagascar of Rowles and his companions, Bradshaw took the command of the vessel for the rest of the voyage. It will be remembered that on the way home the ship was lost off the coast of Brittany; and as Bradshaw is not mentioned among the survivors, it may be presumed that he went down with the ship.

There is an entry in the *Cal S P, East Indies, 1513-1616*, of a letter from Samuel Bradshaw at Tecco, under date 10th Feb., 1613, but from an examination of the document to which it relates (O. C. 104), it seems clear that the date given is that on which the *copy* (for it is only a copy) was made, and that the original must have been the letter from Bradshaw of 11th March 1609/10, to which reference is made in Moris's letter from Bantam of 14th Sept., 1610, printed in *Purchas*, Lib. III. c. 9. § 3

said **A B** as is specified and sett downe in the Courte Booke of the said Company. Yf therefore the said Samuell Broadshawe doe from hencforth during all the said terme of yeares or soe long tyme thereof as the Gou'no' and Companie or their successo^{rs} shall reteyne him in their service well trulie & honestlie serve the said Gou'no' & Company their successo^{rs} and Assignes as their servan[t] in all and eu'y their affaires and busines whatsoeu' w^h they or such as shall be by them authorized shall thinke good to ymploy him and doe his best endevo' for pformance & execuõn of what he shall be sett aboute or ymployed in as aforesaid for the proffitt and good service of the said Companie. And according to the chardg he is or shall be ymployed in doe keepe a true & pfect accompt of all such thinge as is or shalbe Comitted to his chardge And doe at all tymes being theare vnto required deliu' vp atrue Accompte of the same his ymploym' to the Gou'no' of the said m'chaunte or his deputie or to such as shalbe authorized therevnto by the said Company And doe not in this or any other voyadge or voyage of the said Company vse any private trade or traffique in m'chandize for his owne propp Accompt or Adventure or Colo' the private trade of any other. That then &c:

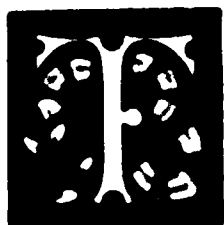


THE Condiõn of this Obligaõn is such That wheareas the aboue bound ffrancis Shapton is hired and agreed w^hall¹ by the aboue named Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies to goe as Preacher in this their present intended 4th voyadge to those pte. Yf therefore the said ffrancis Shapton doe not absent himselfe but willinglie goe in the said voyadge & therein according to his best skill & knowledge doe his vttermost endevo' diligentlie to teach and instruct o' people by all loueing & godlie admonitions. And doe not during the said voyadge vse any private trade or

The Preacher bound
is to performe
this Condiõn.

¹ See Court Minutes, 22nd Jan., 1607/8. Shapton was to have a salary of 33*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* per annum, and 20*l.* for his provision to sea.

traffique in m'chandizeing for his owne propp Accompt or Adventure, or Colo^r the private trade of any other. That then this &c:



A Condiçon that the Pursar or other shall saue harmles his suertie.

THE Condiçon of this &c: That wheareas the aboue named **A B.** at the spetiall request and intreatie of the aboue bound **T S**¹ by his obligaçon of the date aboue written standeth firmlie held and bound vnto S^r Thomas Smyth knight & Wittm Greenwell to thuse of the Companie of m'chaunte^r of London trading to the East Indies in the some and penaltie of 200^l of lawfull &c: wth Condiçon therevnto for the faithfull service of the said **T S** vnto the foresaid Companie and p^rformance of c^teine other Condiçons and thinge therein mencioned and expressed as thereby at lardge appeth. If therefore the said **T S.** his Execu or Ads doe at all tymes heereafter and from tyme to tyme sufficientlie saue and keepe harmlesse & indempnified the said **A B** his Heires Executo^r and Admistrato^r of for and conc'ninge the said Obligaçon wherein the saied **A B** standeth bound as is aforesaid. And of for and from all arreste Accõs suite Iudgm^te execuçons troubles chardge and damadge whatsoeu^r wth he the said **A B** his heires Execū or Ads shall thereby susteyne and incurr. That then this &c:



JAMES³ by the grace of god kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defendo^r of the faith, &c: To all to whome theis pnt^e shall come Greeteing. Wheareas o^r late deere sister Queene Elizabeth by her tres Patent^e vnder the greate seale of England beareing

¹ Possibly Thomas Soule, who was engaged on 24th Nov, 1607, to serve for five years as pursar's mate, or in any other employment (*Court Minutes*).

³ There is a docquet of this licence in the Public Record Office, under date 28th Dec., 1607 (*see Cal S. P., East Indies, 1513-1616, p. 163*) The petitions leading up to the grant, and the letter ordering its preparation for signature, will be found on pages 207-217

A l.ycense for
transportacion of
moneys incryned
1607

date at Westminster the one & thirteth daie of Decemb in the three and forteth yeare of her reigne vpon petiçon made vnto her by diu's her loueing subiecte for her royall Assent and lycense to be granted vnto them. That they at their owne Adventure Coste and chardges aswell for the hono' of this Realme of England as for the increase of Nauigaçon and Advancem^t of trade of m'chandize wthin the same might Adventure and sett forth c'teine voyage wth a Convenient number of shipps & Pynnaces by way of traffique & m'chandize into the East Indies in the Countries and Porte of Asia & Affrica did incorporate the said petition's into a Bodie politique by the name of the Gou'no' and Companie of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies. To haue hould and inioy the sole benefitt of the trade & traffique of the said East Indies for the space of fyfteene yeares from the birth of o' lord god then last past before the date of the said tres Patent. And wheareas by the said tres Patent lycense was granted to the said Gou'no' and Company of m'chaunte of London trading into the East Indies to transporte out of this Realme into the said Indies in eu'y of their voyadge during the said terme of ffyfteene yeares All such forreine Coyne of Silver, Spanish or other forreine sylver, or bullion of sylver as they should during the said terme bring or cause to be brought into this Realme of England from the parte beyond the Seas, either in the same kinde, stampe, sorte or fashion wth it should haue when they brought it in or any other forme stampe or fashion Coyned in the mynte wthin the Tower of London soe as the whole quantities of Coyne or moneys by them to be transported in any of their said voyadge during the said terme should not exceed the value of Thirtie Thowsand pounde in any one voyadge and soe as the some of eight¹ Thowsand pounde at the least pcell of the said some or value 30000^l to be transported as aforesaid should be first coyned wthin the said Tower of London before the tyme² might be transported in any of the said voyadge as by the said tres Patent more at lardge appeth. Now forasmuch as the said Gou'no' and Companie of the said m'chaunte since the said tres Patent to them granted

¹ This should be "six" (see page 120)

² A mistake for "same"?

made twoe seu'all voyadge into the said East Indies and retourned their shipps from thence laden wth sundrie kinde of m^cchandizes proffitable for o^r kingdomes, and haue alreadie sett forth the last yeare a third voyage & are now in a redines to sett forth a fourth voyadge into the said East Indies, and haue humblie besought by Petiçõn & shewed vnto vs that by experience they haue form^{lie} found that they could not wthout greate difficultie and losse vnto them in the value of their moneys new coyned make trade for their m^cchandize into the said East Indies because they were not such as the People of those pte were acquainted wthall, but stamped wth an Imadge or supscripçõn strange and vnknowne vnto them And that they haue beene and are desierous by all good meanes to manadge and carie their said trade as neere as they can for the benefitt of o^r kingdomes & domynions, rather by the transportaçõn of the natiue Comodities of the same, & by bartring & exchange of them for forraine Comodities, wth now they purpose more lardglie to attempt & haue good hope to accomplish then by vsing the whole libtie granted to them by the said tres Patent for carying out of the full some of Thirtie thowsand pounde in eu'y voyadge in mann^r aforesaid, And that they will content themselues in this their now intended fourth voyadge to the said Indies wth the libtie of Transporting Twentie thowsand pounde onelie in forreine Coines or forreine sylver wthout other Coyne bullion or Silver. In regard wheareof they did humblie pray in their said petiçõn that we would be graciouslie pleased to graunte them lycence that they may transporte the value of Twentie Thowsand pounde in forreine Coynes or forreine sylver in this their intended fourth voyadge, wthout new coyneing the same, or any pte thereof Knowe yee therefore that we favoring the said m^cchaunte, and being desierous to giue them furtherance and incourradgem^t to proceede and goe forward in their trade, of o^r espetiall grace c^teine knowledge & meere motion haue geuen and granted and by theis present for vs o^r heires and Successo^r doe giue and graunte lycence vnto the said Gouⁿo^r and Companie of m^cchaunte of London trading into the East Indies that it shall and may be lawfull for them their facto^r and Assignes in this now intended fourth voyadge into the East Indies, to transporte out of this o^r Realme of England all such forreine Coyne or silver, either Spanish or other forreine silver as they haue prepared

procured or gotten or shall p^rpare procure or gett being alreadie brought or to be brought from the parte beyond the seas, before the deptime of their shippes out of the River of Thames soe as the whole quantitie of the Coyne moneys & silver by them soe to be transported in this their present intended fourth voyadge toward the said East Indies doe not excede the value of Twentie thousand pounde the same to be transported in the same kinde, sorte, stampe, or fashion as they said moneys or silver are or shall be procured gotten or brought into this Realme of England, & that wthout any new coyneing or altering the said forreine monies or silver, or any pte thereof Any statute restraite or prohibition in that behalfe made to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding. In witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^r tres to be made Patent^r Witnes o^r selfe at westm the eight day of februarie in the fife yeare of o^r Reigne of England ffrance and Ireland & of Scotland the one and forteth.

p bre de privato sigillo Coppin.



AMES¹ by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland defendo^r of the faith &c: To o^r trustie and welbeloued Alexander Sharpie and Richard Rowles Greeting Whereas diu's of o^r loueing subiecte at their owne Adventures coste and chardge aswell for the hono^r of this o^r Realme of England as for the increase and advancem^t of trade of m^chandize wthin the same haue form^lie sett forth three voyadge to the East Indies wth c^teine shippes & Pinnace by way of m^cchandizeing by wth shippes and Pinnace they haueing discour'd

A speciall Commission granted unto Alexander Sharpie General & Richard Rowles Lieutenant gen^lall 1607.

¹ A Commission to the commanders of the *Fourth Voyage*, the most disastrous of all the early ventures of the Company. The expedition consisted of two vessels, viz. the *Assention*, which had been previously employed in the *First* and *Second Voyages*, and the *Union*, which was specially bought for the occasion. Alexander Sharpie, the General of the expedition, was in command of the *Assention*, and Richard Rowles took charge of the *Union*. The two ships got separated after leaving Saldanha Bay. The *Assention*, after some delay on the African coast, and visits to Aden (where

and begunn to settle a trade in some pte of the said East Indies & their shipps being retourned in twoe of their form' voyadge from thence laden wth sundrie m'chandize brought from those pte, they the said m'chaunte intending to frequent those Countries of the East Indies by Contynuing the trade alreadie discour'd and begunn and indevoring further discour'y of trade of those pte for the more ample vent of the natie Commodities of o' kingdomes, and retourning from the places of their discour'y such necessarie Commodities as shalbe of spetiall vse and benefitt both to vs and o' subiecte, and haue now prepared c'teine shipps to the said East Indies. And whereas the said m'chaunte haue Chosen you the said Alexander Sharpey to be principall Gou'no' or Gen'all of all the m'chaunte Mariners and other o' subiecte w^{ch} are or shalbe shipped in any of the said shipps. And you the said Richard Rowles to be Leiutenant gen'all of all the m'chaunte Marin's & other o' subiete w^{ch} are or shall be shipped in any of the said shipps, Wee gratuslie favoring their intended voyadge and approueing and allowing of their choise of you [to] the same Gou'nm' being desierous to furnish you wth all fitt and Convenient power and authoritie to rule and gou'ne all & eu'y o' subiecte ymployed in this voyadge by a due obedience to be by them yealded vnto you in the obserueing & executeing of all such

Sharpie was for some time kept prisoner by the governor) and Mocha, shaped her course for Surat. (On the 29th August, she ran on a shoal in the bay of Cambay, and three days later became a total wreck. The crew made their way in their boats into the Gandevi River, some thirty miles south of Surat. Here they were hospitably treated by the natives and passed on to Surat, whence Sharpie and a large number of the men started for Agra. Sharpie and others were left sick on the route; others died or straggled from the company, and finally only three men reached their destination, and reported the state of affairs to Captain Hawkins, who was then in the city as the representative of the Company. In Oct., 1611, Sharpie embarked on the *Trades Increase* at Surat, and accompanied Sir Henry Middleton, who seems to have entertained a high opinion of him, to Mocha and Bantam. Captain Downton, writing in June, 1613, mentions Sharpie as being then absent from Bantam, and this is the last notice of him that can be traced.

The *Union*, as has already been mentioned on page 222, note, after losing her commander and several of her men at Madagascar, proceeded to Acheen and procured a cargo, but on her way home, was wrecked off Audierne, on the coast of Brittany, with the loss of nearly all her crew.

There is a docquet of this commission in the Public Record Office (*see Cal. Dom. State Papers, 1603-1610, p. 400*)

good orders and Constitutions as you shall thinke Convenient to ordaine and appointe for the furtherance of the said voyadge to the hono^r of vs and o^r kingdomes, and for the advancem^t of The said trade doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comand all and eu^ey pson and psonns ymployed vsed or shipped in this voyadge in any of the said shippes to giue all due obedience and respect vnto you during the said voyadge, and to beare themselves one toward^e another in all good order and quietnes for avoieding any occasion that might breed mutiny quarrells or dissension amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe w^{ch} is to be hoped for by Gods providence of the said intended voyadge, and in defaulte of such dutie & obedience to be pformed toward^e yo^r for the Correc^{ti}on and quenching of all such mutiny quarrells or dissension that shall or may be moued by the disorder evill disposition or pversnes of any the said psonns. Wee doe hereby authorize you the said Alexander Sharpie during the said voyadge or during soe long tyme as you shall lyve in the said voyadge to chastice correct and ponish all Offendo^rs and transgresso^rs in that behalfe according to the qualitie of their Offences w^{ch} such ponishm^te as are comonlie vsed in all Armies by Sea when they are not Capitall, And for Capitall Offences as for wilfull murther w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of god, or muteny w^{ch} is an offence that may tend to the ou^tthrowe of the said voyadge the same being trulie and iustlie proved against any of the pson or psonns aforesaid. We doe hereby giue vnto you the said Alexander Sharpie during all the tyme of the said voyadge or during soe long tyme as you shall liue in the same full power and authoritie to vse and put in execu^{ti}on o^r lawe called Marshall lawe in that behalfe. And in case of yo^r decease w^{ch} god forbid we doe then likewise hereby authorize you the said Richard Rowles to execute the power and authoritie by this o^r Comission granted to the said Alexander Sharpey in as ample mann^r as is herein before expressed, and in such sorte as the said Alexander Sharpey did or might doe by vertue hereof. and theis o^r tres shalbe vnto you and either of you sufficient warrant and dischardge for the doing and executeing of all and singuler the premisses. And forasmuch as at this present tyme we are in amitie wth all Christian Princes and are vnwilling that any o^r subiecte should giue occasion of breache or hindrance of that league

or amitie wth we hould wth any o^r Confederatē freindē or Allies. And because we are not ignorant of the emulacōn and envie that doth accompanie the discou'y of Countries and tradē and of the quarrells and Contencōns wth doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiectē of diu's Princes that meete the one wth the other in forreine and farr remote Countries in the Course & psecuteing of their discou'ies, and being desierous that o^r subiectē should forbear to moue or beginn any quarrell or Contencōn vpon the subiectē of o^r Confederatē freindē or Allies either in their pceeding or retourne vpon or from any of their voyadgē. We therefore doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comand you the said Alexander Sharpie, and you the said Richard Rowles and all other vnder yo^r gou'nm^t that neither in yo^r voyage outward or homewardē or in any Countrie Iland Porte or place where you shall abide or come during the time of yo^r being abroad out of o^r kingdomes or dominions where you meete wth any the subiectē of the kinge of Spaine or of any other o^r Confederatē freindē or allies, or of any other nacōn or people, their shippes vessells goodē or m'chandize you doe attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon take or surprize their psons shippes Vessells goodē or m'chandizes or offer any iniurie or discourtesie vnto them vnlesse you shall be by them first therevnto iustlie prouoked or driven either in the iust defence of yo^r owne psonns yo^r ships vessells goodē or m'chandize either by any other their disturbance or hindrance whatsoeu^r in yo^r quiett course of trade either for recompence or recou'y of the psonns goodē or m'chandize of any o^r subiectē that are alreadie in or neare the East Indies or otherwise for any iust cause of yo^r defence as you will awnswear the Contrarie at yo^r vttermost pills. In Witnes whereof we haue caused theis o^r tres to be made Patente Witnes o^r selfe at Westm̄ the eight day of februarie in the fiste yeare of o^r Reigne of England ffrance & Ireland & of Scotland the xxxvjth

Coppin.

p bre de priuato sigillo



What tres were written from his ma^{ty} to the Princes
in the East Indies in februarie 1607.¹



THAT was the form^r 7 tres folio. 41.² Viz to Suratt Aden
Tedore Nere Lunter Iava Maior, Molloccos, & the Ire
of the Teno^r of that to Surate purposed for Callicutt,
written from his ma^{ty}: to those Princes Anno 1606.
were now all againe of new written from his ma^{ty}: to those
Princes in Anno 1607 wth this Addi^{ti}on to each
onelic That is. Although we sent vnto you the
last yeare after the retourne of o^r Subiecte from
those pte & sent you a Present yet for that we doubt whether
those tres be come to yo^r hande, we haue thought good to Visitt
you againe wth new tres & wth a new present, And to lett you
vnderstand that the Contente of o^r former tres were to this
purpose That &c: as in the m^gent of the foresaid tre to the
Molloccos.⁴

In all 18 tres were
now sent
in Spanish as be-
fore³

Lykewise flower tres more were now written from his ma^{ty}: to
the Princes & Gou^{no} in those parts Viz 2 of the Teno^r of that
of Suratt wth generall saluta^{ti}ons in the inside & on the outside
left Blancke for o^r ffactoⁿ to sett downe the names and titles of
such Princes there as they shall see good to deliu^r them vnto, wth
Presente alsoe in their discre^{ti}ons. Thother 2 tres from his ma^{ty}:
to Gou^{no} of Citties, Viz the one of w^{ch} of the Teno^r of that to
Aden wthout the said new Addi^{ti}on before mencioned intended to
the Sabander or Gou^{no} of Moccha & thother alsoe of the same
Teno^r of that to Aden onelic leaueing out the said new addi^{ti}on
now sent, & the wordes of his ma^{ty}s Amitie wth the Grandsenio^r
mencioned in the said first tre to Aden the w^{ch} is intended for
Lawrie⁵ Nigertattie⁶ or any such place & therefore the supscrip^{ti}on
left vnsett downe, vntill the same be knowen vnto whome they
shall be thought fitt to be deliu^{ed} vnto in those parte.

¹ At a Court held on the 15th December, 1607, the governor and others "were
"intreated to Consider what Comissions and Ires aswell from his ma^{ty}: as from the
"Companie wilbe now convenient to be sent, And therevpon to cause the same, to be
"drawne and made readie in due tyme before the departure of the shippes" (*Court
Minutes*).

² 12 page 103

³ The last four words have been added by another hand.

⁴ See page 109.

⁵ See page 251, note 2.

⁶ See page 252, note 1.

ffor better Remembrance to direct the titles of the before mencioned 5 blancke 3 whereof to Princes & 2 to Citties they are nombred as followeth Viz.



NO 1 is the Coppie of the first blanck sent in the yeare 1606 wth the new Addicōn now onelie to be deliu^red to Callicutt or to such Prince as you shall vnderstand, the same was then form^rlie deliu^red

No 2 & 3 is 2 blancke of the Teno^r of that to Suratt to any Prince vnto whome form^rlie noe tres hath beene sent & therefore wthout the said Addicōn

No 4 is the Gou^rno^r of a Cittie of the teno^r of that to Aden wthout any Addicōn for that noe tres hath beene heretofore sent thither, the w^{ch} is intended for Moccha some 10 miles from Aden vnder the Comand of the Grandsenio^r.

No 5 The 5 & last Blancke alsoe to the Gou^rno^r of some Cittie of the same teno^r of that to Aden wthout any Addicōn for the reason aforesaid in no: 4 & wthout any nominacōn of o^r kinge ma^{ies}: Amitie wth the grandsenio^r for that the same is intended for some Cittie out of his Dominions.



JAMES by the grace of God of greate Brittainē ffraunce and Ireland Kinge Defendo^r of the faith &c: To all and eu^{ry} one Kinge, Princes, Duke, Marquesses Stat^e Admirall^e Captaines Castelliers Gou^rno^r and Superio^r of Provinces Citties Townes Seas Rivers of¹ Bridge &c: & to all other of what order or place soe^ur haueing Comaund power Magistracie or Iurisdicōn health. Such as take vpon them greate matters aboue the vulgar vse and Custome verie profit-able to humane Societie deserue not onelie prayse and favo^r of

Printed by the
the East India &
Company
London 1609

¹ Apparently an error for "and."

² In the Company's general instructions for the voyage (see page 245) orders were given for the despatch overland of messengers, for whose safety a royal safe conduct (no doubt the present document) had been procured, and in later letters the Company

all men, but alsoe aide and helpe asmuch as may be lawfullie & convenientlie yealded. In the w^{ch} kinde scarce any can be []¹ profitable & worthy then of them, the w^{ch} by long Peregrinaçõs greate [] danger of life, veiweing most remote & vnknowne Naçõs & kingdomes [] Sea doe seeke eu'y wheare all oportunities of Comodities, & doe [] allie a kinde of Societie and Comunicaçõ of Comodities among all [] clude doe Contract the vniu'sitie of Mankinde & the whole world [] e Cittie & Communion. And forasmuch as c'teine o' subiecte [] this selfe same minde & intencon take vpon them a Iourney [] that wthout the iniury or trouble of any man they may [] d Comodious meanes to o' subiecte of Interchadge of [] people & of m'chandizeing thinge it be most iust and [] anitie that vnto the selfe same m'chaunte & vnto their ffacto^r [] and comeing by Sea and land be granted vnto them of all [] de, Yet that they may mor safelie and redilie proccede in their [] hey may haue the inclinaçõs of all men of what order & place [] the shall come more redy to graunte them that libertie, & to be fauorable []

expressed their strong disapproval that their orders on this point had not been carried out. It would appear that Jourdain and Glascock were the two factors designated for this duty

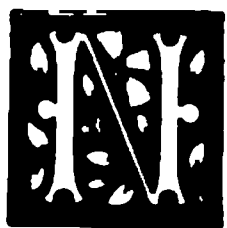
John Jourdain or Jourdan was elected a factor on 7th Dec., 1607, and was assigned to the *Assention*. On the wreck of the vessel he appears to have made his way to Agra, and thence back to Surat, where in Oct., 1611, he embarked on Sir Henry Middleton's ship, and accompanied him in his voyage to the Red Sea and afterwards to Bantam. He seems to have been actively employed during the next few years in trading voyages from Bantam to various parts of the East Indies, and in 1614 we find him "president of the English at Bantam." He returned to England in 1617, but in the same year entered into an agreement with the Company to serve them for a fresh term of five years; and accordingly by Nov., 1618, he was back again in his old post as President at Bantam. Eight months later he was slain in a skirmish with the Dutch at Patani. His journal, covering the period between his departure from England in March, 1608, and his return in 1617, is now in the British Museum (*Sloane MSS.*, 858).

Philip Glascock was elected a factor at the same time as Jourdain, but a few days later was rejected in favour of Richard Wickham. On 22nd Jan., 1607/8, he was again elected, and proceeded on the voyage. Nothing of importance can be traced concerning his further career

¹ The manuscript is here imperfect. A large portion of the leaf has been torn away, causing considerable gaps both in this and the succeeding letter. These lacunæ have been indicated by the insertion of brackets.

w^{ch} by the lawe of humanitie as is said before ought to be granted of [] wish the same to be obtaiened by o^r Intercession & for that cause wee []nient to giue theis o^r tres of safe Conduct & Comendaçõn to c^rteine []haunte of o^r and namelie to Iohn Iourdan and Phillipp Glascocke by []ie much intreate all & singuler Kinge Princes Duke Marquesse Admiralls and superio^r of Provinces Townes Castles & Portes & all others of what degree and place soeu^r haueing magistracy Iurisdicçõn or power as may be agreeable to the order and dignitie of eu^y one, that you will geue leaue to the foresaid o^r subiecte & either of them, or to any other that shall bring theis o^r tres vnto you by Land or sea to goe or to saile to goe forward or retourne & as their occasion shall requier to remaine in their dominions & that they will not geue or suffer any lett hindrance Iniurie or molestacõn to be done vnto them, but that they will yeald vnto them such Offices of benevolence and humanitie as shall be convenient to be yealded to honest men and strangers vndertakeing soe longe and laborious a Iourney: handling their owne affaires & behaueing themselves honestlie & peaceable. In the w^{ch} kinde of Office or any other that may mutuallie be expected of vs we will be most redie to retourne the like favo^r vnto all & singuler yf occasion shall serue as shall be due to eu^y one according to their order place & dignitie Giuen out of o^r Pallace of Westm̄ this xxiiith of februarie 1607.

JAMES REX.



NFTER my hartie Comendaçõns &c: According to order of a Courte of the Adventurers in this present 4th voyadge held the fift of this instant Theis are to advertice you that the Companie are pleased and soe doe thinke it fitt that you wth yo^r Leiuetenante Generall m^r Rowles, & such as may happen to succede you in this voyadge doe make espetiall accompt of

The Copie of a lre sent to m^r Alexander Sharple Gen^l.¹

¹ The date is torn away, but it should evidently be some day in March, 1607/8, as appears from the following entries

Further m^r Gou^rnor was now by this Courte intreated to write his lre to m^r

1st of the order of
Courte not to deale
in any other manner
but by way of mar-
chandize. 11 of
March 1607

Joseph Salbancke² aswell in all yo^r Councells as otherwise, & the rather for that they doe esteeme him to be a man verie sufficient for any place wherein you shall vse him. And further the Companie thinke it meete that you doe carefullie reserue [and]³ keepe this lre amongst other yo^r Comissions, that yo^u and such as

" Sharpie Gen^{all} signifieing vnto him that the Companie are pleased, and thinke yt
" fitt, that he wth the Leiuetenante Gen^{all} and such as shall succeede them doe
" make espetiall vse of Ioseph Salbancke in their Councell, & otherwyse vnlesse they
" shall finde some iuste reason to the Contrarie. And further willinge him to keepe
" and reserue this his lre amongst other his Comissions that he and such as shall
" succeede him may take notice thereof, as there shall be occasion." (*Court Minutes*,
5th March, 1607/8.)

" Att this Courte his mat^{ies} lres and Comissions wth his mat^{ies} saffe Conduct, &
" their Coppies in English were now deliured to m^r Sharpie, wth expresse Admonicon
" that they doe their best endevo^r for the performeing of this voyage by way of honest
" m^rchandize, to w^{ch} end & purpose onelie we haue sett them forth & furnished them
" wth all thinges needfull & necessarie to that effect, wth expresse order alsoe that they
" doe abstaine from dealeing wth any person in bereaueing manner, nor in any other
" then in freindlie sorte: vnlesse onelie wth such who shall seeke to provoke them
" therevnto, by any hindrance to their quiett trade: by taking of any o^r goodes &c:
" According to the Tenor of his mat^{ies} Comission now by vs procured for them. Aswell
" for the avoiedinge of all scandall to the Company as for performance of his mat^{ies}:
" said Comission, as they will awnsweare the Contrarie." (*Ibid.*, 11th March, 1607/8.)

¹ Added by another hand.

² Joseph Salbancke was possibly the original member of the Company of that name, who adventured 240*l.* in the *First Voyage*; and hence, it may be, the consideration with which he was now treated. After the wreck of the *Assention* he proceeded to Agra, and thence started with Covert through Persia and Arabia to make his way overland to England. At Bagdad, however, they met an Englishman named White, who informed them of Middleton's expedition; whereupon Salbancke determined to make for the Red Sea, hoping to meet Middleton, and acquaint him with the particulars of Sharpie's voyage and shipwreck. On his journey he heard a false story of Middleton's capture, whereupon he tried to make his way to Socotra, but fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who carried him to Muscat, thence to Ormuz and Goa, and finally, it would seem, to Lisbon, where he was released and returned to England. In 1612 he went out again as cape merchant in the *Expedition* of the *Twelfth Voyage*. He was at home once more in 1614, but seems to have left again for the Indies in the following spring with Keeling on a voyage on account of the *First Joint Stock*. In [Nov. ?] 1616 he writes from Agra, where he seems to have remained for some time. In 1618 he took part in a voyage from Surat to the Red Sea, when a firman was obtained from the Pasha of Sana for trade at Mocha, &c. Nothing can be traced as to the time or place of his death, but it must have been before the end of 1624, as by Jan., 1625, his widow had married again.

³ There are gaps here and in the next few lines, owing to a portion of the leaf having been torn away (*see* note, page 233).

may [happen] to succcede yo^a as aforesaid may take notice thereof from tyme to [tyme as there] shall be occasion. Wherewth I Comitt yo^a all to the Tuition of [Almightie God who] send yo^a a prosperous successe in all yo^r affaires. London th[]
[Thomas Smyth]



To o^r loueing freind m^r Wittm Kealinge Gen^{all} in o^r third voyadge to the East Indies, & in his absence to such other of o^r ffacto^rs as shall be Resident at Bantam or ells where in the said East Indies.¹



AFTER o^r hartie Comendaçons &c: Since yo^r deptime from o^r Coaste in Aprill last we haue not heard from you the w^{ch} we conceiue to happen by noe default in you, but onelie for that you haue not had any meanes to write vnto vs, & we doubt not but ere this you are all in saffetie arriued to some of o^r desiered Portē in the Indies accordinge to yo^r Comission where we hope that by yo^r good industrie and carriadge we shall finde sufficient & profitable trade, & likewise haue those retournes w^{ch} you shall make home in such Comodities as for their qualitie and goodnes will be more beneficiall vnto vs, then hitherto we haue had as before yo^r deptime hence, & by by yo^r

A Copie of this lre deliued to m^r Sharpie Gen^{all} for his better vnderstandinge what is on their parte to be done therein.

Twue copies sent one to m^r Kealing & an other to m^r Hawking with this Superscription.

¹ "Att this Courte was red a lre from the Adventurers in the 3th to their ffacto^rs
" at Bantam, or els where in the Indies, and allowed to be sent as it was now agreed
" vpon And further yt was ordered That amongst other thinges therein mencioned
" yt be incerted into the said lre That yf the Adventurers in the 4th voyadge shall
" happen to leaue any ffacto^rs in the Indi[es] where the ffacto^rs of the 3rd voyadge shall
" be Resident, That the ffacto^rs in both th[e] voyadges doe remaine and liue together
" At the charge equallie pro rata according to the quantitie of goodes w^{ch} shall be
" theare left for each accompt. And further yt was agreed That yf the shippes of
" the Adventurers in the said 4th voyadge shall happen to bringe home any of the
" goodes of the Adventurers in the 3rd voyage, they are to pay freight for the same
" after the rate of [figures deleted] ^{li} per Tunn &c As by the same lre Coppiel into
" the Register at lardge Appereth A Coppie of w^{ch} lre was now alawe deliued to m^r
" Sharpie Gen^{all} for better vnderstandinge what therein was to be performed on his
" parte &c." (Court Minutes, 12th March, 1607 4.)

instrucōns you haue beene sufficientlie informed, & therefore we make noe question but you will doe yo^r vtmost endevor therein as we put o^r trust in you.

And resolving the Continuance of o^r trade in those pt^{es} as we haue at yo^r being heare ympted vnto you, we haue now prepared twoe shipps (viz) the Assenōn & the Vnion of w^{ch} shipps and men by Comission from o^r king^e ma^{tie}: m^r Alexander Sharpie is o^r Generall in the Assenōn & m^r Richard Rowles his Leiuetenante Gen^{all} in the Vnion by whome we haue now sent theis o^r tres vnto you, and thoughe wee cannot but giue you to vnderstand that this voyadge is solie one ioincte stocke seu^{all} from any of the former voyadge, yett the same is sett forth by some alsoe interested in the third voyadge, whoe are authorized & allowed by the gen^{all} Companie to doe the same And are inclined & authorized the next yeare to doe the like. Wherefore as the forenamed Generall and others now sent haue order for their pt^{es} to doe the best Assistaunce they cann, soe we wish you to shew them all kindnes and favo^r you may, aswell in the direcōn of their trade & saffetie as otherwise, yett soe as the Accompt^e be noe way mingled, nor the proceeding^e of either, be any way preiudiceall thone to thother & they Comeing to any place wherein you shall be Resident as loueing Brothers and servant^e of one Companie you are to instruct them by the best meanes you may howe you haue there proceeded wth the Superio^r of the place, & what you haue done conc^{ninge} the setlinge of yo^r trade, & howe the same is likelie to stand. And alsoe of what els shall be fitt for the Comon good, that you wth them & they wth you may soe agree in Concorde that all thing^e may be soe done as both you and we may haue comforte of yo^r proceeding^e therein.

And forasmuch as that o^r men the w^{ch} you shall leaue in those pt^{es} may haue some occasion of longer staie theare before retourne of o^r shipps from hence thither vnto them againe, then we at yo^r being heare intended: we wish you to giue them expresse chardge soe to carie them selues that they may be esteemed good husband^e for the Companie, rather increasers then diminishers of what stocke you shall leaue wth them. And it is expected that by their good industrie in buieing of Cash^{es}

& other ymploymentē they may easilie beare their chardges theare, wth ou^rplus to the proffitt of the Companie w^{ch} as is reported they bring to their owne priuate the w^{ch} we cannot endure And well p^rvsing ou^r o^r tres by you sent vnto them doe vse their best endevorⁿ to applie them selues diligentlie to p^rforme o^r direc^{ti}ons therein mencioned, & what els, by experience they may learne, that when o^r shipps shall come thither both we & the may finde them to haue beene both diligent industrious & good and faithfull Stewardē to the Companie, & for better p^rformance of o^r said direc^{ti}ons, we haue now sent them a Coppie of o^r foresaid tres by you m^r Kealinge sent the last yeare. And further theis are to requier you that if the shipps of the Adventurers in the 4th voyadge shall happen to come where you shall be resident & wante lading of their owne. That then & in such case you haueing any goodē to send home you doe lade soe much of the best thereof as convenientlie they shall be able to take in, being it much better that the same be soe brought home then that it should lie theare dead: wherein you are to haue due care that the Accomptē of either p^rte be noe way mingled & that yo^r goodē sent doe come vnder a seu^rall Marke, Consigned by Bills of ladinge to the vse of the Gou^rno^r and Companie of the Adventurers in the third voyadge, takeing the best order that you can for keepinge of the seu^rall goodē of both voyadge apte thone from thother & that tres be writte what shall be remaineinge for each Accompt. And further you shall vnderstand That if by theis meanes you shall send home any of o^r goodē by the said shipps of the Adventurers in the 4th voyadge & for the same or for some other cause there shall be noe need or ymployment for soe many of o^r ffactoⁿ there w^{ch} may happen to be left. Then we doe order that some of the most insufficientest of o^r ffactoⁿ there be brought home by the said shipps in the 4th voyadge if in the discre^{ti}on of the now Generall m^r Sharpie & the cheeffest of o^r ffactoⁿ there it shall be soe thought fitt. And alsoe if the Adventurers in the said 4th voyadge shall leaue any ffactoⁿ in the Indies where you shall be resident, That the ffactoⁿ in both the voyadge doe remaine and liue together At the chardge equallie p^r rato accordinge to the quantitie of the goodē w^{ch} shall be there left for each accompt And thus not doubting of yo^r faithfull care

and diligence in the premisses we pray God to blesse you all
London the 12th day of March 1607.

Yo^r loueing freinde the Gou^rno^r Comitties &
Generalitie of the Companie of m^rchant^e
trading into the East Indies.



TO ALL¹ to whome this present writing shall come to
be scene herd or red wee the gouerno^r and Companie
of Marchaunt^e of London trading into the Easte
Indians send greeting in our Lord god everlasting
Whereas wee the said Gouerno^r and Companie of Marchaunt^e
haue Entertayned Phillip de Graue² of the pre-
cinct of S^t Katherins neare the Tower of London
Marrioner to goe as principall m^r for o^r vses in
this pⁿte voyadge nowe by vs prepared towards the saide Easte
Indians Knowe yee therefore that wee the saide Gouernor and
Companie of Marchaunt^e for the further allowance and recom-
pence of the good service trauell and paines w^{ch} hee the said
Phillip de Graue intendeth to p^forme in the said voyage doe
by these pⁿt^e for o^r selues and everie of vs and the Executors
and ad^mstrators of vs and everie of vs Covenante promise and
graunte to and wth the said Phillip de Graue his executors
ad^mstrators and assignes, To give pay and allowe vnto him the
saide Phillip de Graue his executors ad^mstrators or assignes
oute of o^r proper stockes aduentured in the said voyadge wthin six
Monethes next after that the said shippes w^{ch} is now bounde of
the saide voyadge to the East Indians or any of them shall
returne into the River of Thames neighe the port of London and

This³ is the draught
of the Bill of Aduen-
ture Ph: Graeff
urget (?) to haue.

¹ This is entered on a separate sheet of paper, which has been fastened into the book at this place. It is endorsed "The draught of the bill of Aduenture left by m^r "Graeffe," and appears to represent "m^r Graeffe's" idea of how his bill of adventure should be worded. The document actually adopted will be found at page 269.

² Marginal note added by another hand.

³ Philip Grove, de Graeffe or Grave, a Fleming by birth, was second pilot in the *First Voyage*, master of the *Dragon* in the *Second*, and master of the *Assention* in the *Fourth*. It is not known what became of him after the shipwreck of the latter vessel.

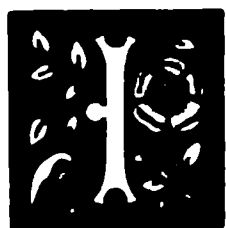
all the goodē laide on land in London The benifitt proffitt and gaine that shall growe of ffive hundred and ffiftie poundes sterling (according to the rate of such an adventure in the said voyadge) oute of the gaine w^{ch} god shall send by the returne of the said voyage, (The Charges of the voyadge & of the goodē returned therevppon groweing dew to be paied being ffirste deducted) In wittnes whereof wee haue herevnto Caused o^r Common Seale to be put and deliuered this as o^r deedē yeeven the day of
1607

Annoq RR^{ia}: Iacobi Anglie &c^a quinto Et Scotie
quadragesimo primo.



IN the name of God Amen the last of Februarie 1607.

A Comission¹ set downe by vs the Gou^rno^r Deputie and Comitties of the m^rchauntē of London trading to the East Indies for better direc^{ti}on of o^r loueing freinde the Generall Leuietenantē & other the Captaines m^rchantē Masters & Mariners in this o^r intended fourth voyadge to those ptē w^{ch} we humblie beseech god to blesse wth a happie Conclusion.



INPRIMIS whereas we the m^rchauntē aforesaid haue prepared wth o^r greate chardge & trouble Twoe Shippes (viz) the Assen^{ti}on of 350 Tonns Phillipp de Graeffe m^r, And the Vnion of 400 Tonns Griffin Morris² m^r, for a voyadge by Godē grace by them to be made to the East Indies, & haue furnished them sufficientlie, & in plentifull manner wth men Tackle victualls & all other needfull prouisions fitt for such a voyadge: of a spetiall trust and Confidence w^{ch} we haue in the integritie & iust carrieinge of o^r loueinge freind Alexander

¹
a ships prepared &
m^r Sharpie appointed
Gen^rall

¹ "Att this Courte were red and allowed the Comissions from the Company to
" the said Alexander Sharpie & Richard Rowles dated the last day of februarie, and
" the Blanckes in the same Comissions for the ffactor^s names vnfilled, but left to the
" Gen^ralls discrecons." (*Court Minutes*, 5th March, 1607/8.)

² Died at Priaman about the end of 1609.

Sharpie we doe appointe and authorize him Gen'all to goe in the Assençon and to Comand o' said shippes & all the men in them haueing procured him sufficient authoritie from o' souereigne Lord the kinge ma^{tie}: for that purpose not doubtinge but that he will soe behaue himselfe as he may be both feared and loued & that he will wth all his diligence and endeuo' prosecute o' designs and labo' to bringe this o' intended voyadge to a happie end.

Item we appointe and ordeine o' loueing freind Richard Rowles to be Leiuetenante of o' said shippes & men and to take his passadge in the Vnion, wth Comanders ffacto^r mⁿ: & Mariners we trust will soe carrie them selues wth such due respect one to an other, and obedience to eu'y one of their Superio^r as loue & kindnes be contynued on all side, & all whollie applie their witt & endeuo^r for the due pformance of this voyadge, in the best manner they may for the good of the Companie.

Item and for that religious gou'n^t & exercise doth best binde men to pforme their duties it is principallie to be cared for that prayers be said morninge and eveninge in each shipp and the whole Companie called therevnto, wth diligent Eyes that none be wantinge that all ioinctlie may wth reuerence and humilitie pray vnto Almightye god to blesse and preserue them from all danger in this longe and tedious voyadge.

Item that noe blasphemeing of god, swearing theste dronkenes or otherlike disorders be vsed but that the same be seuearelie ponished, & that noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games be admitted for that most comonlie the same is the begynninge of quarrellinge and many tymes murther a iust occasion of Gode's wrath and vengeance from w^{ch} the Lord deliu' vs. Therefore it shall be needfull that such orders be sett vp and published in each shipp and such punishm^t appointed for such offence as may giue notice to eu'y man what he ought to auoied.

Item that spetiall order be geuen that noe liquo' be spilt in the ballast of the shippes, or filthines be left wthin bourd, w^{ch} in heate breadeth noysome smells & infecçon but that there be a diligent care to

keepe the ou'lopps & other places of the shipp cleane and sweete w^{ch} is a notable preserva^on of health, wherein the Dutchmen doe farr exceede vs in cleanlines to their greate Comenda^ons & disgrace to o^r People.

Item that Continuall and true Iournalls be kept of eu'y daies
for keepinge Iournals. Course & Nauiga^on during the whole voyadge
 6 wth a true rela^on of eu'y thinge, that passeth & this not onelie to be done by the seu'all Captaines, mⁿ, Pilatte & mⁿ mate but alsoe by the m'chaunte and Pursars, & that some of the principalls in each shipp may Conferr together at convenient tymes, when the Generall shall call them, therevnto, to thend that if any haue forgotten what an other obserued, the same may be added soe as a pfect discourse may be sett downe, to be presented to the Gou'no^r and Companie when god shall grante them a saffe retourne, to be kept for better direc^on of posteritie.

Item that the Generall & m^r of his shipp doe sett downe
for keepinge Companie at Sea. & deliu^r such instruc^ons to the Comanders of
 7 thother shipp that they may keepe Companie together for the better releife and Comforte one of an other, And if separa^on of them should happen by Constrainte of weather or Tempest that they should agree vpon a course before hand, & of a place whither to applie their selues to finde each other.

Item that the Gen'all Leiuente & mⁿ of the shipp take
To settle the seu'all provisions in each mans chardge after they shall come to Sea & not before notice be out without warrante for which they are to be awnsweareable. due notice by Inventory from eu'y Officer of the shipp before they depte out of the Thames of the seu'all provisions deliu^rd to each shipp & soe sone as they shall come to Sea & not before to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for that purpose in either shipp vntill
 4 w^{ch} tyme all stores are to remaine vnder locke and key and that the same be entred in the Pursars Booke vnder written by the said Officers, to thend that such thinge as are provided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbecilled, & that nothinge thereof of any value be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu^r wthout a warrante vnder the hand of the Generall directed to the Officer that hath such chardge, w^{ch} warrante shall serue for their dischardge in their Accompte, otherwise to be awnsweareable for

the same wth their wage, & eu'y such warrant to be registred in the Pursars Booke the day of the monneth & the occasion & this vpon forfeiture of soe much out of the Pursars wage, this order to be obserued alsoe in each of the shippes by the Comanders mⁿ Pursars & Officers as aforesaid, that at the retourne of the said shippes a true Accompt may be yealded howe and in what mann^r the same haue beene vsed & ymployed.

And whereas the stragling of yo^r men in any place where they shall arriue or come may proue not onelie the
Not to straggle
9 losse of such as shall soe straggle although they shall be Armed, but alsoe thereby much hurte may happen to the Residue of o^r People & generallie to the whole Companie. Yt is ordered that you doe not pmitt any man in any place where you shall come (vpon what ground soeu^r) to straggle or goe from the Residue of yo^r Companies vnlesse they be by you first warranted therevnto, & that vpon iust occasion, vpon paine of seveare ponishment to be inflicted of such as shall doe the Contrarie still doubtinge the worst and standinge vpon yo^r garde night and day in eu'y place where you shall come wthout yealdinge any trust to those People.

Item we Comend vnto you the Generall principallie & to the
what is to be obserued
at watering
10. rest of the Comanders and mⁿ: an espetiall care that at eu'y place where you shall water and refresh yo^r men you call the Companies together geueing them seveare warninge to behaue them selues peaceablie and Ciuillie towardē the People of that place the better to pcure their freindshipp towardē the supplie of yo^r wantē, & the like in eu'y place wheare you come, least the losse of yo^r liues & ou'throwe of o^r voyadge pay for yo^r disorders, beside an vtter discreditt to o^r Naçõn, and that yo^r men doe vse a discreete meane in eatinge of fruitē and fresh victualls least the surfett & fall into diseases, whereof we haue had too much experience. And the better to refraine vnrulie appetitē we hould it Convenient that the Generall appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies to procure & prouide in such places what you wante, and the same being prouided and brought to the Generall, by him to be repte^d to each Companie what may be needfull, and that none presume to

¹ Reported.

doe the Contrarie wthout seueare ponishm^t, And that a spetiall care be had to relecue the sicke wth such fresh meat & other Comfortable thinge wherewth we haue furnished each shipp for that purpose, & not otherwyse to be spent in Royott and banquettinge, & soc the sicke pishe for wante of thinge needfull: Yet o^r expresse order is that yo^u neu^r putt into any Harbo^r wthout greate occasion, & then vpon c^teine knowledge of the Securitie of the place and vigilant care night and day to prevent Dangers takeing espetiall notice from place to place of the Course of the Monsomes for yo^r better direc^cions if you shall haue occasion to goe to diu's places.

Item for the fittest place of refreshinge we wish you to shape yo^r Course to the Porte of S^t Augustine in the Iland of S^t Lawrence, where you shall finde good Harbo^r & plentie of victualls, in w^{ch} place it will not be fitt to make longe abode but make hast and endevor to be vpon the Coaste of Melinde in the monneth of Iulie at the ffurthest, but for yo^r better direc^cion therein we referr you to the instruc^cions of S^t Iames Lancaster¹ now deliue^d you herewth, whoe can best direct you for yo^r course vpon that Coaste by his owne experience, except yo^u in yo^r discre^cions finde otherwyse more fitt: still standinge vpon yo^r garde in eu^y place wthout yealding any trust to those People. At w^{ch} place alsoe we hould it fitt, & tyme will then best serue to that effect, that you settogether and make readie yo^r Pinnace the w^{ch} yo^u carrie wth you, & alsoe you may heare informe yo^r selues if o^r shippes & men sent the last yeare haue beene theare, when, & w^{ch} way they tooke &c: for better direc^cion of the Busines you are now sent aboute as occasion shall serue.

ITEM after yo^r deptime from the Porte of S^t Augustine toward^e the Coast of Melynde beware of the flatte^r of Iudea² w^{ch} lie betweene the Iland of S^t Lawrence & the firme land: vpon w^{ch} flatte^r it is said that the Currant^e doe sett. There is alsoe an Iland vpon the Coaste of Melinde verie fitt for refreshinge yo^r people as we are informed & whereof the Hollenders had experience in their last voyadge that way: The w^{ch} Iland is

To water at St:
Lawrence, & sett vp
their Pinnace & fol-
lowe St Iames Lan-
casters direccons

11

Beware of the flattes
of the coast of
Melinde, & what they
are to be obserue.

12

¹ See page 136.

² See page 118.

called Zinzabar where if you finde it needfull & haue tyme for that purpose you may theare water and refresh yo^r Companies, els not. And alsoe it shall not be amisse as you saile alonge wthout staye in any place or goeing a shoare to buie some Oliphaunt^e Teeth w^{ch} are bought at Mozambique & on the Coaste of Melinde in greate abondance, and carried into the Indies. That Commoditie is exceedingly requested in Cambaia alsoe stoare of Ambergreece is likewise to be had in the Coaste of Melinde and at S^t Lawrence Iland: But goe not either to Mozambique nor to the Iland of Pemba in any hand but leaue it on yo^r larbo^r'side.

To make diligent In-
 quirie of all things
 needfull
 13

It is further ordered that all the way alonge as you saile, or wheare you shall come you doe yo^r best endevo^r to vnderstand what good saffe Harbo^rs are in each place to be had for vs to trust vnto, for maintenance of a Trade in those pt^e in saffetie from danger of Portugalls or others: vnder whome in each place the People are in subiection: & of what nature they are: what havens they be, of what condiçõn & vnder whose Comand, together wth the dangers & depthes of waters in each place for passadge what trade may be thear had, the sorte prices and goodnes of Comodities, as alsoe what sorte of o^rs are there best requested as likewyse by what speedie meanes you may send or bringe vs tres ou^rland of what shall be fitt for vs to haue knowledge of by way of Turkie or otherwise, and for yo^r better saffetie in yo^r passadge therein (if need be) we haue pcured you his ma^{ties}: saffe Conduct¹ the w^{ch} we haue geuen to you the Generall to be deliu^red to such as shall be vsed in this respect, endeavoring as Convenientlie you may wthout any ympedim^t to yo^r voyadge findinge thing^e proffit-able, to vse the best meanes to drawe the people vnto you in their Iuncke^e or Boate^e wth some of their m^rchandize for w^{ch} you may assay to barter some of o^r owne, or sell and buie as you shall see occasion: As alsoe endeavoringe to doe & vnderstand what ells shall be for the Comon good of the Companie, & for future experience.

ITEM it is expresslie ordered that by a Generall Consent, of

¹ See page 232.

Some order to be sett
downe touching dead
mens goodes
14.

you the Generall Captaine ffactoⁿ Masters & Mariners some good order be by you taken & sett downe in writeinge soe soone as you come to Sea, conc^rninge the disposinge of dead mens goodē in the voyadge, by sale at the Maste, or otherwise for buieinge sellinge borrowinge & lendingē one an other, & ordering what sallarie shall be allowed the Pursars vpon eu^y pound for keepinge Accompt thereof to avoied Controu^sie and Question hereafter, & eu^y Mariner and other of each shipp to sett their hand or marke vnto the same order. But if any ffacto^r shall happen to die his goodē, Booke, Accomptē, & other thingē are to be by order of the Generall and Leiuetenant Generall saffellie reserued & brought home for England.

for better preseruacon
of health by wash-
ing Caske
15.

Item for better preseruacon of health o^r order is that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water it be forthwth againe filled wth salt water for prevencon of leakeinge and Mustines

for inquirie for the
Suzan.
16.

Item o^r direccon is that you make diligent inquirie at S^t Lawrence & Zinzabar, & all other places in yo^r passadge and retourne of Tydingē of the Suzan:¹ or if any English shipp hath beene of late wthin theis two yeares either cast away or taken, or putt in for reliefe in any of those ptē & receiueing any knowledge of her to vse the best meanes you may for recou^y of her, her men, and goodē, Soe as it may be noe way p^riudicious to yo^r proceedingē in yo^r voyadge.

To go thence for
Zocotora & see to
Aden & Mucha
conferre in tyme
conferre & what they
are to do there
17.

Item haueing refreshed yo^r People wthall speede you are to shape yo^r course fo^r Zocotora nere the mouth of the Red Sea, where is alsoe good refreshinge & (as is said) the best Alloes Sacatrina in the world & likewise stoare of Amber greece, & other thingē whereof we pray you to take notice, & buie thereof, what you shall see convenient but still in all yo^r m^cchandizeing, be carefull to putt of yo^r English Comodities in Trucke. In this Iland we doubt not but you may be furnished both wth Pilottē for Aden: Or if the same be not fitt for trade by reason as it is reported vnto vs the same is a Garrison Towne rather of Souldiers

¹ See note, page 134

then Marchaunte.¹ Then you are to goe for Moccha a Towne 10 miles from Aden said to be a place of speciall trade right ouer against w^{ch} Towne there is an Iland called Kedgee where is alsoe reported to be good Harbo^r and wateringe (if need shall soe requier) and vnderstandinge what trade there is to be had, what the People be and of what interteinm^t: toward strangers, whereof informe yo^r selues in the best manner you may, as alsoe if o^r shipps and men sent thither the last yeare haue been at Aden, or

¹ This paragraph, as well as some of those that follow, is so evidently based upon the information given by Sir Edward Michelborne in his interview with the Company, that it has been thought well to give *in extenso* the interesting account entered on the Court Minutes of 26th Jan., 1607/8:—

" Att this Courte S^r Edward Michelborne as form^rlie he had promysed appeareing, declared that for the desier he had to ymparte his knowledge vnto them for the Good of the Company, he was now come hither, whose signified as followeth.

" ffirst that by experience he had found that mens healthes were best p^rserved by labor and refreshinge out of the shipps & in the hottest places by plentie of meate and drinke then espetiallie to be yealded them, keepeth their Bodies freest from diseases.

" Then that much perrill and small hope of trade may be expected at Aden, yt being a Garrison Towne of Souldiers, rather then of Marchauntes, yett neare to Aden aboute some 10 miles of, there is a Towne (as yt seemeth he is informed) called Moccha, gou^rned wth m^rchauntes onelie, and a place of spetiall trade right ou^r against w^{ch} there is an Iland called Kedgee, wherein is good Harbo^r & watering yf need require.

" Then that by noe meanes o^r shipps and men can goe saffellie to Suratt, or theare expect any quiett trade for the many dangers likelie to happen vnto them by the Portugalls, Cheeff Comanders of *Dix* and *Demon* & places there aboute very stronge & hath the sole Comand of those Seas, all the people theare paying them tribute & the kinge of Cambaia recydeeth twoe monnethes iorney from Suratt & the Barr shallow.

" But he saith there is a place not farr thence, twoe daies saileinge from Suratt, called Lawrie [*see* p. 251] in the Bay of the River Syndus, wheare is good Harbo^r in saffetie; Twoe miles from w^{ch} vp in the Bay there is a greate Cittie like London called Nigertuttie [*see* p. 252], where is plentie of Indico Callico & diu^rs m^rchandize, the people there are free onelie gou^rned by kinge Acabar whose resideth at Agree some ffortie miles from Nigertuttie at w^{ch} the Portugalls haue nothing to doe but onelie come thither for m^rchandize as other Strangers, where he conceiueth yf o^r People doe goe thither behaueing them selues well they will find ample and profitable trade aswell of their Comodities as for vent of o^rs, at w^{ch} place Cloth is in greate request, of the particulars whereof, he will be readie to informe m^r Sharpie & m^r Rowles more at lardge.

" He alsoe declared that Iocketta is afitt place to right o^r selues of such of those people that should offer vs any wronge, the w^{ch} place is scituate in the River Syndus but for the fittest tyme of the yeare to that purpose, he is vnwillinge to declare."

theare aboute, & beinge theare what they haue done, and soe findinge of trade and interteinm^t wthall convenient speede you are to direct yo^r course for Aden or Moccha or some other place theareaboute w^{ch} you may learne to be more fitter for trade and interteynm^t, Soe alwaies Provided you come thither about the fine of Iulie, or in such tyme (if need be) as you may goe thence wth that Monsone for Surate or Bantam, the w^{ch} we conceiue you may verie well pforme yf (you findinge not thinge there to yo^r likeinge,) you make noe staye theare but wthall speede depte thence for Surate by the 20th of September at the furthest the w^{ch} you are in any case to doe ells you shall loose the oportunitie of that Monsone, where vnto you are both in goeing and retourninge to haue an espetiall care. And beinge arriued neare the place, come to an Anco^r but take heed in any Case you come not wthin their danger, still expecting and feareing evill though



there be noe cause. And comeing thither first you are to vse meanes (if any of o^r People be theare[]) to deliu^r o^r tres^l by you sent accordinge to the direc^{cion} to m^r Wiltm Hawkins or to the cheefe of o^r men w^{ch} shall be theare leste, & therevpon to Conferr together wth them and vnderstand what they haue done aboute the deliu^y of o^r kinge ma^e tres sent by them to the Gou^{no}r of that place wth a Present as alsoe for their quiett trade &c: That you may the better pceede wth good aduice to doe accordinglie, aswell for deliu^y of his ma^{ties} tres now sent by you to the Gou^{no}r of Aden or Moccha wth some Convenient present as otherwise as theare shall be occasion, and wthall you are to signifie vnto such of o^r men as you shall finde there that this fowerthe voyadge is solie one ioincte stocke seuerall from the former Voyadge yet sett out by some of the same Companie authorized and allowed therevnto by the rest accordinge to the Teno^r of the same tre now by vs sent vnto them, & accordinglie throughout all the whole voyadge you are to keepe Accompt of the same as a ioincte stocke of it selfe, sett out by vs seu^{allie} from all the former voyadge for those pte. And further if thinge soe stand there as it shall be needfull, you may make it knowne to the Gou^{no}r of the place as we haue form^{lie} geuen order to o^r men to doe (that is) that you are English m^{chaunte} & haue

^l See page 237.

brought tres vnto him from oʳ kinge ma^{tie}: seekeinge onlie peaceable trade, aswell for saile of oʳ Comodities as for buieinge of theirs. And therewthall to deliuʳ the same tres wth such present as you shall thinke fitt to the said Gouʳnoʳ wth whome (as you shall see cause) you may treat for Priuiledge and freedome of trade for as many Yeares as you can, if it be not by oʳ men form^{lie} done or needfull to be enlarded declaringe that oʳ kinge is in League wth the Grandsignioʳ That oʳ People doe trade into Cairo, Aleppo, Damasko, Constantinople, & in all other his Dominions freelic and that oʳ kinge hath now a lidge Imbassadoʳ in Constantinople, w^{ch} loue of the Grand Signioʳ towardē oʳ Na^{cion}, hath ymbouldened vs to visitt that place wth oʳ shipps and goodē now desieringe by his favorable lycence to trade as Ciuill & peaceable m^{ch}antē & that you desier to settle a ffactorie theare, yf by his honorable favoʳ you may be pmitted, assuring him that by oʳ trade his Customes will be greatelie increased for that we shall endevor to fetch that from thence w^{ch} we now fetch from the Molloccos Bantam & diuʳs other places in the Indies. To w^{ch} if he Yeald it shall be needfull that you craue such articles of Priuiledge from him in writeinge for oʳ Na^{cion} the better to incurradge vs to frequent that place. And for yoʳ better direc^{cion} we haue deliuʳed you the Coppie of Priuiledge procured for vs by S^r Iames Lancaster from the Kinge of Achen, addinge therevnto what other thinge shall be needfull. And further if you shall see cause you may make the Gouʳnoʳ acquainted wth what sorte of English Comodities you haue now brought thither, but not (yf it may be) wth any of yoʳ moneys vntill yoʳ Comodities be first sould, at w^{ch} place we choose rather to be, then to make triall of any other if possiblie we may.

For better sale of oʳ
Comodities & bule-
inge of theirs at
Aden.

18

Item arriueinge at Aden or Moccha & findinge good hope of interteynement & trade whereby either presentlie or in some shorte space by the retourne of their Iounckē from Cambaia you may vent oʳ English Comodities, & finde fitt and sufficient ladeinge there for retournes, we wish you that in the buieinge thereof that you be verie carefull to make choise of that w^{ch} is good and fitt for sale, & in sale of oʳ Comodities that you stand vpon the value & estima^{cion} thereof, Yet soe as you loose not the oportunitie of

the first m^rkettē & reasonable offers least by often veiwinge them they fall to dislike, for Nouelties as you knowe drawe men to buie: and note that by the repaier of all sortē of People thither you shall finde meanes to sell what Comodities of o^r are in any place requested yf you putt yo^r selues forward, & by helpe of some Brokers you seeke to deale: But you must be carefull to vse all men wth kindnes and Ciuillitie, and see that yo^r men doe the like in any wise, least disorders and scandalous behauior cause you to be abhorred and evill intreated. At w^{ch} place as we esteeme it to be the most saffest nearest and cheeffest place for trade we desier rather to be, then at any other, if we may there soe finde profitable and sufficient trade in saffetie as aforesaid.

Item if you finde theare that any of o^r Comodities or Colo^r will sell better then those we now send, or some of those more vendible then the rest we desier to be adverticed ou^rland by some Moores that goe to Argier Aleppo or Alexandria and direct yo^r tres to Richard Allen Consull at Argier to be sent hither wth speede, or to Aleppo to m^r Paule Pyndar¹ Consull or to ²at Alexandria or any other English men that be there obserueing the notē of a Character wth we deliu^r you herewth for better secrecie And not to be backward or slacke by eu^ry Conveyaunce to write least some tres miscarrieinge others may come to hand.

And haueinge procured the dispatch of o^r shipps wth their full ladeinge our direc^ōn is that you retourne for England wth the next fitt winde and weather leaueing there for facto^r if you thinke needfull³

Haueing procured
yo^r lading at Aden to
retourne for England.
20

none factor^s
names put into
these spaces left.

and such others as you thinke meete wth some convenient allowance & likewise wth order to ymploye their endevor for findinge out of further trade aswell for all sorts of Cloth and Kersies and Colo^r best requested, as all other of o^r Comodities and for the buieing of all those Countrie wares obserueing still good and c^teine notē of all sortē of Comodities brought hither from out of the East Indies: But if

¹ See page 122, note

³ Blank in MS

after yo^r arriuall to Aden or Moccha you shall happen not to finde sufficient meanes theare to relade home both yo^r shipps (as at first you expected) but onelic one of them, nor any hope of further trade there likelic in any good tyme to be made, then o^r will is you should wth all expediçõ send home one of yo^r shipps soe laden for



England vnder the Comand of o^r Leiuetenante Gen^lall & thother to goe forward for Cambaia or Bantam as the tyme shall be fitt therevnto, & there shall be convenient stocke to doe the same. Betweene w^{ch} place at the mouth of the Red Sea & Cambaia & in the River Syndus as we are informed there is noe doubt of Ample and beneficiall trade in saffetie yf you make diligent search and inquirie for the same wherein we pray you to haue espetiall care. And for yo^r better pceedingē therein wth any Prince or Gou^rno^r you may finde vnto whome you haue not tres alreadie directed vnto them from o^r kingē ma^{tie}: we haue pcured you tres from his ma^{tie}: wth gen^lall termes in the inside & wth Blanckē on the outside to be by you directed to any such Prince or Gou^rno^r if you shall happen to haue occasion: But before yo^r deptime one from annother the Leiuetenante Generall is to call vnto you the Generall for the duplicate of his ma^{ties}: Comission vnder the broad Seale for better Gou^rnment of his men homewardē.

Comeing not to Zocotora in due tyme to goe for Aden, to leaue Aden, & goe directlie for Cambala & there to followe this & the next ensuing orders.

31

But yf it shall soe happen you come not to Zocotora in such due tyme as you may convenientlie goe to Aden & haue that Monsone to bringe you into the Indies (if need be) doe not then at any hand goe to Aden or Moccha but saile directlie towardē Surate the entrance of Cambaia, where if you come aboute the middle of September you shall finde it Somer and faier weather soe as you may saffelie ride in the open Roade. But if the same place shall not be found fitt for trade according to o^r expectaçõ by reason of some dangers that may happen vnto you by the Portugalls of Diu and Demon¹ whose as is said haue the Comand of those Seas & receiue tribute of the People of those placē, Then you are to saile for Lawrie² in the

¹ Daman, in Gujarat, still (like Diu) in the possession of the Portuguese.

² Labori Bandar, on the south or left bank of the Baghiár or western branch of the Indus, 20 miles from the Piti mouth. Though formerly the principal port of

Bay of the River *Syndus*. aboute 2 daies saileing from *Surate*, where, as we are informed is good Harbo^r in saffetie wthin 2 miles of w^{ch} Towne vp in that Bay there is a greate Cittie as bigg as London called Negertuttie,¹ where is plentie of Indico Callicoes & diu's other m^rchandizes fitt for England the people whereof are free, onelie gou^rned by the kinge of² Arcabar whose recideth at Agree some fortie English Miles from Negertuttie, at w^{ch} place the Portugalls haue nothings to doe, but onelie come thither for m^rchandize, as other strangers, where it is conceyued if you behaue yo^r selues well and gentlie toward^e those people you will finde ample and proffitable trade aswell of their Comodities as for vent of o^r Comodities theare, where it is reported Clothes of all sort^e is in great request. At w^{ch} place or places if vpon diligent inquirie you shall finde a c^rteine and saffe expecta^{ti}on of trade & that o^r shipp^s may goe into saffe Harbo^r free from danger of the Portugalls or any other: Then you are to staye in the open Roade neare the Barr of Cambaia or at Lawrie & by some of the People w^{ch} come out eu^y Tyde from thence, or otherwise we wish you to doe yo^r best endevorⁿ to vnderstand yf o^r shipp^s and men sent for those pt^e the last yea^re, haue beene there, & being there what they haue done, & soe findinge hope of saffetie & interteinment to send word to some of o^r men (yf any shall be there) that you are arriued wishing to haue Conference wth them before you make yo^r comeing knowne to the Gou^rno^r of that place aswell conc^rninge what they haue done in the deliu^y of o^r king^e ma^{tie}: tres by them sent to the kinge of Cambaia & Present as otherwise of what hope of interteinm^t & quiett trade may be there expected that therevpon you may proceed wth good advice to doe accord-

Sind, it has now fallen into complete decay, in consequence of the channel on which it is situated having ceased to be navigable. Hamilton in his *New Account of the East Indies* (1727) describes it as a village of about 100 houses, built of crooked sticks and mud, with a large stone fort mounting four or five guns. The harbour was accessible to ships of 200 tons burden, and a brisk trade was carried on.

¹ Nagar Thato, the native name of Tatta, a town on the Indus in the Karachi district of Sind. It is now sadly shorn of its former glories. Hamilton, who visited it in 1699, speaks of it as "the emporium of the province, a very large and rich city;" and he estimates its dimensions at that time as about three miles long, and one and a half broad. The East India Company had for some time a factory there.

² This is the copyist's improvement upon Sir Edward Michelborne's "king Acabar" (see note, page 247).

inglie for deliury of oʳ kinge ma^{ties}: tres & Present now alsoe by you sent to the kinge of Cambaia as for the obtayneinge of quiett trade & otherwise as there shall be occasion. And comeinge thither & findinge some of oʳ men theare you are to deliur oʳ tres now sent vnto them accordinge to the direc^{cion}, & to signifie vnto them that this voyadge is solie one ioinct stocke seuʳall from the former voyadge, and yett sett out by some of the same Company authorized and allowed therevnto by the rest, accordinge to the Tenoʳ of the same tre from vs vnto them,¹ & accordingelie through out all the whole voyadge you are to keepe Accompt of the same as of a ioincte stocke of it selfe by vs sett out seuʳall from all the formʳ voyadge as is before specified in the 17 Article.

But if none of oʳ men be theare, & notwthstanding there be
 „ vpon informa^{cion} good hope of quiett trade, &
 kinde interteinem^t in saffetie. Then at your
 arriuall as aforesaid you are neu^rthesse to send word to the
 Gou^rno^r or Comanders there that there is a Messenger arriued
 wth tres from the kinge ma^{ties}: of England vnto their kinge praying
 the Gou^rno^r to send them a boate wth saffe Conveyaunce. And
 if any come to you from the Gou^rno^r Then we thinke it fitt
 that you the Generall doe repaier thither takeing wth you his
 ma^{ties}: tres & Presente & such other provisions as you haue for
 that purpose, & in yoʳ Companie take wth you twoe of oʳ ffacto^r
 Reaue¹ and Iourdan & yoʳ owne servant whoe are apprelled to
 that effect or whome els you shall finde most meete for that
 purpose, & comeinge to the Gou^rnoʳ of Surate or Lawrie present
 him wth some guifte what you shall thinke meete, & desier them
 to assist you wth meanes and guide to their kinge that you may
 deliur his ma^{ties} said tres & present vnto that kinge craue a
 speedie awnsweare and his ma^{ties}: resolu^{cion} if he will be pleased or
 not to grante you free and saffe trade in his Countries and
 Harbo^r accordinge to the Tenoʳ of his ma^{ties}: said tre wth sufficient
 defence against those that shall practise to ympeach or hinder
 the same, or annoy or hurte any of the shippes Bodies or goodes of

¹ See page 237.

² Richard Reave was chosen factor, for his skill in trade and languages, on 22nd Jan., 1607/8. He was, with Captain Rowles and several others, treacherously slain by the natives in Madagascar on the outward voyage.

any of o^r Na^{ti}on. And the better to induce the kinge to grante vs Priviledge and free trade signifie that we will be readie to bringe him Armo^r and other muni^{ti}on from tyme to tyme in o^r seu^rall voyadge for the better inablinge him against his Enimyes beside the increase of his Customes w^{ch} will be greater for that thereby we shall fetch that from thence w^{ch} we now fetch from the Molloccos Bantam and diu^m other places in the Indies, & that you seeke onelie peaceable trade aswell for buicinge of their Comodities as for sale of yo^r owne, w^{ch} if he promyse to doe, then desier to haue Comissioners appointed to Consider wth you of Articles in writeinge for setlinge of a ffactorie (yf need be) & for Priuiledge of Trade for as many yeares as you can procure to be granted to o^r Na^{ti}on the better to incourradge vs to frequent his kingdomes yf the same be not form^{lie} peured by o^r men not^l needfull further to be inlarged. And for yo^r better direcc^{ti}on therein, we haue deliue^d you the foresaid Coppie of the Priviledge form^{lie} procured for vs by S^r: Iames Lancaster from the kinge of Achen,² addinge thervnto what other thinge shall be needfull: w^{ch} Priviledge beinge obtayned and signed by the kinge, haueinge taken yo^r leaue in Comelie manner, and receiued such Comoondem^{te} in writeinge directed to his Gou^rno^m and Officers of his Townes and Porte, as you can peure for yo^r defence against all disturbers of you in yo^r peaceable trade. And for their Assistance of you & kinde interteinm^t in the same, yo^r are wthall speede to make yo^r retourne to Surate or to Lawrie aforemencioned: And haueing deliue^d that kinge Comandement to the Gou^rno^r and Officers there craue their Assistance wth Pilotte & saffe Conduc^{ti}on of yo^r shippes & therewth make all the expedi^{ti}on you can to gett into the Harbo^r: But first shewe to some trustie Brokers, paterns of such yo^r Clothes kersies and other Comodities as are in o^r shippes, whereof, as of such moneys we haue nowe sent you haue¹ an Invoice, takeinge knowledge w^{ch} sorte of those Comodities wilbe theare best sold & accordingle giue order for fetching of them a shoare in saffe manner. And further if you shall see cause you make the Gou^rno^m acquainted wth what sorte of English Comodities you haue now brought thither but not (yf

¹ Or

² See page 69

³ Probably "here" is intended.

otherwise possible) wth any of yo^r moneys vntill yo^r Commodities be first sold.

And findinge that you may vent o^r English Commodities & finde pffitable and sufficient ladinge there for retournes as Indico, Cotton yarne fine Callicoes Opium Gumlacre Beniamyn Muske Sivitt Amber Mirr, Olibinum, pretious stones Bezars &c: we wish you that in the buieinge thereof you be verie carefull to make choise of that wth is good & fitt for sale, & in sale of o^r Commodities that you stand vpon the value and estimaçon thereof as in the 18th Article.

Andinge vent all
Cambala for of com-
modities & all re-
tourne of theirs for
England what the
are to doe for sale &
buieinge thereof.

23.

And haueing procured the dispatch of o^r shipps wth their full ladinge at *Surate or Lawrie* or theareaboute of some proffitable Commodities as aforesaid the most pt^e whereof to be Indico yo^r are to retourne for England wth the next fitt wynde and weather leaueing there for ffactorⁿ (if you shall thinke needfull)¹

Haueing procured yo^r
ladinge of their
ships at Cambala to
retourne home and
leau ffactorⁿ.

24.

And such others as you shall appointe wth some convenient allowance, & likewise wth order to ymploy all their endevⁿ for findinge out of further trade aswell for all sorte of Clothes & kersies as their Coloⁿ best requested as all other of o^r Commodities, & for the buieinge of those Countrie wares obserueinge still good & c^teine not^e of all sorte of Commodities there to be sould as is form^lie mencioned in the 20th Article. Wheare alsoe before yo^r retourne for England yo^r are accordinge to yo^r direcçon in the 17th article to take the best informaçon you can of the state of Aden, as what Harboⁿ and Pilott^e to bringe men in, are theare to be had what Condiçon the People are of what trade & what interteinem^t toward^e strangers, what thinge will be there vendible & saleable &c: & what els shall be needfull to be knowne in that respect, & to acquainte vs therewth for o^r better knowledge what to doe if hereafter at any tyme we shall thinke good to visitt that place.

But if after yo^r arriuall to *Surate or Lawrie* or thereaboute you shall happen not to finde fitt and sufficient ladinge theare to relade home both yo^r shipps as you first expected but onelie one of them, nor any

Andinge ladinge but
for one sh pp to send
her home by the
Lieutenante (or all
& the duplicate of

¹ There is a blank space here in the MS.

his ma^{ty} Comission
& send the other for
Bantam haueinge
but 2000^{li} stocke to
relade her thence.

25.

hope of further trade there likelie in any reasonable tyme to be made, then o^r will is if you haue but left of o^r stocke sent wth you to the some of 2000^{li} in moneys or in such Pinthadoes or Callicoes as you shall there guide for Bantam & the Molloccos you shall wthall expedi^õn send home for England, one of yo^r said shippes soe laden vnder the Comand of o^r Leiuetenante Generall whoe before his de^pt^ure from you is to call vnto you the Generall for the duplicate of his ma^{ty}: Comission vnder the Broade seale for the gou^rnm^t of his men homeward^e as aforesaid and the other shipp wthall expedi^õn to goe directlie thence for Bantam for better p^{er}formance whereof, you are soe to order yo^r affaires at Surate, That you may be suer (if need be) you may haue the Monsone to bringe you thither.

If all the stock nowe
sent will fullie lade
both the shippes then
it is to be putt in
both & retourned for
England.

26

But if at yo^r being at Surate or Lawrie or theareabout^e you shall haue occasion by the Costlines of the Comodities you shall theare guide to ymploy all o^r stocke of moneys & Comodities you shall now carrie wth you, for such profitable Comodities of those plac^e as is before mencioned, & the same will not be sufficient fullie to relade both the shippes home, Then o^r will is you lade the same Comodities so bought in both the shippes equallie accordinge to their Bourthen & retourne wth all expedi^õn directlie for England leauing there some ffacto^r wth Convenient allowance yf you shall thinke meete as aforesaid.

But findinge not
trade at Cambaia to
goe directlie for Ban-
tam, & what is there
ordered to be done.

27

But yf at Surate or Lawrie or theareabout^e you be not kindlie dealt wthall nor cannott by any meanes finde interteinm^t in saffetie or sufficient Com^oditie to relade one or both of yo^r shippes home. Then you are wth both the shippes and Pinnace to shape yo^r course alonge the Coaste of Mallabar wth that Monsone for Bantam wth such Pinthadoes and Callicoes as you can gett for those plac^e where you haueinge deliu^{er}ed our tres accordinge to the direc^õn of o^r ffacto^r at Bantam & made them acquainted that what we now send is a ioincte stocke seu^{er}allie of it selfe, accordinge to the Teno^r of o^r said tre as before is mencioned in the 12^h & 17 Articles we referr you to Consider wth them theare

what is best to be done wherein vsinge such direcçons for yo^r reladeinge homeward^e as you shall be then best advised : either wth Mace Nutmegge & Cloues at the Mollocos, or wth the same and Pepp. Wherein alsoe you are to remember and foresee that in ladeing those Comodities you buie such as are drie & not greene, & that you cleanse them what you can that the ships be not stuffed wth such vnprofitable ware as is not worth the Custome, wherein we pray you to omitt noe tyme.

Item be verie carefull that you haue yo^r due weight & the same putt into Bagge nombred and m^rked & sent abourd the shipp wth some of the ffacto^rs or some other trustie psons wth a note conteyneinge the pticuler of eu^ry Bagge vnder the nomber, the same note to be deliu^red to the Pursar whome we chardge to weigh eu^ry Bagg at the takeing of it into the shipp, wherby he may see that the weight is accordinge to the note receiued, keepinge eu^ry note & entringe the Content^e into his booke, whereby yf any erro^r happen it may be found out w^{ch} we wish you the Generall to examine eu^ry night that there growe noe abuse.

Item forasmuch as in former voyadge soe now in this theare may be occasion for the benefitt of the Companie to make sale of some of yo^r Victualls Canvesse or some other thinge belonging to yo^r stoare, or otherwise whereof you shall happen to haue noe neede. Yt is therefore ordered that good care be had that the same be done not onlie for the profitt of the Companie wthout any danger to the voyage : But alsoe brought (as all other thinge) to the gen^rall Accompt of the Companie.

Item we chardge that the Pursar be continuallie abourd the shipp and take true notice of all thinge, whatsoeu^r are brought into the shipp or carried out, either by the Gen^rall Captaines, m^r : Mariners the Pursar himselfe, or whoso^eu^r the same to be entred into his Booke vnder the name of the owner that eu^ry one may haue his due at the retourne as the Pursar will awnsweare it wth the losse of his wage and we pray the Generall and Captaines to geue the Pursar strict order for pformance thereof.

See you haue yo^r weight & the Bagges nombred & m^rked.
28

For sale of victuall & Canvesse &c :
29.

The Pursars chardge for keepinge a true accompt of all thinges brought in & caried out of the shipp
30.

Item that there be but one hatch open (yf it may be) at the ladinge of either of the shippes & all the other hatches lockt vpp & that the m^r or one of his ma[']e: & the Pursar to stand by the open hatches when any goodē are shott into hould, lockingē the same Vpp when they haue left worke, the key to be geuen to the Generall or Capteine to be kept.

One hatch onelie open at the ladinge of the shippes & leaueing worke to lock it &c:

31

Item to be carefull that nothinge be bought but what is especiall good, & that you doe not ou[']wett the Cloues when they be laden, for ou[']wett Cloues bad Nutmegge & Mace haue heretofore beene a greate hindrance vnto vs & taught vs to advise you to be more carefull.

To buie what is good & not to ou[']wett any of the Comodities

32

Item for that voyadges of this Condiçõn & greate chardge cannot admitt any priuate trade o^r will is that neither you the Generall nor any other vpon any pticular, or other Accompt, then the Generall and iointe stocke doe lade or deale wth any of those Comodities herevnder expressed Viz Pepp, Cloues, Nutmegge, Mace, Synamon, Gynger, Indico, Callicoes, Amber greece, Muske, Alloes, Beniamyn, and Gumlacre. And that yf any shall soe doe the same to be applied to the Accompt of the Companie as our propper goodē it beinge noe way reasonable that we should paie them their wage wth meate and drinke, & they lade those thinge in o^r shippes wth should defray o^r chardge.

To admitt noe priuate [trade] to any in any of these Comodities vpon penaltie to loose the same

33.

Item in eu[']y place where you come and trade Compare their weighte & measures wth o^r before you buie, to thend you may knowe the better what to doe & howe to make yo^r reckoninge for wth purpose we haue put sundrie Chestē wth weighte into o^r shippes.

To compare their weightes & measures wth o^r before you buie

34.

Item that there be the sufficientest and best aduiced of o^r ffacto^r appointed to weighe what is bought by weight on the land & to keepe a pfect Booke thereof, that the same may be nightlie conferred wth the Pursars Booke, whereby erro^r may be the better found out.

Some of the ffacto^r appointed to weighe what is bought.

35.

Item that o^r ffacto^r bringe or send by the first shippes 8 or 10

To bringe some of
the Dollers the Holl-
enders carrie thither.
36.

of the Dollers or Royalls w^{ch} the Hollenders carrie
thither.

Against excessive
drinkinge and ban-
quettinge.
37.

Item we vtterlie forbidd any excessiue drinkeing feastinge or
banquetinge abourd the shippes at Sea, or on land
it being a greate wast & Consump^{ti}on of victualls
and wyne, the cause of many diseases & disorders
in the Companie, & therefore the same to be spent wth more
discre^{ti}on and sparinge.

To matt the shippes
38.

Item remember to matt the inside of the shippes before you
put any spice vnto¹ them especiallie where you
lade Cloues Pepp Nutmegge and Mace, & be
carefull to make choise of the Nutmegge that they be lardg and
sound, & at the lading thereof doe not lyme them too much for
that doth burne them,² & beware yo^u lay the Mace in Canisters in
some fitt place by it selfe, that it be not spoyled by the heate of
the other spices, takeing good heede to buie that w^{ch} is bright &
not withered nor red nor darke browne Colored, & such Cloues
as shall be free of dust, the w^{ch} those people vse to putt amongst
them for their advantage in the weight.

To sprinkle the
Cloues with water if
need be
39.

Item yf necessitie drawe you at the ladinge of the Cloues for
better setlinge of them to cast water vpon them,
be suer that it be but sprinklinge wth some thinge
for the purpose, like a wateringe pott for that too
much wett in o^r Cloues the last voyadge brought vs greate
damadge.

To settle a factorie
& where if need be
& where Commodities
are sold better
cheepe for gould
then for money &c:
40.


Item that if it be thought meete that a ffactorie be settled at
Banda, Tornato or Tedore the better to advise
the Companie for trade as was form^{er}lie thought
fitt in the Comission geuen to m^r Kealinge & m^r
Hawkins in the last Voyadge³ you may leaue some
to that purpose wth some small stocke if vpon due
considera^{ti}on thereof at yo^r being there, it shall be soe thought fitt.
And seeing that by former Accompt^e it appeth that those of
Luntor and Nere did sell their Cloues & Mac^e much better
cheepe, to receiue their paym^t in gould, then in Royalls namelie
the Bahare of Nutmegge for 9 Royalls & the Bahare of Mace for

¹ A mistake for "into."

² See page 128, note.

³ See page 129.

90 Royalls in sylver: But payinge wth Gould the Price of Nutmegge but 7 Royalls & of Mace but 70. We therefore thinke it needfull that all meanes be vsed to sell o^r Comodities for Barter or Gould & to finde out such place where Gould may be had as especiallie as we are informed at the Iland of Nouaginnye¹ or ells where.

 Item that the Generall & Captaines geue often notice to the ffacto^r & others what they are to obserue by this o^r Comission wth espetiall chardge to the ffacto^r to make diligent inquirie of what Comodities are to be bought or bartered for in each Iland, & what English m^cchandize may be there vented, & of what kinde and Colo^r most vendable

To giue the ffacto^r chardge often of what they are to obserue by this Comission.

41.

Item it is to be remembred that o^r ffacto^r at Bantam doe their best endevo^r to peure the Cheneses to bring from Cheney sleaue and sowing silke of the Color and Syces² we haue now deliue^d to yo^r the Generall as alsoe some rawe silke that we may fall into some trade wth them & see yf they can sell any of o^r English Cloth to them, that they may be brought to thuse thereof.

what o^r ffacto^r are to procure of the Cheneses &c.

42.

Item for the quantities of money & m^cchandize put into each shipp we referr you to o^r Invoice deliue^d you herewth, wth the ptiuler sorte Coullor^s & prices wth patterns of all sorte whereby to make sale as is form^lie made men^on of in the 17th Article.

An Invoice.

43.

Item whereas heretofore the Companie haue receiued greate wronge by the Gen^lall & Captaines, m^r & Mariners admittance of voluntarie men, to goe in o^r shipp, we hereby giue an espetiall chardge vnto you o^r Generall Captaines & m^r: that you suffer none such to goe alonge wth you wth put the Companie to chardge beside many other Inconuenience, nor any but such as shall be allowed of by o^r direction & whose names are entred into o^r Booke.

no voluntarie men to goe in o^r shipp without admittance by the Companie.

44.

And yf you shall see cause to leaue any of o^r ffacto^r there we doe hereby order that the appointm^t of them to

¹ See page 125 note

² Syces

leauinge of the
faction at the dis-
crecon of the Genrall
& what the are to
doe being left.

45.

recide in those places shall be at the direc^con and discre^con of you the Generall wherein we hope You will haue that Considera^con as to make choise of the fittest w^{ch} shall be found able and meete to deserue that trust of ymployment neither lett o^r placeing them in the seu^rall shipps as they are placed be any rule to you or any ground to them, to inioye those places of ymploym^t, otherwise then they shall be found fitt and deserue, and o^r further order is that you giue espetiall chardge to such as shall be by you left there to carrie themselues verie kindlie wth those People, for that the Contrarie as we are informed hath beene hurtfull vnto vs, & that some of o^r mens vnkinde & churlish dealinge toward^e them did form^lie make many of those People refraine to deale wth vs, & goe to the Hollenders. And o^r desier is that such as shall be left there doe there best endevorⁿ to finde out trade at Mesopotania¹ in the p^te of Bengalla Cheremendall S^t Thome or any other places fitt for trade. And to take good obserua^con what English Comodities as Iron, Leade, Tynn, steele, Clothes, kersies, and saies wth their seu^rall kind^e and Colo^r are there best in request & their values: As alsoe what Comodities are there to be bought as namelie Pintadoes & such like for the Molloccos & likewise Booke Calicutte and Lawnes called Casa and such other thinge as may serue for England, where the first sorte will serue best wth Pearles, stoanes Muske Bezar, and such like wth their seu^rall prices, wherein we wish o^r men to be ymployed, each man accordinge to his skill, the omission for seekeing out whereof all this while hath retourned to o^r greate losse, and to the benefitt of the Hollenders whoe haue beene laborious and industrious therein, & this inquirie to be made yf it be possible before yo^r retourne to thend that at yo^r retourne to England we may be effectuellie adu^ticed of all theis p^ticulars soe far as you may, & of all other thinge for o^r better direc^cons in the next voyadge.

Not to ymparte the
trade to any but the
Company

46.

Item for that it is vnfitt & inconvenient that o^r trade be ympted vnto any but o^r gen^rall Companie it is expreslie ordered, & soe the ffacto^r are to haue chardge not to write or aduice any their p^ticuler

¹ See page 73. note 10.

freinde or others of the prices of any Comodities, either bought or sould But onelie in their gen^rall tres to the Gou^rno^r and Companie.

Item that you o^r Generall at yo^r retourne from those pt^e for
To bring an Inven-
tory of goodes debtes
and moneys you
shall leaue in those
partes
 47 England doe bringe wth you vnto vs from thence
 an Inventorie of all o^r good^e debte & moneys w^{ch}
 you then shall happen to leaue remaineing in any
 those pt^e puttinge to this o^r gen^rall Accompte all
 guifte present^e and gratifica^õns w^{ch} shall be geuen by any forreine
 Prince or Potentate vnto whome we haue now sent Present^e or
 others.

And further o^r direc^õn is that yo^u o^r Generall att yo^r comeing
To giue to the Ad-
mirall at Bantam a
Present (if need be)
 48 to Bantam doe besid^e the tre and present to that
 kinge giue vnto the Admirall & such other greate
 psonadge theare as o^r ffacto^rs shall aduise you to
 haue beene freindlie to them, such present or gratifica^õn as shall
 be thought fitt, and by their further kinde dealeinge wth you they
 shall deserue.

And alsoe yf Convenientlie you may we wish that a ffactorie
A ffactorie at Pri-
amon (if it may be).
 49 or at least some of o^r people be appointed to
 recide at Priamon both for their better health and
 saffetie, & for pcuring for vs pepp & other
 Comodities: yf there shall be men and stocke there to ymploie &
 you shall see iuste cause to doe the same

Item o^r direc^õn is that at yo^r retourne from Bantam you doe
To bring some Tynn
from Bantam &c
 50 bringe thence for the Companie some small
 quantitie of the East India Tynn for triall &
 prooffe thereof.

Item Touching the ffacte Comitted by S^r Edward Michelborne¹
What is to be done
about the ffact of
S^r Edward Michel-
borne (if need be)
 51 though we and the rest of o^r Companie knowe o^r
 selues to be meercleie innocent therein, Yet if by
 any meanes we or o^r good^e should be dampnified
 thereby we wish you soe farr as saffelie you may
 to seeke to that Kinge and Magistrat^e for redresse and recom-
 pence thereof. The w^{ch} yf you cannot obtaine then o^r will is that
 you vse the benefitt geuen you in that behalfe, soe farr forth as
 you shall see cause & be free of further danger.

¹ See note, page 134

And for that we finde best proffitt by the lardge sorte of Pepp
 both for the price that you pay aswell for thone
 as for theother, we pray you at any hand to buie
 soe much of the lardgest sorte as by any meanes
 you can gett, and let the same be put by it selfe into the shipp
 that it be not mingled wth any other.

To buie of the lard-
 gest pepper.
 53

Item after the deptime of the said Alexander Sharpie and
 Richard Rowles to diu's Coast^e as thone for
 53. England & thother as we haue by this Comis-
 sion ordered yf the said Richard Rowles shall happen to die
 (w^{ch} god forbidd) then we doe appointe in his place for order-
 ing and effectinge the busines by vs hereby Comitted vnto
 the said Richard Rowles his chardge vnto Richard Reaue ffactor,
 But neu'thelesse if the said Richard Rowles shall happen to die
 before he shall pte Companie wth the said Alexander Sharpie for
 diu's plac^e as aforesaid, Then o^r expresse will is that Wiltm
 Revett¹ factor be appointed in the place of the said Richard
 Rowles of Leiutenant Generall in this present voyage before
 any other. As alsoe by the death of the said Alexander Sharpie
 now o^r Generall to succede his place and chardge in the absence
 of the said Richard Rowles by death or otherwise vntill their
 meeteinge together againe in this voyage.


Item now lastlie & wth the first to be remembred we
 Comend vnto you all an espetiall care to haue
 54. yo^r Eyes open to all deuices & practises w^{ch} may
 be wrought against you o^r shipps and good^e in eu^y place
 where you come keepinge a continuall watch, whereby you may
 be readie to prevent any mischeefe intended against you suspect
 all howe freindlie soeu^r they seeme to be be redie still and stand
 vpon yo^r garde truste not yo^r saffetie to the carelesse attend-
 ance of the Comon Mariners whoe will not loose their present
 pleasures or ease though the losse of yo^r liues o^r shipps and good^e
 depend vpon it. And albeit we haue sett downe eu^y thinge what
 we remember & desier to be done in p^ticular, Yet yf vpon
 due Considera^õn you finde cause to aulter any thinge, w^{ch} we

¹ One of the factors in the *Assention*. After the shipwreck, he set out with the others for Agra, but died upon the road.

heare haue sett downe, haueing wth good aduice resolved there-
vpon we referr the same to yo^r discreçons, & for yo^r better
assistance & warie proceedinges therein as alsoe in all other o^r
affaires we appointe Withm Revett Richard Reaue and Iohn
Iourdan, if you see noe cause to the Contrarie & such others as
you the principall Comanders shall thinke fitt to Consider and
Consult wth you the Generall of all thinge needfull, whome we
wish you to imbrace & vse wth a loueing respect & freindlie &
diligentlie to hearken to their Councells puttinge in execuçon what
shall wth good deliberaçon be soe agreed vpon: And soe we
Comend you and yo^r endevor to Godde prouidence whoe guide
you wth his feare & defend you from all dangers. Amen.



Thinge deliu'd by the Companie to
m^r Alexander Sharpie Generall in March 1607. Viz.

1.  **NPRIMIS** This Comission of the Companie vnder
their seale signed by the Secretarie.
2. Item 12 tres from his ma^{ty}: & the English of
them to Prince in the Indies.¹
3. Item a saffe Conduct from his ma^{ty}: vnder the priuie seale for
passadge of o^r men from the Indies ou'land wth a Coppie
thereof in English.²
4. Item a Comission to m^r Sharpie Gen'all & a duplicate to
m^r Richard Rowles Leinuetenant Gen'all vnder the greate
seale of England, the wth duplicatt is to remaine in his
hande vntill they twoe depte Companie.³
5. Item a Coppie of the Priviledge obtayned by S^r Iames
Lancaster at Dachen & Sumatra to the Companie⁴
his obseruaçon of tymes meete to be obserued in the
East Indies⁵ And the Discripçon of the Ilande of
Banda Amboyna Selebes o^r Makasser Botton Seran wth
the wares therein spent and bought & their weighte

¹ See page 231

² See page 232

³ See page 227

⁴ See page 69


See page 136

together wth c^rteine direc^ons for sailcing vpon the Coast^e in the Indies.¹

6. A tre howe to deale wth Salbancke according to order of Courte the 5th of March 1607.²
7. An order of Courte held the 11th of the said monneth of March, not to deale in any other mann^r but by way of honest m^rchandize³
8. A tre to the ffacto^m of the 3 voyage⁴ wth a Coppie thereof & of theirs form^rlie sent the last yeare for better vnderstandinge what is to be p^rformed on their pte of the 4th voyadg wth a note of the manner of his priuate trade & howe the same is to be registred &c :
9. An Invoice of all moneys & other thing^e now sent: Characters⁵ to write Overland (if need be) & Beames weight^e & Scales &c.



Thing^e then deliue^d to m^r Richard Rowles
Leiuetenante gen^rall.

1.  N PRIMIS the foresaid Comission of the Companie vnder their seale signed by the Secretory
- 2 A Coppie of the foresaid Priuiledg^e obtayned by S^r Iames Lancaster at Dache^m wth the obserua^on of tymes in the Indies & the discrip^on of Iland^e wares weight^e & direc^on for saileinge vpon the Coaste of the Indies &c : before mencioned.
- 3 An other tre to the ffacto^m of the 3 voyage for the more saffetie in deliu^ry thereof accordinge to the supscrip^on wth a note of the mann^r of his priuate trade & how the same is to be registred &c : The Copies of all thing^e before mencioned are form^rlie recorded in this Register.



¹ See pages 73-86

² See page 234.

³ See note, page 234

⁴ See page 236.

⁵ See page 250.



HEE some of a Passe¹ to be procured for the East India Companie from the Grandsignio^r to **A B** and **C D** Gou^rno^r of his Citties of Aden and Mocca at the mouth of the red sea & to all & eu^ry other his Officers Gou^rno^r and superio^r of any his Provinces Citties Townes Seas Rivers & Bridge &c: thereabout, or ells where in any his Dominions.

That whereas he and his Predicesso^r are and haue beene for the space of many yeares in league and amitie wth the mightie kinge of England & the subiecte of that kingdome haue longe had and now haue free traffique and trade in Marchandizeing in his dominions and Countries through the Mediterranean Seas: And whereas some of the Subiecte of that kingdome (as he is informed[]) haueing wth their greate chardge and labo^r found out atrade in Theast Indies, & heareing of the fame & wealth of some p^te of his Countries in their passadge to the said Indies, are desirous to vizitt those place for thenlardginge of their said trade. And Considering how beneficiall the same may be to him & his kingdomes, & that such men in soe good an enterprize profitable to humane Societie deserue not onelie praise and favo^r but alsoe aide and helpe soe far as may be lawfullie & convenientlie yealded. He hath beene pleased of his Princelie favo^r to vouchsaffe them theis his tres of saffe Conduete and Comendaçõn Comanding the said **A B**. and **C D**. and all other his said Officers &c: not onelie kindlie and loueinglie to enterteine and receiue the said Marchaunte subiecte of England, comeing or passinge throughe, or by any of his dominions assistinge and relieuinge them wth all thinge needfull for them selues, their men and shippes: But alsoe freelie to pmitt them by land or by Sea to goe or saile to goe forward, or retourne and as their occasion shall requier to remaine in any his Countries Citties or dominions, grantinge them such libtie of traffique and priuiledge as shall be reasonable, wthout giuing or sufferinge any lett hindrance Iniurie or molestacõn to be offered or done vnto them, & yealdinge vnto them such offices of beneuolence & humanitie as shall be convenient to be yealded honest men and strangers vndertakeinge soe longe and laborious a iourney handlinge their owne affaires & behauieng them selues honestlie and peaceable.

The some of a saffe
Conduete from the
Grand signior.



AFTER¹ o^r hartie Comendacons &c: fforasmuch as we haue an intent to buie the shipp at Hull called the m^cchaunt Royall soe as shee vpon veiwe may be found fitting for vs in all respect^e aswell in her price as goodnes: & vnderstanding that by some yo^r affaires, you now haue occasion to be at Hull or thereabout^e: we haue thought yt good and haue soe concluded to send the bearer hereof m^r Robert Earle vnto you a man skilfull in shippinge to thend that by o^r instruccions giuen him (a coppie whereof we send you here inclosed) & yo^r good direccons, a diligent veiwe and inquirie may be taken of her, both for her price, goodnes, strength, breadth and fitnes for o^r seruice, as for o^r saffe inioyinge of her &c: Wherefore we pray you to make ymployment of the said m^r Earle herein, & to giue him yo^r helping hand for the pformance thereof in the best manner you may for the good of the Company. And further we doe requier you (yf you wth the advice of the said m^r Earle) shall soe finde the said shipp in all respect^e as aforesaid fitt for o^r service to vse the best meanes you cann to buie her for thuse of this Companie soe as you may haue her deliu^ed here at London wth all thing^e now belonging vnto her vnder or for the some of seaven hundred pound^e at the most for the cheeffest man of abilitie and otherwise wth whome you are to deale for sale and securitie of her we conceiue to be m^r Ioseph ffeild a man not vnknowne vnto you as we vnderstand But yf you cann not bargaine for her vnder or at that price at the most then we pray you to c^rtifie vs of the p^ticulars thereof by the said m^r Earle or by some more speedie

To o^r verie loueing
freind m^r Hum:
Smyth m^cchant at
Hull.

¹ Immediately after the ships of the *Fourth Voyage* had been despatched, preparations were made for the equipment of a *Fifth*. The *Merchant Royal* of Hull was mentioned at a court held on 22nd March, 1607/8, as a suitable vessel, and three members of the Company, including Mr. Humphrey Smyth, were requested to make the necessary enquiries. On the 19th April, it was agreed that Robert Earle should be sent to Hull to view the ship, and to "deale therein accordinge to o^r instruccions "giuen him & as he shall be directed by m^r Humfrey Smyth vnto whome we purpose "to direct o^r lres to that effect: as by o^r Register (of such thinges) at lardge appereth." On the 14th June, 15^l. was voted to Mr. Earle for "his paines & chardges" in going to Hull, but nothing is said as to the result of his mission. The ship was not bought, but this may have been due to the resolution come to that the *Fifth Voyage* should not be sent out by the adventurers in the *Fourth*, as had been intended, but by the adventurers of the *Third Voyage*.

Messenger that vpon receipt of yo^r tres we may resolue what to doe in the same. And thus not doubting of yo^r care and kindnes we comitt you to the tuiōn of Thalmightie London the 20th of Aprill 1608.

Yo^r loucing freinde the Adventurers of theast India Company in the 4th voyadge.



The Twentieth of Aprill 1608.

A remembraunce for m^r Robert Earle to be sent to Hull about veiwing of the shipp there to be sould called the m^rchant Royall.¹



INPRIMIS you are wthall convenient expediōn to goe for Kingston vpon Hull or to Beverley or theareaboute to m^r Humfrey Smyth of London m^rchaunt at what place you may there first finde him & deliuering him theis o^r tres you are to take and ffollowe what direcōns he shall giue you in this busines.

Item yoⁿ comeinge thither and findinge (wth the advice of the said m^r Smyth) that the said shipp may be for o^r seruice, you are to make diligent search and veiwe of her, of what strength she is of, what crosse beames, futtick Riders,² bottome riders & needfull standers³ &c: she hath in her: whereby yt may be the better conceiued what the cost will be to make her fitt for o^r voyadge.

Item you are c^rteinelie to learne her burthen, her breadth her length: how much water she draweth in her ballast, & howe much full laden, yf she be any way weakened by the longe lyinge not ymployed: her adge, & yf all her tymbers be sounde.

Item you are to vnderstand & see howe she is fitted wth good mast^e, sailes, yarde, Cables & other furniture.

¹ See note on the preceding document

² Riders are timbers reaching from the keelson to the orlop beams, to bind the ship and give additional strength. When a rider is lengthened by means of pieces battel or scarpel to it, the latter are known as futtock-riders. (Smyth's *Sailing and Back*)

³ Standard.

Item you are to make inquirie howe she is Conditioned in her saileing & steridge as otherwise: & alsoe what ordinance she hath, of weight and length &c: & of all other thinge needfull.

Item to learne her lowest price, & in that price what ordinance mastē sailes yardē Cables & other thinge are to be sould wth her and being bought howe she may be brought hither & at whose chardge & what good securitie may be had for enioyinge of her, & by whome yt will be geven.

Lastlie you are to make an Inventorie of all the premisses in writeinge the better to informe vs at yo^r retourne, in what state she is, what she hath & what she wanteth & the same being pformed you are to retourne by the first meanes you may: But yf before yo^r comeing thither yt shall fall out that m^r Humfrey Smyth shall be retourned thence for London then you are to followe theis yo^r direcōns w^{thout} him wherein you are to vse all care & expediōn & Retourne.



WEAREAS¹ we the Gou^rno^r and Company of Marchaunte of London trading into the East Indies Haue interteyned and hired Phillipp de Graeffe of the precinct of S^t Katherines neare to Tower of London Mariner to goe as principall m^r in one of the twoe shipps now late lie by vs prepared & sent in o^r fourth voyage for those pte. And haue allowed and paied him for his ymployment in the said voyage before his deptime hence theis seu'all somes following Viz. The some of One hundred Twentie and ffyve pounde for his prepaōn to sea: The some of Twentie pounde for fower monnethes Harborrow wage after the rate of ffyve

A Bill of Adventure
to the Indies

th^{is} is corrected & p
made as it was
related to his wife

¹ At the suite of the wiffe of Phillipp de Graeffe for a Bill of Adventure of the gaine of 550^{li} accordinge to order the 18th of November last. Yt was agreed that some fitt Bill wth the advice of m^r Deputie be made and deliuered her as sheweth requireth and that yt be noted vpon the same Bill of Adventure, what monneys Graeffe hath allreadie receiued, & howe much over and above his ymprest for future memory thereof." (*Court Minutes*, 14th June, 1608)

See also page 239

² Added in another hand

pounde p monneth: The some of ffortie shillinge for Boate hier: And further vpon his intreatie haue lent and ymprest vnto him the some of Eighteene pounde ou' & aboue the somes formerlie giuen him, the w^{ch} some of Eighteene pounde is onelie to be defalked out of such proffitt of Adventure as hereafter is granted him. Now knowe yee that we the said Gou'no' & Company, for further allowance & recompence of the good service travell and paines w^{ch} he the said Phillipp de Graeffe faithfullie pmyseth to to his best endeuo^r to pforme in the said voyadge both outwarde & homeward for the good of the said Company Doe by theis present for vs & o' Successo^r promyse and agree to giue and allowe vnto him the said Phillipp de Graeffe his Executo^r Administrato^r or Assignes, vpon the gaine & proffitt w^{ch} god shall send by the retourne of the same voyadge (the principall Adventure thereof, & all chardge of the voyadge good & m'chandizes of what kinde soeu' both by land or water first borne & deducted[]) Soe much gaine as ffyue hundred and ffytie pounde will produce that is to saie such rate & pfitt as yf he had beene an Adventurer of the some of ffyue hundred and ffytie pounde, & as yf he had put in soe much readie money in stocke in the said voyadge. The w^{ch} rate and proporcon of proffitt is to be paid vnto him the said Phillip de Graeff his Executo^r Ad^r or Assignes in such manner and forme as the gaine and proffitt of the said voyadge shall be paid to all other the Adventurers gen'allie, vpon the some of ffyue hundred and ffytie pounde by them adventured.

But if he happen to die before the retourne of the said shipp from the said East Indies, or those other place whither they they are directed, hauinge liued & Contynued in the said voyadge vntill the shipp, or shipp wherein he shall serue shall arrive & come to such porte in those parte, at w^{ch} it shalbe founde fitt to lade the same: Then the said gaine pporcioned of the said rate of 550^o aduenture to be paid to his Executo^r Ad^r or Assignes, as it should haue been paid vnto him, if he had returned wth the said shipp. Provided alwaies that if he decease before the shipp shall arrive to such porte in those pte at w^{ch} they are to take in their ladinge. That then the moneys imprested & deliuered him before his goinge to Sea shalbe vnto him, in full recompence of his

entertainem^t formerlie agreed vppon for the voiadge. And vppon theis Condiçõs & puiso before mençoed we the Gou^rno^r & Companie vnder o^r Comon Seale, haue giuen vnto the said Phillip de Graeff this p^{nt}e Bill of Contract & aduenture dated the 20th day of Iune 1608 And in the yeare of the reigne of o^r sou^reigne lord James Kinge of England ffrance & Ireland the Sixt & of Scotland the one & fforteth.



HEAREAS Witm Iennyng^e Citizen and of London one of the Adventurers and one of the Brethren of the Company of Marchaunt^e of London trading into the East Indies Hath not onelie Adventured the some of 100^{li} vnder me Witm Bonham Citizen and Vintener of London & alsoe one of the Adventurers & one of the said Company of m^rchant^e tradinge into the East Indies in their fourth voyadge for those pt^e: But hath likewyse trulie paid the said some of 100^{li} to me the said William Bonham as appeth by the register of the said Company the 4th of March 1607.¹ Now knowe yee that I the said Witm Bonham doe by theis p^{nt}e pmyse and agree to & wth the said Witm Iennyng^e That I the said Witm Bonham my Executo^{rs} & Administrato^{rs} shall & will vpon the retourne of the shippes or either of them sett out by the said Company in their said 4th voyadge or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliu^r vnto the said Witm Iennyng^e his Executo^{rs} Administrato^{rs} or Assignes a true and iust accompt and paym^t of the said some of 100^{li} soe by him adventured vnder me & of the proffitt & benefitt w^{ch} god shall send thereof ratablelie and accordinge to the gen^rall distribuçõn proporçõn and allotm^t w^{ch} shall be allotted disposed and geuen to me the said Witm Bonham & to all other the seu^rall Adventurers of 550^{li} in the said fourth voyadge proporcionallie to each mans seu^rall Adventure. In witnes whereof I haue herevnto sett my hand and seale the 4th day of Iulie 1608. And in the Yeare of the Reign of &c :

The Bill of an Adventurer of 550^{li}, in the 4th voyadge, to an Adventurer vnder him

¹ i.e. the Court Minutes of that date.



HIS Bill or writeinge witnesseth That whereas I Henrie Bridgman Citizen and Leatherseller of London, Haue vndertaken to adventure as one of the Brethren & Adventurers of the Company of Marchaunte tradinge to the East Indies the some of 600^l of lawfull money of England in this their pñte intended expediçõn or fourth voyadge to the East Indies in the good shipps called the Assençõn & the Vnion. And whereas Nicholas Skynner Citizen and Cutlar of London, & alsoe one of the Brethren of the said Company of Marchaunte trading to the said East Indies, hath alreadie trulie paid to me the said Henry Bridgman the some of 150^l of like lawfull money of England being one 4th parte of the said some or stocke before mencioned, w^{ch} said some he the said Nicholas Skinner is Contented to Adventure vnder me in the said fourth voyadge in such manner as all other Vnderadventurers haue done. Knowe ye therefore That I the said Henrie Bridgman for me my Executo^r and Administrato^r & eu^y of vs doe couenant promyse and graunte to and wth the said Nicholas Skinner his Execū & Administr & eu^y of them by theis pñte That yt shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Nicholas Skynner his Execū Administr & Ass^t & eu^y of them vpon the retourne of the ships or either of them sett out in this said fourth Voyadge or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same to haue receiue & enioye to his and their propp vse & behoofe out of my said stocke & adventure of 600^l the some of One hundred and ffyftie by him the said Nicholas Skynner adventured vnder me in the said fourth voyadge as aforesaid together wthall such benefitt proffitt encrease and gaine as god shall send thereof ratable from tyme to tyme according to the gen^{all} distribuçõn proporçõn and allotm^t w^{ch} shall be allotted disposed and giuen to me the said Henry Bridgman & all other the Adventurers in the said voyadge, proportionallie to eache mans seu^{all} Adventure. And further that I the said Henrie Bridgman my execa & Ads & eu^y of vs shall and will at all tymes & from tyme to tyme hereafter vpon reasonable request to vs or any of vs made by the said Nicholas

The Bill of Adventure of 600^l in the fourth voyadge to an Adventurer vnder him the Bill on totherside of this leaf^e not being allowed.

Skynner his Executoⁿ Admī or Ass^s make him the said Nicholas Skynner his Execu & Admī acquainted, wth all & eu^y the proceedinge in the said voyadge, w^{ch} shall Concerne the takeing out & receiueing of the said some of 150^{li} wth the proffitt^e thereof as amplie as shall any way come to the knowledge of me the said Henrie Bridgman my Executoⁿ and Ads wthout fraude or guile. In witnes whereof I haue &c.



WHEAREAS¹ **A B** Citizen and &c one of the Adventurers and one of the Brethren of the Companie of Marchaunt^e of London tradinge into the East Indies hath not onelie sett downe for his Adventure wth the said Company to the some of 550^{li} in their 4th voyadge to the East Indies by the Cape *Bona spei*: in the good shippes called the Assençon & the Vnion But hath alsoe trulie paied the said some of 550^{li} for his Adventure to Richard Atkinson Casheare to the said Adventurers in the 4th voyadge. We therefore the Gou^rno^r and Company doe by this o^r present Bill of Adventure promyse and agree to and wth the said **A B**. That we the said Gou^rno^r and Comp: and o^r Successoⁿ shall and will vpon the retourne of the ships called the Assençon & Vnion or either of them sett out by vs in this present fourth voyadge or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliu^r vnto the said **A B** his Execū Administ: or Assignes atrue and iust Accompt and paym^t of such stocke benefitt and proffitt of stocke as god shall send vpon the said voyadge according to the gen^lall distribuçon pporçon and allotm^t w^{ch} shall be allotted disposed and given to all & eu^y the seu^lall Adventurers except & alwaies reserued out of the said some or stocke before mencioned for and to thuse of the right owners of the same all such somes w^{ch} shall in due tyme iustlie appeare to

¹ " Was red a Bill of Adventure, to be made & given vnder the Companies seale " to all & eu^y the principall Adventurers in the 4th voyadge to theast Indies & ordered " to be engrossed & deliu^red accordinglie " (Court Minutes, 22nd Nov., 1608)

the said Company to be adventured vnder the said **A B** by any vnderadventurer in the said fourth voyage together wth all the proffittē & benefittē thereof wthout fraude or guile. In witness whereof &c :



The Bill of Adventure to the third voyage.

WHEAREAS¹ **J. M.**² citizen and grocer of London one of the Adventurers & one of the Brethren of the Company of Marchauntē of London trading into the East Indies hath not onelie sett downe for his Adventure wth the said Company the some of 150 poundē in their third voyage to the East Indies by the Cape *Bons spei*: But hath alsoe trulie paid the said some of 150^{li} for his Adventure to Thomas Harrington Threr of the said Company. We therefore the Gou'no^r & Company doe by this o^r p^{re}ntē Bill of Adventure p^{ro}myse and agree to and wth the said **J. M.** That we the said Gou'no^r and Company & o^r Successo^{rs} shall and will vpon the retourne of the shippes or any of them sett out by vs in this p^{re}ntē third voyage or wthin Convenient tyme after their said retourne in the same deliu^r vnto the said **J. M.** his Execū Admini^r or Ass^{ts} a true and iust accompt and paym^t of such stocke benefitt and

¹ " It is further ordered That all those w^{ch} haue paid to the Threr of the Company
" m^r Thomas Harrington all such somes of money as they haue sett downe & adventured
" in the third voyage to Theast Indies. Haue now yea^{ld}ed them by the Company
" vnder their Comon scale a Bill of Adventure for the same And for the Secretaries
" more exact doinge thereof, by yea^{ld}inge eu^{er}y man his due, m^r Stevens the Accompt
" Keeper is from tyme to tyme to giue him true notice what each man hath soe
" Adventured, & haue then alreadie paid in the same to o^r Threr m^r Thomas Harrington
" as aforesaid." (*Court Minutes*, 16th Feb. 1607/8)

" Att this Courte for the true makeinge of Bills of Adventure, according to what
" each man hath adventured in the third voyage to the East Indies yt was ordered
" that the Bills be made as it was now agreed & that all the said Adventurers, doe
" deliu^r vnto m^r Harrington Threr their acquittances taken of him, for such moneys
" as they haue paid for settinge forth of the said voyage to Conferr the same wth his
" & the Accompt Keepers Bookes, that therevpon the Bills of Adventure may be made
" accordingle, in w^{ch} m^r Threr is from tyme to tyme to write before they be sealed
" theis wordes viz (Examined to agree wth the accomptes by me Thomas Harrington
" Threr) vpon sight whereof, the same are to be sealed by m^r Gou'no^r wth the Comon
" scale of the Companie " (*Ibid.*, 26th April, 1608)

² John Moore (see the ensuing list).

proffitt of stocke as god shall send vpon the said voyadge according to the gen'all distribucon proporcon and allotm^t w^{ch} shall be allotted disposed and giuen to all & eu'y the seu'all Adventurers in the said voyadge proporcionally to their seu'all Adventures. In witnes whereof we haue herevnto annexed o' Comon seale the 26th day of Aprill 1608. And in the yeare of the reigne of o' sou'eigne Lord kinge Iames of England ffraunce and Ireland the Sixt & of Scotland the One and fforteth.

Examined by me Thomas ffarrington

Sealed wth the Comon seale of the Companie in the
pnt^e of me W^m Leighton¹ Secretarie
Copia



BILLS of Adventure as appeth on the other side of this leaffe geuen by the Gou'no' & Company of East India Marchaunte to the seuerall Adventurers in their third voyadge for those pte w^{ch} their seu'all somes, & the same vnder written by m^r ffarrington as by him examined before thensealeinge thereof. The w^{ch} are as ffolloweth viz. To

To m ^r	}	²	Morris	Abbott . for	.	.	.	200 ^h
			William	Adderley	.	.	.	125
			William	Allen	.	.	.	100
			Raphe	Allen	.	.	.	100
			William	Angell	.	.	.	125
			Samuell	Armitage	.	.	.	400
			William	Albony	.	.	.	150
			Henrie	Archer	.	.	.	100
			Paule	Banninge for	.	.	.	525

¹ William Leighton was Secretary to the Company in 1607, having been elected at some previous date not precisely known. The last entry relating to him is in 1609, but the loss of the fourth Court Book (1610-14) prevents us from fixing exactly the date when he ceased to hold this post.

² Probably intended to mark a transfer of shares, the name of the person to whom they were transferred being left for after insertion.

To m ^r {	John	Banckē	.	.	.	500
	Rowland	Backhowse	.	.	.	100
	Humfrey	Basse	.	.	.	550
	Richard	Ball	.	.	.	125
	Nicholas	Barnsley	.	.	.	150
	Robert	Bateman	.	.	.	250
	Edward	Barkham	.	.	.	400
	Richard	Barrett	.	.	.	100
	Thomas	Barbar	.	.	.	150
	Robert	Bell	.	.	.	250
	Witlm	Berblocke	.	.	.	320
	George	Bennett	.	.	.	850
	Richard	Beale	.	.	.	500
	Thomas	Bostocke	.	.	.	100
	George	Boles	.	.	.	400
	William	Bond	.	.	.	350
	Thomas	Boothby	.	.	.	300
	Witlm	Bonham	.	.	.	700
	John	Brooke	.	.	.	150
	Henry	Bridgman	.	.	.	315-2 ^o
	Robert	Brooke	.	.	.	800
	John	Busbridge	.	.	.	350
	Raphe	Busby	.	.	.	187-10 ^o
	Henry	Butlar	.	.	.	100
	Robert	Bucke	.	.	.	125
	ffrancis	Bucke	.	.	.	080
	Richard	Burrell	.	.	.	100
	William	Burrell	.	.	.	200
	Richard	Bourne	.	.	.	250
To m ^r	S ^r Thomas	Cambell for	.	.	.	125
	Lo William	Cavendish	.	.	.	500
	William	Cater	.	.	.	750
	Nicholas	Cage	.	.	.	200
	John	Casson	.	.	.	300
	John	Coachman	.	.	.	100
	George	Chamberlaine	Executor to	}	200	
	Robert	Chamberlaine	.			
To m ^r	Richard	Chamblaine	.	.	.	200

John	Chamberlaine Execū to	.	.	.	} 125
Androe	Chamberlaine	.	.	.	
Richard	Champion	.	.	.	450
Robert	Chilcott	.	.	.	450
xpofer	Cletherowe	.	.	.	200
John	Clinche	.	.	.	125
William	Cockaine	.	.	.	1000
John	Combe	.	.	.	250
Robert	Cocke	.	.	.	250
Richard	Cocke	.	.	.	200
Edward	Croashawe	.	.	.	125
Roger	Cotten	.	.	.	125
Wittm	Cotton	.	.	.	300
their 2 Bills deliuered to Allen Cotten their Executo ^r .					
Elizabeth ¹	Coles	.	.	.	150
Iames	Collimore	.	.	.	125
John	Cornelius	.	.	.	125
George	Chandler	.	.	.	200
Nicholas	Crispe	.	.	.	300
Ellis	Crispe	.	.	.	100
Thomas	Carpenter	.	.	.	100
Roger	Clarke	.	.	.	500
Wittm	Doggett for	.	.	.	100
Richard	Deane	.	.	.	650
Roger	Die	.	.	.	300
George	Dorrington	.	.	.	100
Robert	Ducie	.	.	.	125
Iames	Duncken	.	.	.	200
John	Eldred for	.	.	.	550
John	Ellacott	.	.	.	100
ffrancis	Evington	.	.	.	300
Nicholas	ffarrar for	.	.	.	100

¹ The name "George" has been crossed out and "Elizabeth" substituted, doubtless as that of his widow and executrix. Mrs. Coles subsequently married Sir Robert Leigh, who was made free of the Company on 28th July, 1609 (*Court Minutes*).

Erasmus	ffarrar	.	.	.	100
Thomas	ffarrington	.	.	.	300
William	fferrers	.	.	.	300
John	Hollaway ¹	.	.	.	250
John	ffletcher	.	.	.	150
Randall	Hopkins ²	.	.	.	125
Wittm & Raph	ffreeman	.	.	.	500
Charles	Glascoccke for	.	.	.	100
Anthonie	Gibson	.	.	.	150
Robert	Goare	.	.	.	250
Raphe	Goare	.	.	.	250
Roger	Godsalue	.	.	.	200
Richard	Gossen	.	.	.	250
William	Greenwell	.	.	.	
John	Greenwood	.	.	.	200
Reynold	Greene	.	.	.	350
John	Gardiner	.	.	.	200
S' Robert	Hampson for	.	.	.	100
Raphe	Hamo ³	.	.	.	625
Edward	Harrison	.	.	.	350
John	Hawkins	.	.	.	260
Simon	Harvie	.	.	.	500
Raphe	Harrison	.	.	.	275
William	Harrison	.	.	.	500
Humfrey	Hanford	.	.	.	250
Hugh	Hamersley	.	.	.	600
Roger	Heminge	.	.	.	100
William	Hawkins	.	.	.	200
Richard	Hearne	.	.	.	150
S' Thomas	Heies	.	.	.	250
Richard	Heyder	.	.	.	200
John	Higlford	.	.	.	400

¹ In place of "William Bysher," deleted William Fisher's adventure was "set over" to John Holloway on the 31st Oct., 1708

² Replacing "Alphonsus Howle," the original owner of the share. The date of the transfer was 26th Dec., 1708 (Court Minutes)

S ^r Leonard	Holliday	.	.	.	400
Andrew	Holdipp	.	.	.	200
Thomas	Henshawe	.	.	.	125
withm	Hinde	.	.	.	200
Thomas	Horton for	.	.	.	350
John	Hodgshon	.	.	.	200
George	Holman	.	.	.	187.10 ^s
Bartholomew	Holland	.	.	.	100
Stephen	Hodgshon	.	.	.	150
Richard	Humble	.	.	.	600
Robert	Harvie	.	.	.	125
William	Iennyngt for	.	.	.	187.10 ^s
Robert	Johnson	.	.	.	500
Richard	Ironside	.	.	.	375
Thomas	Iuxon	.	.	.	150
Robert	Key for	.	.	.	250
William	Kellett	.	.	.	100
Brian	Kinaston	.	.	.	125
Ieofferey	Kerbie	.	.	.	300
Simon	Lawrence for	.	.	.	125
Nicholas	Leate	.	.	.	200
Edward	Leaueinge	.	.	.	100
Nicholas	Lynge	.	.	.	
Thomas	Lidall	.	.	.	125
Edward	Lutterford	.	.	.	500
Mawrice	Luellen	.	.	.	100
Alderman	Lemon	.	.	.	350
John	Merricke for	.	.	.	100
Withm	Millett	.	.	.	300
William	Meggt	.	.	.	150
Robert	Middleton	.	.	.	250
Robert	Mildmay	.	.	.	250
Humfrey	Milward	.	.	.	250
John	Morris	.	.	.	100

John	Moore	.	.	.	150
Richard	Maplesden	.	.	.	200
John	Newman for	.	.	.	125
Edmond	Nicholson	.	.	.	200
Thomas	Nelson	.	.	.	125
xpofer	Nicholls	.	.	.	300
Robert	Offley for	.	.	.	500
Richard	Osmotherley	.	.	.	100
Roger	Owfeild	.	.	.	150
John	Polhill for	.	.	.	300
Giles	Paslowe	.	.	.	250
William	Palmer	.	.	.	
William	Palmer leadenhall ¹	.	.	.	350
Robert	Pennington	.	.	.	300
Richard	Pearce	.	.	.	125
Richard	Pointell	.	.	.	150
Henry	Polsteed	.	.	.	300
Robert	Palmer	.	.	.	
Richard	Piott	.	.	.	185
William	Preistley	.	.	.	175
Wifm	Pavier	.	.	.	140
Peter	Palmer	.	.	.	150
William	Quarles	.	.	.	100
Sr Wifm	Romeny for	.	.	.	650 ^h
Henry	Robinson	.	.	.	550
Humfrey	Robinson	.	.	.	400
Robert	Robinson	.	.	.	425
Henry	Robinson gent	.	.	.	500
Robert	Sandie for	.	.	.	600
Edmond	Scott	.	.	.	200

¹ Added by another hand, no doubt as a distinguishing mark

Thomas	Shipton	.	.	.	125
John	Sherington	.	.	.	200
Augustine	Skinner	.	.	.	100
S ^r Thomas	Smyth	.	.	.	700
Humfrey	Smyth	.	.	.	300
George	Smythes	.	.	.	400
Thomas	Symondē	.	.	.	250
S ^r John	Spencer	.	.	.	750
Richard	Staper	.	.	.	150[?]
Mathew	Stocker	.	.	.	400
Thomas	Southwicke	.	.	.	400
John	Stokeley	.	.	.	150
Oliver	Stile	.	.	.	300
Humfrey	Stile	.	.	.	150
Nicholas	Skynner	.	.	.	300
Richard	Stratford	.	.	.	350
Richard for Anthony }	Stratford	.	.	.	150
Thomas	Stiles	.	.	.	300
Francis	Taylor for	.	.	.	250
Richard	Tailbie	.	.	.	125
Thomas	Trotter	.	.	.	150
Robert	Waldoe for	.	.	.	100
S ^r John	Wattē	.	.	.	250
John	Wattē	.	.	.	100
Wittm	Wastell	.	.	.	125
George	Walker	.	.	.	100
Humfrey	Walcoate	.	.	.	200
Thomas	Westway	.	.	.	300
Leonard	White	.	.	.	125
Thomas	White	.	.	.	250
Wittm	Willaston	.	.	.	200
John	Wolstenholme.	.	.	.	100
Richard	Wiseman	.	.	.	200



AFTER my hartly Comendacons, Whereas the Marchantes tradinge to the East Indies, by his Ma't^e warraunt vnder the greate Seale of England beareinge date the Eight daye of february: In the vth yeare of his highnes raigne had licence to carry foorth: 20000^l: sterlinge of forreine Coyne, and havinge as yett transported onely: 14000^l: Theis are to will and require yo^r to suffer them to transporte the said somme in a Shippe called the Expedicon, accordinge to his Ma't^e pleasure, signified in the said letters pattente: And for so doinge this by vertue thereof shalbe yo^r warrant: from *Whitehall*: the xjth of Aprill: 1609:

The 10: Theres warrant to yo^r Ma't^e more for transportation of 6000^l parte of 20000^l forreine granted the Company by Patent from his Ma't^e:

Yo^r Lovinge freind
R. SALISBURY

To my very lovinge freindes the officers of his Ma't^e Customes outward^e in the Port of London, and to eu'y of them to whome it may apperteine



IAMES² by the grace of God kinge of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland defender of the faith &c: To o^r trustie and welbeloued David Middleton whereas diu's of o^r loueing Subiecte at their owne Adventures, Coste and chardge, aswell for the honor of this o^r Realme of England, as for the increase & advancem^t of trade and m'chandize, w^hin the same, Haue form'lie sett forth fower voyadge to the East Indies, w^h c'teine shippes and Pinnaces by way of m'chandizinge, by w^h shippes and Pinnasses they haueinge discou'ed and begunn to settle a trade in some parte of the said East Indies & their shippes beinge retourned in three of their former voyadge from thence, laden w^h sundrie m'chandize brought from

The copye of his Ma't^e warrant to Capt. David Middleton the 11th of Aprill 1609

¹ A mistake for 20,000^l. The patent referred to will be found on page 224.

² The Royal Commission for the *Fifth Voyage* (see note, page 115). There is a minute of this commission among the Domestic State Papers in the Record Office.

those pt^e, They the said Marchaunt^e intendinge to freequent those Countries of the East Indies by contynueinge the trade alreadie discour'd and begun. And indevoringe further discour'y of trade of those part^e for the more ample vent of the natie Commodities of o^r kingdomes And retourneing from the plac^e of their discour'y such necessarie comodities as shallbe of spetiall vse & benefitt both to Vs and o^r Subiect^e & haue now prepared a c'teine shipp to the said East Indies: *AND WHEAREAS* the said Marchaunt^e haue chosen yo^u the said David Middleton, to be principall Gou'no^r or Generall of all the Marchaunt^e, Mariners and other o^r Subiect^e w^{ch} are or shall be shipped in the said Shipp, we graciouslie favoringe their intended voyadge and approueinge and allowinge of their choise of you to the same gou'nm^t, beinge desierous to furnish yo^u wthall fitt and Convenient power and authoritie to rule and gou'ne all & eu^y our Subiect^e imployed in this voyadge, by a due obedience to be by them yealded Vnto you, in the obserueinge and executeinge of all such good orders & Constitu^{ti}ons as yo^u shall thinke Convenient to ordeine and appointe for the furtherance of the said voyadge to the honor of Vs and o^r kingdomes, and the advancem^t of the said trade, *DOE* hereby straightlie chardge and Comand all & eu^y pson and psonns imployed vsed or shipped in this Voyadge in the said Shipp, to giue all due obedience and respect Vnto yo^u during the said Voyadge & to beare themselues one toward^e another in all good order and quietnes for avoieding any occasion that might breede mutiny quarrells or dissen^{ti}on amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe w^{ch} is to be hoped for by God^e providence of the said intended Voyadge *AND* in default of such dutie and obedience to be pformed toward^e you for the correc^{ti}on and quenchinge of all such mutiny quarrells or dissen^{ti}on that shall or may be moved by the disorder evell disposi^{ti}on or pversnes of any the said psonns, *WEE DOE* hereby authorize you the said David Middleton duringe the said Voyadge or during soe longe tyme as yo^u shall lyue in the said Voyadge to chastice correct and ponish all offenders & transgressors in that behalfe accordinge to the qualitie of their offenses wth such punnishm^t^e as are comonlie vsed in all Armies at Sea, when they are not Capitall And for Capitall offences, as wilfull murther w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutinie w^{ch} is an offence that may tende to the ou'throwe of the

said Voyadge, the same being trulie and iustlie proved against any of the pson or psons aforesaid, *WE DOE* hereby giue vnto yo^r the said David Middleton duringe all the tyme of the said voyadge, or during soe longe tyme as yo^r shall lyve in the said Voyadge full power & authoritie to vse and putt in execu^{ti}on o^r Lawe called Martiall Lawe in that behalfe: *AND THEIS* o^r tres shalbe vnto you sufficient warrant and dischardge for the doinge and executinge of all & singuler the premisses: *AND* forasmuch as att this present tyme we are in amitie wthall Christian Princes & are vnwillinge that any our Subiecte should giue occasion of breach or hindrance of that league or amitie wth we hould wth any o^r Confederate freinde or Allies. And because we are not ignorant of the emula^{ti}on & envy that doth accompany the discoury of Countries and trade, & of the quarrells and Conten^{ti}ons w^{ch} doe many tymes fall out betweene the subiecte of diu's Princes, that meete the one wth theother in forraine & farr remote Countries in the Course & psecutinge of their discouryes, & being desierous that our subiecte should forbear to moue or beginn any quarrell or Conten^{ti}on (Vppon the Subiecte of our Confederate freinde or Allies[]), either in their proceedinge or retourne vpon or from any of their Voyadge, *WE THEREFORE* doe hereby straightlie chardge and Comand you the said David Middleton & all other vnder yo^r gou^rnm^t that neither in yo^r voyadge outwarde or homeward^e or in any Country, Island, Porte, or place where yo^r shall abide or come duringe the tyme of yo^r beinge abroad out of o^r kingdomes or dominions where you meete wth any the Subiecte of the kinge of Spaigne or of any other o^r Confederate freinde or Allies, or of any other Na^{ti}on or people their Shippes Vessells Good^e or m^echandize yo^r doe not attempt or goe aboute to sett vpon take or surprise their psonns Ships Vessells good^e or m^echandizes or offer any iniury or discourtesie vnto them vnlesse yo^r shall be by them first therevnto iustlie provoked, or driuen either in the iust defence of yo^r owne psonns yo^r Shippes Vessells Good^e or m^echandizes either by any other their disturbance or hindrance whatsoeu^r in yo^r quiett course of trade either for recompence or recou^y of the psonns good^e or m^echandize of any o^r Subiecte that are alreadye in or neare the East Indies or otherwyse for any iust cause of yo^r defence, as yo^r will awnsweare the contrary at yo^r vttermost prills.

AND wheareas we are informed that the said David Middleton hath sould in the East Indies, Three small peece of cast Iron Ordinance contrary to the Lawes of this o' Realme, for that the same was done vpon necessitie, & for the good of the publique service, & the releefe of such as were distressed in that voyadge. We are gratuslie pleased to dispence wth him in that behalfe: And doe by theis presentē pardon and remitt the said offence, and dischargē him the said David Middleton of and from all such penalties as by o' said Lawes may be inflicted vpon him for sellinge of the said Ordinance w^{thout} o' licence first had and obteyned in that behalfe, Any Lawe statute or restraunte to the contrary in any wyse notwthstandinge. In wittnes whereof we haue caused theis o' tres to be made Pattentē: Witnes o'selfe at Westminster the 11th day of Aprill in the Seaventh yeare of o' Raigne of England fraunce and Ireland, & of Scotland the Twoe and fforteth.

p breve de privato sigillo:

Coppin.



AFTER¹ o' hartie Comendaçōns &c Yo' letters of the xvith of Ianuary 1607² by Cornelius Matalife together wth a brieft of the state of o' busines in yo' handlinge we haue receiued: As alsoe yo' last of the xvth of Iulie³ by Captaine David Middleton in the Consent: w^{ch} shipp arriued here in Ianuary last (thanke be to god) in good saffetie, laden wth Cloues to o' very good contentm^{te}, for w^{ch} we haue had a good price & present dispatch, Soe as we haue none remaininge to sell: By him we alsoe receiued Henry Sydalls Iournall, wherein appeared what goodē yo^u sent in the said Shipp to the Molluccoes, what thereof was sould, what retorned to yo^u, & of Captaine Middletons whole proceedingē in the buyinge of the said Cloues: Alsoe one other Iournall of yo' accomptē touchinge

A Copie of the Ires sent to the factors at Bantam in the expedition by Capt. David Middleton.

¹ At a Court held 13th April, 1609, the Company's letters to be sent to their factors at Bantam in this voyage were "openlie read Considered and allowed of."

² Not now extant. They are referred to as received in the Court Minutes of 19th September, 1608.

³ Read to the Court on 16th and 18th January, 1608/9, but now missing from the records.

oʳ busines in yoʳ handlinge since the same was deliuered over to yoʳ by Edmund Scott, vntill the first of Iulie last, and thereby rest satisfied wth yoʳ due pceedinge in accompt, albeit as yett we haue not examined the same: By yoʳ lres we alsoe pceiue that yoʳ borrowed 3000 Royalls of the Dutch Marchaunte to satisfie soe much taken vp of the Captaine and Company of the said shipp to supplie oʳ wante, for the ladinge of the said Cloues wth we hope vpon the arriual of the Dragon and Hector, or by some other meanes, yoʳ haue duly repaid wth all thankfullnes, assuringe them further That we will hold their said kindnes in remembrance, and be readie to requite the same whensoeuʳ occasion shalbe offred: We are very sorry that there was noe better dispatch found for oʳ Cloth at the Molluccoes, consideringe the same is much ynpaired by the longe lieinge as yoʳ aduertice vs, But we hope that the Dragon and the Hector arriued wth you shortlie after, And that by them the same will be vented, either at Banda or the Molluccos wth God graunte we may heare: Moreouʳ we trust that yoʳ haue vsed diligence to putt of all other the remaine of oʳ goodē at Bantam, recovered oʳ debte there, and ymployed the proceede thereof, accordinge to oʳ lres by the said twoe shipp¹ If not we pray yoʳ to hasten the same.

That thaccompt of that busines may be ballanced & to
 balance the Ac- ymploy what yoʳ haue remaininge [C]not in-
 complies Ac- uested into pepp in Rawe silke of China called
 Lamkin, like vnto that sample wth John Saris sent vnto oʳ Gouʳnoʳ
 S^r Tho: Smyth: But take heed yoʳ buy not of the silke that is
 crosse reeled, & called canton for that sorte is not here vendible.²

The silke called Lawkin, is here well requested Therefore
 we pray yoʳ vse your best endeavors to putt of
 oʳ english Cloth for that Comoditie, whereto as
 it seemeth by Robt Brownes lres the Chyneses were willinge &
 desierous, if yoʳ had bene furnished wth any wth giueth vs good
 hope that those people, will fall to weare oʳ Cloth. Soe as we
 shall finde good vent for the same hereafter, & haue better

¹ See page 147

² "Item, in the Moneths of February and March heere [Bantam] commeth three
 " or foure lunces from China very richly laden with Silkes raw and wrought, . .
 " viz. Raw silke of Lamkin [Nanking] which is the best, an hundred and
 " thietie Rialls the Percull. Raw-silke of Canton, which is courser, eighty Rialls the
 " Percull . . ." (Saris's notes printed in *Purchas Pilgrimage*, III. ch. 2.)

meanes to maintaine an ampler trade there. ffor the better procureinge whereof, we haue now and will heerafter, send such Cloth as shall be true, both in substaunce and Couller, and soe yo^u may assure them Moreou^r we Vnderstand by m^r Brownes letter that a trade may be had to *Siquedana*,¹ for Diamonde whereof we would be glad to tast, and doe approue of his diligence in that and other adv^rtisem^te.

We hope that the Dragon and Hector arriued wth you in Convenient tyme, and that yo^u haue pceeded, to
Diamondes Bezar
stones &c^o: buy some Diamonde, Bezar stones, Muske & other Comodities (whereof hitherto we haue had none) according to o^r Comission, and tres sent by o^r Generall m^r W^m: Keelinge, for w^{ch} purpose we sent m^r Marlowe a Jeweller to goe to such place for the buyinge thereof, as yo^u should direct him: And yf neither m^r Keelinge, nor m^r Sharpie, haue entred into the trade of Cambaio, *Surat* or some other place of the maine, Then we would haue yo^u to informe yo^r selues howe strangers are intertayned at Suratt & Cambaio: And beinge imbouldenned by their aduise we wish yo^u to appointe twoe of o^r ffactors such as yo^u shall thinke fitt to goe passengers in some Iuncke or other shippinge of that Country to Surat & Cambaia wth such stocke as yo^u thinke good, to beare chardge to and againe to buy such
Indico Comodities as they shall finde there as Indico, of Laher,² here worth viij^s the pounce *Serchis*³ and the best *Belondri*⁴ worth v^s the pounce the Courser sorte

¹ Sukadana, on the west coast of Borneo.

² Lahore.

³ Vansleb's "Indigo named Serquis," *i.e.* of Sarkhej, 5 miles S.W. from Ahmedabad. *Shirkhist* is the bazaar name for every kind of Manna imported into India; and is the original Persian name for "Khorassan Manna."

⁴ Vansleb's "Indigo of Balludri" *i.e.* Valabhi [*Βυζάντιον* of Ptolemy, viii. 1, 7], commonly written Ballabi, now an obscure village about 20 miles N.W. from Bhavanagar, but formerly the seat of the famous Valabhi kings, who, in succession to the mysterious Guptas, ruled over Kathiawar A.D. 318 to 790. The Arab writers of the 9th century name the place Balhara, a dialectic corruption of *bare-rai*, and signifying (the City of) "the Great (Valabhi) King." See E. Thomas in *Numismata Orientalia*, Vol. iii, 1882. But for its close association with "Serchis" I should have identified "Belondri" here not with Ballabi, but with Vansleb's "Mirabolans surnamed Balludri"; *i.e.* *bakira* [Sanskrit and Hindi], *berda* [Mahrati], *bahadrha* [Telugu], *beleylaj* [Arabic], *beleyleh* [Persian], the dry astringent fruit, with its kernel, of *Terminalia Bellerica*, the "Belleric Myrobalan," used in dyeing. The "Chebulic Myrobalan," used in the same way, is the fruit of *T. Chebula*. Neither of these was the *μυροβαλεως*, or "unguent-nut," of the ancients, which is usually identified with the

will not requite the chardge and such other Comodities as they shall finde theare: Alsoe we would haue yo^u procure the best favor yo^u can wth the Gou^rno^r and other principall men of each place, yo^u come to, whereby yo^u may be able to enforme vs what hope we may haue of trade heereafter to such place, and yo^u learne what Comodities of oⁿ, kinde, sorte, & Culloⁿ will vent there, as namelie what Clothes, karsies ppetuanoes or other woollen Comodities & what Culloⁿ are in best and worse request leade, Tynn, Iron, steele, muskett^e, Calliuers,¹ Dagge,² sword-blade, headpeec^e, &c: and alsoe what Comodities they finde there fitt to serue for the Molluccos or other easterne pt^e, or to bringe home for England wth such other informacōns as experience there shall enable yo^u wth: Alsoe to send them to any other Citties or places of cheefest trade in those part^e, & there to learne the matters before mentioned, and not to lie still at Bantam as yf yo^u were tyed and bound to that Towne onelie.

Thomas Emmesworth we haue sent in this Ship a younge man one Thomas Emmesworth³ a man of good reputacōn, and soe we wish yo^u to accompt of him, whoe hath beene brought vp some tyme in Turkey and hath verie good skill in *Indico*, of all sort^e of silke, & other Comodities vsuallie bought in Turkey, whose advise therein we wish yo^u to followe Alsoe we haue sent in this Shipp three other servaunt^e, whoe albeit they haue place in the shipp: (Viz) Richard Wooddis⁴ pursar, Sophony Cosuke⁵ pursers mate, & Edward Nettles⁶ Steward, yett we haue inter-

seeds of *Moringa pterygosperma*; but the acid fruit of *Phyllanthus Emblica*, used in India as a pickle, was their *μυροβάλανος ἰμπλίτζ* [cp. Sanskrit *amlika*, and *amrita*, and Hindi *aonla*].

¹ A kind of gun or musket.

² Pistols.

³ Died at Bantam in 1610.

⁴ Left by Middleton at Bantam in 1610 as "chief in the house."

⁵ Sophony (Sophonias) Cozuke (the Kazak, *i.e.* as he is also styled in the Court Minutes, "the Russe"), entered the Company's service, perhaps under the patronage of Sir Thomas Smyth, in March, 1609, on an engagement to stay in the Indies seven years. In 1613 he established a factory at Sukadana, in Borneo, and in the following year attempted to do the same at Landak. Two years later, he took an active part in an expedition sent to establish a factory at Banda, in the Moluccas, but failed to effect his immediate purpose, owing to the opposition of the Dutch. In Oct., 1616, he sailed again, with Capt. Courthop, to make a fresh attempt, and this time the opposing parties came to actual blows. The *Saun* was assailed by a Dutch vessel and captured after a severe fight, in the course of which Sophony was "beaten in pieces with a great shot" (Jan., 1617).

⁶ Died at Bantam in 1610

teyned them to serue vs vij yeares, there wth you, & would haue them ymployed in o^r busines & such other psonns, as yo^u shall thinke fitt sent backe in the shipp in their plac^e. ffurther we pray yo^u to Consider wth your selues & thereof wth the next, advise vs, if it be not more convenient to procure Cloues, Nut-
spices from Banda
&c
megg^e, mace, Synamon, Camfere, Benianyn,
S¹
redd & yellow to be brought from the molloccos, Banda & other places in Iunck^e of Bantam, & other the Island^e, to yo^u, & yo^u thereto by² them, & lay the same in yo^r warehowse, to be reddie Clensed & fitted for o^r shipps, when they shall theare arive, Then³ to send o^r ships to the places to fetch them, In w^{ch} Considera^õn yo^u are to remember, to thinke on the pric^e they may be had at, beinge soe brought to Bantam of the Custome and chardge there, of the saffetie of the place, from the invasion of the Portugalls w^{ch} yt is thought they will assaye by Comand of the kinge of Spaigne (haueing now peace wth the Hollenders⁴) wherewth yt shall not be amisse to acquainte that kinge, that he may endevor to prevent yt: We thinke yf this could be brought to passe much hazard of o^r shipps and men in comeinge to those part^e may be prevented, o^r voyadge shortened, to o^r greate ease in victualls and mens wages, & the people of the Country better Contented in that their meanes of liveinge is not taken from them, for w^{ch} yo^u write they hate the Hollenders and much bewaile their owne hindrance. And as yo^u haue sent vs a Iournall of yo^r accompt^e, we desire in like manner to haue a Iournall pfectlie drawen out, and sent vs by this shipp of all o^r busines, as the same hath beene passed there, from S^r Iames Lancasters comeinge thence, vntill the begininge of yo^r chardge, aswell of William Starkey his accompt^e, wth the ballance thereof, deliuered to Edmund Scott, As alsoe a pfect Iournall of Edmund Scott^e accompt^e, and the ballance thereof deliu^ed over to Gabriell Towerson & the same carefullie pvsed, That entrance thereof may be made into o^r Booke^e accordinglie.

¹ Blank in MS.; perhaps sandalwood, or "saunders" as it was also called, is intended.

² Buy.

³ Than.

⁴ A truce for twelve years had just been concluded between Spain and her revolted provinces

Nowe yo^u shall vnderstand that vpon the hopes we haue of
money and goodes
sent by Capt: David
Middleton. better and more ample trade in those part^e: we
 haue resolued yearelie by Gode^s pmission and
 help, to send some shippinge vnto yo^u: and for that cause
 not being fitted wth a better at this present haue furnished and
 sent out this o^r shipp called the Expedi^{ti}on of the burthen of
 240 tonnes, whereof Edmund Musgraue is m^r and Iohn Davies¹
 Pilott, And therein haue laden 13 ballett^e cont 41 Clo: 40
 devonshire karsayes. 12 hamshire k^e. 10 Northerne karseys: &
 46 tonns of Iron the nomber sort^e Cullers and prices, being
 expressed in the Invoise hereinclosed, alsoe Chests Cont

Royalls of 8. All wth money and good^e we haue
 appointed Captaine David Middleton wth yo^r Councell, advise,
 and assistaunce to make sale of, and ymploy for vs, either at the
 Molloccos, *Banda*, *Bantam*, or els wheare, as in his & yo^r dis-
 cre^{ti}ons shall seeme fitt for o^r most benefitt, Consideringe what
 sort^e and quantities of those East Indian m^rchandize our other
 shipp^s haue laden there whome we haue appointed cheefe
 Comander in the said Shipp, and for whose assistaunce we
 would haue the aforesaid Thomas Emmesworth Henry Sydall
 and Augustine Spaldinge to accompany & assist him, for the
 better pformance of the ladinge thereof, either at the Molluccos
 Banda or ellswhere, as yo^u shall resolue: And the said Emse-
 worth or Siddall to write and send vs a pfect accompt, of the
 whole pceedinge therein, and this further we advise yo^u, That

¹ This is John Davis of Limehouse, who has been so persistently confused with his more famous namesake of Arctic fame. He had been in the *First Voyage* under Lancaster, in Sir Edward Michelborne's expedition of 1604-6, and (first as pilot and afterwards as master) in the *Third Voyage* with Captain David Middleton. After serving in the *Fifth Voyage* (here referred to), he went out again in the *Ninth Voyage* (1612-15), and on the captain's death succeeded to the command and brought the ship home. In 1617 we find him master of the *Suon*, which was captured by the Dutch off Banda, and the crew made prisoners. After his release, he was appointed pilot major of the *James*, which sailed in January, 1621. He was by this time advanced in years, and probably weakened in constitution by his intemperate living; and in December of the same year he died, while the *James* was on a voyage to Jambi in Sumatra. Davis, though an able and intelligent seaman (witness his "Ruter," or sailing directions, printed in *Purchas*), was headstrong and quarrelsome, and much addicted to drink; and this perhaps accounts for the Company's unwillingness (in spite of his experience) to employ him in posts of greater responsibility.

whatsoeu^r shall be either sould or bought for this shipp's ladinge
 This voyage to be a particular acct: aparte from the rest &c: must be done as a pticular stocke a pte from the rest of o^r busines Soe as yf there be any Cause to vse any of o^r goodē w^{ch} are there belonginge to o^r generall accompt the same is to be deliuered to this stocke, by weight, measure, or tale, And the same Valewed as yt is there worth: In like manner yf any thinge of the goodē sent in this Shipp shall be left ther vnsould, the same in like case to be valued as yt is there then worth, & a note of all the said quantities & valuacons to be sent to vs by this Shipp, That o^r accomptē there may be rightlie chardged therewth and a due repticon made accordinglie: And for that we vnderstand Augustine Spaldinge behaueth him selfe both honestlie and dilligentlie in matters comitted to his chardge for o^r occasions, we are contented to increase his wages from what he formerlie had, to xl^l p monneth (yf he be liuinge) The same wages to beginn at the arriual of this Shipp att Bantam, not doubtinge but that in his honest and faithfull carriadge towardē vs, he will deserue the same.

ffurther concerninge Thomas Emmseworth o^r desire is that
 Tho: Hemsworth. the shipp beinge laden and retourned from the Molluccoes Banda or elswheare to Bantam: That he stay wth yo^u in o^r howse there, and take chardge of the passinge of o^r busines to accompt, being assisted and acquainted wth the manner of m^rchandizeinge there, by some of you best acquainted therewth: And that yearelie we may receiue a true Iournall of what hath passed in o^r affaires there, by you, Soe as we may knowe trulie the pfect state thereof: we have alsoe sent yo^u herewth, the Coppies of o^r tres formerlie sent yo^u, aswell by m^r Keelingē, as by m^r Sharpey o^r twoe Generalls in the third and fourth Voyadge: And we wish you, That yf yo^u cann, you doe lade and send vs any other Comodities rather then pepp, Yett rather then the shipp shall wante or retourne wthout ladinge, Then to send vs some pepp. w^{ch} is more at lardge specified in o^r Comission for the Captaine.

Lastlie forasmuch as we haue vnderstoode, That Gabriell Towerson hath a greate desier to retourne home, we are Contented that he soe doe: hopinge that he hath not soe lightlie regarded the trust reposed in him, That he would abandon the

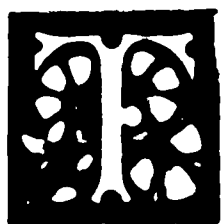
place, before o' leaue and direcōn, neither doe we thinke that any of yo^u all will soe lightlie regard either yo' reputacōn in the world, or yo' Creditt wth vs, That yo^u will leaue yo' place of ymployment, before we giue o' Consent, The like leaue we alsoe giue to Henry Siddall to returne for England, if he may be spared, wherein we wish you to haue regard to keepe a convenient number in o' howse both for the defence of yo' selues and o' goodē, as to giue releefe and supplie to such ffactories, as haue beene settled by m^r William Keeling in any other place thereaboutē: And whereas we finde by yo' accomptē, That yo^u receiue yo' sallarie or wages at iiij^s the Ryall of :8: and soe pay yo' selues, we haue thought good to lett yo^u knowe that we pay for the same 4^s 7^d besidē the adventure thither: wherefore we thinke yt fitt That yf yo^u receiue yo' wages there fforasmuch as we Vnderstand that they are worth there :8^s: That yo^u sett them at such an indifferent rate as may neither be too lowe for vs, nor too high for yo' selues, whereof by yo' next letters we desire to receiue some satisfacōn: Alsoe we vnderstand that yo^u make greate benefitt by Casshes and dealinge there wth other Comodities & yett we finde nothinge putt to o' accomptē in that respect.

Wherefore we could wish and hereby requier yo^u, That such a course may be taken wth the stocke that remaines in yo' handē from tyme to tyme, That thereby a profitt may be made thereof towardē the greate chardgē of howsekeepinge & otherwyse expended there: whereof we make noe doubte but yo^u will be carefull, And soe Comitt yo^u to the protecōn of Thalmightie.
London the xvth of Aprill 1609

Yo' loueing freinde
Thomas Smyth
William Romeny
William Greenwell
Robert Bell
Robert Middleton
W^m : Cater
John Busbridge.



Edmond Scott and George Scott Citizens and grocers of London bound vnto S^r Tho : Smyth of London knight in 500^l to be paid vnto him, or his certeine Attorney, Executo^r or Administrato^r ad vsum Gubnator et Societatis m^ccator Londinensiu ad Indias Orientales negotiantiu. That the said Edmond Scott his Executors Administrators & Assignes doe stand to the arbitram^t of those mentioned in this Condi^cion of awarde: And S^r Tho : Smyth bound in the like some That the w^hin named Gouⁿo^r & Company of m^cchaunte^r of London tradinge into theast Indies & their Successo^r shall doe the like.¹



THE Condi^cion of this Obliga^cion is such That yf &c: shall at all tymes heereafter stand to, abide, obay obserue pforme, fulfill, & keepe the award, arbitram^t, order, determina^cion & Iudgm^t of Robt Middleton, Robert Johnson, Raphe freeman and Christopher Cletherowe Citizens & m^cchaunte^r of London, Arbitrato^r indifferently named elected & chosen aswell on the pte and behalfe of &c: as on the pte of &c: to arbitrate awarde deeme & iudge betweene the said &c: and the said &c: for touchinge & concⁿinge all accompte Reckonninge debte debate and demand^e whatsoeu^r now dependinge betweene the said &c: & the said &c: Except all such seu^all Adventures & stocke as the said Edmond hath here adventured w^h the said Company & the profitte thereof: Soc as the same awarde determina^cion & Iudgm^t of the said Arbitrato^r be made & yealded vp in writeinge vnder their hand^e & scales on this side or before the 24th day of Iulie next ensueinge the date of this present Obliga^cion w^hout fraude or covyn. That then this present Obliga^cion shalbe &c: Or ells &c:

The bond of award
betweene the Com-
paine & Edmond
Scott. 1609.



¹ To be dated about March or April, 1609 For a note on Edmond Scott see
PAGE 14



BILLS of Adventure¹ given by the Gou'nor & Comp: of East India Marchante to the seu'all Adventurers in the 4th Voyadge wth their seuerall somes, & the same vnderwritten by Richard Atkinson² as by him examined, before the ensealeinge thereof. The w^{ch} are as ffolloweth. Viz to.—

	S ^r Thomas	Smyth	.	.	.	.
	William	Greenwell	.	.	.	.	616 .13 ^s . 4 ^d
	S ^r William	Romeney	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Symonde	.	.	.	.	500 . 0 . 0
To m ^{rs}	William	Cockaine	.	.	.	.	700 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Sandie	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Oliver	Stile	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Iohn	Eldred	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Humble	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 . 0
	William	fferrers	.	.	.	.	660 . 0 . 0
	Humfrey	Basse	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Brooke	.	.	.	.	700 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	ffarrington	.	.	.	.	700 . 0 . 0
	Raphe	ffreeman	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 . 0
	Martyn	ffreeman	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Iohnson	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Chilcott	.	.	.	.	650 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Stylle	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Bell	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
To m ^r	Iohn	Busbridge	.	.	.	.	650 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Burrell	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Gossen	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Iohn	Higlord	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	William	Cater	.	.	.	.	660 . 0 . 0
	William	Berblocke	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0

¹ For the form of the "bill," see page 273.

² Richard Atkinson, "servant to the governor," was chosen cashier for the Fourth Voyage on 28th July, 1607, and in January, 1608, having been "ever found verie" "faithfull & very fitt for those businesses," was appointed general cashier to the Company. In March, 1614/5, some of the secretary's work was transferred to Atkinson. In August, 1621, he had to submit to a reduction of salary from 150*l* to 100*l*. He seems to have died in the early part of the following year, and was succeeded by William Hurt.

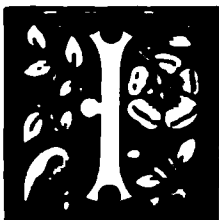
³ See note on page 275.

	William	Millett	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Christopher	Nicholls	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Pointell	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 . 0
	Raphe	Hamo ^r	.	.	.	.	700 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Henshawe	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Henry	Robinson	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Humfrey	Robinson	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Ironside	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 . 0
	Robert	Robinson	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Thomas	Westrowe	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Richard	Maplesden	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Edward	Allen	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Iohn	Banck ^e	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 . 0
To m ^r .	Richard	Beale	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 . 0
	Roger	Dye	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 . 0
	Icofferey	Kirbie	.	.	.	.	660 . 0 . 0
	Humfrey	Smythe	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	Thomas	White	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	Richard	Stratford	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	William	Bonham	.	.	.	.	860 . 0 .
	Richard	Deane	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	Edward	Lutterforde	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	Henry	Bridgman	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	George	Bennett	.	.	.	.	675 . 0 .
	Thomas	Whiteley	.	.	.	.	660 . 0 .
	Thomas	Cutlar	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	William	Compton	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	Stephen	Harvey	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	The lo :	Cavendishe	.	.	.	.	600 . 0 .
	Roger	Clarke	.	.	.	.	550 . 0 .
	Iohn S ^t	Andrew	.	.	.	.	200 . 0 .



In the name of God Amen the 14th day of Aprill
 Anno dñi 1609. A Comission agreed vpon and sett
 downe by us the Gou^rno^r Deputy and Comittees of the
 Marchaunt^e of London tradeinge to the East Indies,

aswell for the better direcōn of oʀ loueinge freind, and principall ffactor Captaine David Middleton, As for all other ffactoʀ, Master, Pylott, Pursers Mariners, and other Officers or psonns goeing in this oʀ present intended Voyage to the East Indies in the good shipp named the Expediōn: w^{ch} we humbly beseech Almighty God, to blesse wth a happy successe and Concluōn.¹

I  **N**PRIMIS whereas we the Gouʀnoʀ Deputie Comittees & Marchauntē aforesaid have to oʀ greate chardge prepared the said shipp named the Expediōn of the burthen of 240 Tonnes, wherein Edmund Musgraue goeth mʀ for a voyage by Godē grace to be made to the East Indies, And haue furnished the same sufficientlie and in plenti-full manner, wth men, tackle, victualles and all other needfull pussions for such a voyage, of a spetiall trust and Confidence, w^{ch} we haue in the integritie and iust carriadge of oʀ said loueinge freinde David Middleton: we doe appointe and authorize him Captaine to goe in the same shipp, and to Comand all the menn therein, haueinge pcured him sufficient authoritie from oʀ Souʀeigne lord the kingē ma^{ty}: in that behalfe: Not doubtinge but that he will soe behaue himselfe, as he may be both feared and loued. And that he will wth all his dilligence and endeavors prosecute oʀ designes & labour to bringe this oʀ voyage to a happie end.

2 Item for that Religious gouʀnm^t and exercise, doth best bynde menn to pforme their Duties: We doe appointe and order: That prayers be said Morneinge & eveninge in the shipp, And the whole Company called therevnto, That all ioinctlie may wth reverence & humility pray vnto Almighty God to blesse & preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyage: And for better pformance thereof we haue deliuʀed a Bible vnto the Pursar.

3 Item that noe blaspheminge of God sweareinge thefte druckennes or other lyke misdeameanors be vsed, But that the same be sevearelie punnished, And that noe diceinge, or other unlawfull games be pmitted, ffor that the same ar most

¹ This Commission was read and approved at a Court held 13th April, 1609.

comolie the begynninge of quarrells & many tymes murther a iust occasion of God's wrath and vengeance from w^{ch} the Lord deliver vs all: wherefore we doe order That there shall be ponishment^e prouided sett vpp and published in the said shipp for such Offences, whereby eu'y man may take notice what he ought to avoied.

4 Item That noe liquor be spilt in the Ballast of the shipp or filthines be left wthin bourde, w^{ch} in heate breadeth noysome smells and infec^õn: But that the overlopps and other place of the shipp, be kept cleane and sweete w^{ch} is a notable preserua^õn of health.

5 Item That Contynuall and true Iournalls, be kept of eu'y daies course, and Naviga^õn duringe the whole voyadge, wth a true rela^õn of eu'y thinge that passeth: And this to be done seu'ally by Captaine, Master, Pilott, the Marchaunt Masters mate and pursar and they at Convenient tymes to Conferr together aboute the same, To thend that yf any of them haue forgotten what an other hath obserued the same may be added whereby a pfect discourse may be sett downe to be presented to the Gou'no^r and Company when God shall graunte the said shipp safe retourne and to be kept for better direc^õn of posteritie.

6 Item That the Company & M^r take due notice of the seu'all provisions, deliuered to the said shipp, and to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for that purpose. And that the same be entred in the Pursars booke vnderwritten by the said Officers, To thend that such thinge as are puided, for their needfull supplies, may not be ymbecilled, And that nothings thereof, be ymployed for any vse whatsoever, wthout warrant vnder the hand of the Captaine, directed to the Officer that hath such chardge w^{ch} warrant shall serue for his dischardge in his accompte otherwyse to be awnsweareable for the same wth his wage, And eu'y such warrant to be registred in the pursars booke, The day of the monneth & the occasion, And this to be done alsoe by the Pursar vpon forfeiture of soe much out of his wages.

7 Item That at eu'y place where yo^r shall water and refresh yo^r selues yo^r shall call the whole Company together giueinge them most stricte & straight chardge and warneinge not to

straggle but to behaue them selues peaceably & Civillie towardē the people of that place (yf any be there) the better to pcure their freindshipp towardē the supply of yo^r wantē, And the like to be done and vsed, in eu^y place where yo^a come, least the losse of yo^r liues and ou^tthrowe of o^r voyadge, pay for yo^r disorders, beside an vtter discreditt to o^r Na^tion: And that yo^r men doe vse, a discreete meane in cateinge of fruitē, fresh victualls, or drinkeinge of water least they surfett, and fall into diseases, whereof we haue had too much experience: And the better to restraine vnrulie appetitē: We thinke fit That yo^a the Captaine doe appointe some of the discreetest in yo^r Company to pcure and prouide in such places, what yo^a want: And the same to be first brought vnto yo^a, and yo^a to repte the same to yo^r Company as yo^a shall see good and needfull, And that none presume to doe contrary wthout seveare ponishment: Alsoe that yo^a haue a spetiall care, to see the sicke releued wth such fresh meatē and other Comfortable thinges, wherewth we haue furnished the said shipp for that purpose: And that the same be not otherwyse spent in Ryott & banquettinge, and soe the sicke pishe for want of thingē needfull.

8. Item when yo^a haue refreshed yo^r selues at Saldania or elsewhere thereaboutē, where yo^a shall thinke most convenient and good for harbor, & plentie of victualls: yo^a shall apply yo^r selues, and wth all possible speede endeavour yo^r course for Bantam, And being arriued there, yo^a shall Conferr and take aduise of o^r ffactors for or Conc[']ninge yo^r voyadge to the Molluccos or Banda: And shall take alonge wth you thither such of o^r said ffactors there as yo^a shall thinke good, espetially Syddall for his experience as alsoe Spaldinge whome we hould the fittest psonns in that behalfe: But yf that yo^a cannott pcure yo^r ladeinge at the Molluccoes and Banda: Then we leaue the same to yo^r discre^tion, to be done at Bantam, or any other place where yo^a shall thinke will be most for o^r profitte.

9 Item yo^a shall espetiallie foresee, and take care, That in ladeinge either Cloues Nutmegge or Mace yo^a cleanes them as much as yo^a cann from dust and Rumps, That the shipp be not stuffed wth such vnprofitable ware as is not worth the Custome, And soe we loose all o^r chardge: wherefore rather burne the

same, then¹ lade it in the shipp And be carefull to buy dry Cloues and not such as are greene.

10 Item That yoⁿ be very carefull to haue yo^r due and full weight and the same putt into bagge nombred and marked and sent abourd the shipp wth some ffactor or other trustie psonn, wth a tre Conteyneinge the pticular of eu^y bagge vnder the nomber, The same tre to be deliuered to the pursar, whome we chardge to weigh eu^y bagge, at the takeing of yt into the shipp, whereby he may see that the weight is accordinge to the tre recciued, keepinge eu^y tre and entringe the Content^e in his booke whereby yf any error happen yt may be found out, w^{ch} we wish yoⁿ the Captaine to examyne eu^y nighte That there growe noe abuse.

11 Item That the purser be Contynually aboorde the shipp and take true notice of all thinge whatsoever are brought into the shipp or carried out cyther by the Captaine Marchaunt ffactor Master Mariner, the pursar himselfe or any other whosocuer, And to enter the same in his booke vnder the name of the Owner that eu^y one may haue his due at the returne, As the pursar will awnswear yt wth the losse of his wage: And yoⁿ the Captaine to giue the pursar stricte chardge in this behalfe.

12 Item, That there be but one hatch open (yf yt may be) at the ladeinge of the shipp, and thother hatches to be locked vp, and that the master or his Mate and the purser to stand by the open hatche when any good^e are shott into hould lockeinge the same vpp when they haue left worke, and the key to be giuen to the Capteine to keepe.

13 Item That nothinge be bought, but what is espetiall good And that yoⁿ doe not overwett the Cloues,² badd nutmegge and mace haue taught vs to advise o^r ffactors to be more carefull.

14 Item, for that voyadge of this Condiçõn and chardge cannott admitt any priuate trade our will is, And we doe expreslie order That neither yoⁿ the Captaine, nor any other, vpon any pticular, or other accompte, then the generall and ioincte stocke doe lade, or deale wth any of the Comodities herevnder expressed (Vizt) pepp, Cloues, Nutmegge, Mace, Synamon, Ginger Indico Callicoes Ambergreece, Muske Alloes Beniamyn Gumlacka Rawe & sleue silke Pearles Dyamonde

¹ Than.

² Some words appear to have been omitted here (cp. page 258).

Bezar stones: And that yf any shall soe doe the same shall be applyed to thaccompt of the Company as o' owne propp goodē It beinge noe way reasonable That wee should pay them their wages wth meate and drinke, And they lade those thinge in o' shipp, w^{ch} should defray o' chardge.

15. Item That in eu'y place where yo^a come and trade yo^a shall compare their waightē & measures wth o^r before yo^a buye To thend yo^a may knowe the Better what to doe And howe to make yo^r reckoningē, ffor w^{ch} purpose we haue putt a Chest wth weightē into our said Shippe.

16. Item we straightlie chardge That the best and sufficientest of o' ffactors be appointed to wey, what is bought by weight on the land And to keepe a pfect Booke thereof that the same may be nightlie conferred wth the pursars booke, whereby errors or abuses may be the better found out.

17 Item we straightlie chardge that noe excessiue drinkeinge feastinge or banquettinge, or shooteinge of of Gonnes be at any tyme made or vsed either aboorde the Shipp att Sea, or on land, The same beinge a greate waste and Consumpōn of victualls, wyne and powder & the cause of many diseases & disorders in the Company And therefore to be spent wth discreōn and spareinge.

18 Item That yo^a matt the inside of the shipp before yo^a put or lade any spice in her, espetiallie where yo^a lade Cloues Pepp Nutmegge & Mace, And that yo^a make choise of such Nutmegge, as be lardge and sounde, And att the ladeinge thereof not to lyme them too much, for that doth burne them, Alsoe that in any Case, yo^a lay the Mace in Canisters in some fitt place by yt selfe, That yt be not spoyled by the heate of the other spice, takeinge good heede to buy that w^{ch} is bright, & not wythered nor red, nor darke browne Colored And lykewyse for Cloues to buy such as shall be free of dust, The w^{ch} those people doe vse to putt amongst them for their advantage in the waight.

19 Item That yf necessitie drawe yo^a at the ladeinge of any Cloues for better settinge of them, to cast water vpon them, lett yt be but asprinkelingē wth some thinge for the purpose like a wateringē pott, for that too much wett in o' Cloues in other voyadge, hath brought vs greate damadge.

20 Item That yf o' ould Cloth w^{ch} was left at Bantam, be

not sould, Then yo^u shall Conferr and advyse wth o^r ffactors there howe the same shall or may be vented, either by sendinge yt to Banda: or by leaucinge (yf neede be) a ffactory at Banda wth the same and addinge therevnto some money and some other Comodities as yo^u shall thinke fitt.

21 Item That yo^u the Captaine doe giue often notice to all psons goeing wth yo^u in the shipp, what they are to obserue by this o^r Comission & direcōns, And that yo^u giue espetiall chardge to all o^r ffactors. That they make diligent inquiry what Comodities are to be bought or bartered for in eu^{ry} Island, or place where they shall come or arrive And what English m^rchandize may be there vented And of what kinde & Color most vendible

22 Item That yo^u remember, aduise & putt o^r ffactors at Bantam in mynde that they doe their best endevor to procure the Chineses to bringe from Chiney sleve and soweinge silkes of the Colo^r and sizes we haue now deliur^d vnto yo^u As alsoe some Rawe silke that we may fall into some trade wth them, And see yf they can sell any of our English Cloth vnto them whereby to bringe them to the vse thereof.

23 Item, That yo^u remember to doe yo^r best endevor to bringe for the Lo: Th^{re}r some parratt^e Munkeys Marmesates, or other strange beast^e and fowles, That yo^u esteeme rare and delightfull.¹

24 Item, That for the quantities of moneys & m^rchandize putt into this our said shipp, we referr yo^u to o^r inuise deliur^d vnto yo^u herewth, together wth the p^ticular sort^e Collors and prices, wth patternes of all sort^e, whereby to make sale.

25 Item whereas heretofore the Company haue receiued greate wronge by the Generalls Captaines Masters and Mariners admittance of voluntary men to goe in o^r shipp: We therefore hereby straightlie chardge yo^u the Captaine Master & other Officers, That yo^u suffer none such to goe alonge wth you w^{ch} putt the Company to greate chardge beside many other Inconuenienc^e, Nor any but such as are, or shall be allowed of by o^r direcōn and whose names are entered into o^r Book^e.

26 Item, for that yt is vnfitt, and inconvenient, That o^r trade

¹ See note, page 130.

be ympted vnto any, but to o^r generall Company we doe hereby expreslie order & appointe, That yo^r chardge all o^r ffacto^r, not to write or aduise any their pticular freinde or others of the prices of any Comodities, either there bought or sould But onelie in their generall tres to the Gou^rnor and Company.

27 Item That yo^r the Captaine at yo^r returne from Bantam for England doe bringe wth yo^r vnto vs from thence an Inventory of all o^r goodē debte and moneys then remayneinge in those parte. And that yo^r putt to o^r generall accompte all giuste presentē & gratificaōns w^{ch} shall be giuen by any forreine prince, potentate or others, to whome we haue hertofore giuen or sent any presentē, or to whome there shall be nowe any given.

28 Item, That by agenerall Consent of yo^r the Captaine ffactor Master Pilott & Mariners, some good order be by yo^r sett downe in writeinge, soe soone as yo^r come to Sea, conc^rninge the dispotiōn of dead mens goodē in the voyadge by sale at the maste, or otherwyse for buyeing, sellinge borroweing and lending one an other, And orderinge what Sallary shall be allowed the pursar, vpon eu^y pound, for keepinge accompte thereof to avoied Controu^sie and question heereafter, And eu^y Mariner and others in the shipp to sett their hand or marke vnto the same order: But yf any ffactor shall happen to dye, Then his goodē booke accompte & other thingē are to be safelie preserued and brought home for England.

29 Item, that for better preservaōn of health, yo^r doe from tyme to tyme, as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water, cause the same to be forthwth filled againe wth salt water for prevenōn of leakage & mustines w^{ch} must be often shifted.

30 Item, touchinge the facte Comitted in the Indies by S^r Edward Michelborne thoughte we knowe o^r selues to be meerele innocent therein, yett yf by any meanes, we or o^r goodē should be dampnified thereby, we doe wish yo^r to seeke to that kinge & Magistrate for redresse & recompence thereof, The w^{ch} yf you cannot obtaine, Then o^r will and order is that you vse the benefitt of o^r kinge ma^e Comission giuen yo^r in that behalfe.

31 Item, That yf the said David Middleton Captaine shall happen to dye goeing outwarde in this present voyadge (w^{ch} God forbid) then we will & appointe That Thomas Emmesworth

m'chaunt & ffacto^r in this present voyadge shall succede in his place, and be principall Comander in the said shipp vntill shee come to Bantam: And that yf the said David Middleton shall happen to dye at Bantam, That then yo^u the Master Pilott and other cheefe Officers, w^{ch} shall arive att Bantam shall Conferr and advise wth o^r ffactors at Bantam, w^{ch} of them there shall be held & esteemed the fittest psonn to succede in his place & roome: And therevpon he w^{ch} they shall soe thinke fittest, our will is, shall pcure the ladeinge of o^r said shipp, and retourne as principall Comander therein for England.

32 Item, for that we finde best proffitt, by the lardge sorte of pepp, both for the prices w^{ch} yo^u pay aswell for thone as for thoter, we will that in any case yo^u buy of the lardgest sorte, And lett the same be putt by yt selfe into the shipp, That yt be not mingled wth any other: yett o^r desire is not to haue any pepp except yt be to saue dead freight.

33. Item we doe appointe and expreslie order, That yo^u the Captaine wth Thomas Emmesworth, the pursar & such others as yo^u the Captaine shall thinke meete to call vnto yo^u, doe dulie examyn the dealeinge of all or any of o^r ffactors at Bantam, either in or for o^r generall accompte or otherwyse or of all or any of their priuate trade or trades, since their goeing thither: And that yf yo^u shall therevpon finde all or any of them, to haue dealt or traded for them selves, or to haue willfullie or cuningelie abused and wronged vs therein, or to haue demeaned them selues contrary to o^r expresse order formerly giuen vnto them in that behalfe: Then we will that yo^u take notice of their misde-meanors, and to admonish them, for reformatiō thereof, As alsoe to c^rtifie vnto vs the p^ticuler abuses by them or any of them Comitted.

34. Item, Lastlie but wth the first to be remembred: We chardge and pray yo^u all, To haue an espetiall care and reguard: And to haue yo^r Eyes open to all devises & practices w^{ch} may be wrought against yo^u, or^l shipp, or goodē in eu^rry or any place where yo^u come or shall ariue keepinge a Contynuall watch whereby yo^u may be ready to prevent any mischeefe intended against you, suspect all howe freindlie soeu^r they seeme: Be

^l A mistake for "o^r."

ready still and stand vpon yo^r garde, Trust not yo^r saffety to the carelesse attendance of the Comon Mariners whoe will not loose their present pleasures or ease, though the losse of their liues or¹ shipp and goodē depend vpon yt: And albeyt we haue sett downe eu^y thinge wth we remember & desier to be done in pticular yett yf you the Captaine David Middleton the said Thomas Emmesworth Edmund Musgraue M^r, Iohn Davis Pilott & Thomas Cleyburne² shall vpon due Considera^{ti}on and Consulta^{ti}on together finde cause to alter any thinge before yo^r come vnto Bantam wth we haue herein sett downe as aforesaid havinge wth good advise resolved therevpon, We referr the same to yo^r discre^{ti}ons: And for better assistaunce and more wary pceedinge in all courses, vpon all occa^{si}ons, & in all o^r affaires and busines for or conc^{er}ninge this present voyadge: We will & appoint the said Thomas Emmesworth (soe longe as he shall contynew wth you) and Edmund Musgraue Iohn Davis & Thomas Cleyburne to advise & Consulte wth you the Captaine of and aboute all thinge wth shall be needfull therein, whome we wish yo^r to ymbrace and vse wth a loueing respect & freindly & diligently to hearken to their Councells puttinge in execution, what shall wth good delibera^{ti}on be soe, by yo^r & them agreed vpon together, ffor the better avoiedinge of such Contenc^{ti}ons as were the last voyadge in the Consent. And thus not doubtinge of yo^r faithfull care & diligence herein: we comend yo^r and your endevo^r to Godē providence, whome we hartilie pray to blesse you all & o^r affaires, And to guide yo^r wth his feare & defend yo^r from all dangers Amen. London the 14th day of Aprill 1607.

p me David Middleton

Sealed & deliu^{er}ed in the p^{re}sence of

Richard Mountney³

Richard Atkinson.

¹ A mistake for "or"

² Thomas Clayborne was appointed master's mate at 6^s per month on 13th March, 1607. It had been proposed to offer him the post of pilot, probably before it was known that Davis was willing to go to sea again. Clayborne had previously been with Sir Henry Middleton in the *Second Voyage*, of which he wrote the account given in *Par. Lat.*

³ Elected in July, 1607, "husband" for the Company, a post which, with some slight interruptions, he held for very many years.

To o^r loueing freinde m^r W^m Kealinge, m^r W^m :
Hawkins & to all other o^r Officers & servante in any o^r
Ships Comeinge out of the East Indies.¹



AFTER o^r hartie Comendations &c: Whereas the
Officers of his ma^{ty} Customes doe vsuallie send
some of their servaunte abourde all shipps comeinge
to any pte of this Realme to haue care that by noe
meanes his ma^{ty} Customes may be defrauded, to avoyde all
blame to o^r selues and yo^u, we haue thought
good to requier yo^u that yf any of their said
servante shall come abourde of any of ou
Shipps that yo^u doe intertaine them in kinde and loueing manner
for the better execution of their place & his ma^{ty} service. And
further accordinge to o^r instruc^{ti}ons formerlie giuen yo^u, we
earnestly wish & requier yo^u carefullie to keepe and reserue for
his ma^{ty}: & the Lord^e all such rare fowles beast^e or other thing^e
as are by you, or any of yo^r Company brought from those pte^s,
and to vse such meanes as none of them be sould or giuen away
before they come to o^r hand^e, for the comeinge thereof to the
hand^e of his ma^{ty}: or the Councell or any other by any other
meanes then from vs, will be some disgrace & discontent to the
Company. And thus not doubtinge of yo^r care herein we bid you
farewell London the 14th of August 1609.

⁴ of this Tenor
deliured to m^r Wor-
stenholme

Yo^r loueing freinde the Company of Marchaunte of
London tradeinge to the East Indies.



¹ " And further yt is ordered that twoe lres be written in the name of the Companie.
" The one Thother to m^r W^m : Kealeinge, m^r W^m : Hawkins, & to
" all other the Companies Officers & servauntes in any their shipps comeinge out of
" the East Indies in the behalfe of the Officers of his Ma^{ties}: Customes, & for reserue-
" inge of all strange fowles & beastes &c: for the kinge and Councell, of w^{ch} Tenor
" fflower lres were written as appereth in the Register & deliured to m^r Worstenholme
" to be sent and disposed of as should be thought fitt." (Court Minutes, 14th Aug.,
1609)

To o' loueing freinde Anthony Marlowe & Francis
Bucke or either of them at Lisborne¹



one of this Tenor de-
puted to Mr Eldred

AFTER o' hartie Comendacons &c: yo' tres dated in
Lisborne the 15th of Iulie last we haue receiued
whereby as we are verrie sorrie to heare of yo' hard
mishapps, soe we haue done & will vse all possible
and speedie meanes that in vs lieth for yo' releefe and inlardgm¹,
& will be readie to pforme what other thinge yo'
doe requier of vs by yo' said tres: In the meane
season we haue thought good by this occasion not onelie to
make knowne vnto yoⁿ o' greefe for this yo' distresse, but
alsoe to aduertice yoⁿ that for yo' better releefe & Comfort
we haue dealt wth o' good freind Mr Iohn Eldred,² to giue
order to his servant W^m: Squier remayneinge at Lisborne, to
furnish yoⁿ for yo' present necessities wth the some of Twoe
hundred Duckette yf yoⁿ shall need soe much & further (yf
need be) wth the some of three or fower hundred Duckette
more, yf for the same yoⁿ cann assuredlie by any good meanes
there, worke yo' inlardgm¹: Wherein yoⁿ are to be well
aduiced & be of some c'teine growndt before yoⁿ parte wth any
money & thus wishinge yoⁿ to Comforte yo' selues in the lord
whoe will bringe theis yo' troubles to a blessed yssewe in his
good tyme as may make most to his glorie & yo' Comforte in
hast we end as we begunn the 14th of August 1609.

Yo' loueing freinde the Company of Marchaunte of
London tradeinge to the East Indies.



¹ See page 217. This letter was read and committed to the charge of Mr. Eldred, who is entreated & hath taken vpon him to doe the same & to furnish them wth the money & to bringe to the Tenor of the same Tres, at a Court Meeting on 14th Aug. 1609.

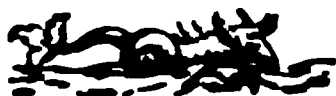
² See page 114. note 6

To the right wo^{ll}: my very loueing freinde S^r:
Thomas Walsingham knight & other his Ma^{'e}: Iustices
of the Peace Assembled at Crayford in Kent or
elswhere.¹



AFTER my hartiest Comendacons &c: Wheareas
Anthonie Emerson and shipwrighte latelie
hired by the East India Company & by them ymployed
about the builedinge of their Shipps at Deptford,
doe notwthstandinge their said agreem^t now absent them selues
from the said worke to the greate hindraunce thereof, and evill
example vnto others. I ame in the name of the said Companie
to intreate yo^r favo^r herein, espetiallie beinge a Case of greate
ymportaunce for the hono^r and proffitt of this kingdome
Whereby they may be soe ponished accordinge to the statute
in that respect puided, as yt be a warninge vnto them and others
to abstaine from the like. And thus not doubtinge of yo^r kinde
favo^r herein I Comitt yo^u to the Tuicon of Thalmightie. London
the 25th of Septemb . 1609.

Yo^r loueing freind
Tho: Smyth.



To the right wo^{ll}: my very loueing freinde S^r:
Robert Mansfeild knight one of the principall Officers
of his Ma^{'e}: Navy.²



S^R The East India Companie haueinge caused certaine
Iron Ordinance to be made readie for their shipps
now abuildinge at Deptford, haue not as yett any
Convenient place for the stowadge thereof. Wherefore I hartelie
pray yo^u to affoorde them soe much favo^r as to giue yo^r order that
the said Iron Ordinance may be suffered to be laid on his Ma^{'e}

¹ " Itt is ordered that a lre be writt to the Iustices at Crayford to deale wth the
" twoe Carpenters gone away, accordinge to the statute in that case prouided, as by
" Register of Lres at lardge appereth." (*Court Minutes*, 25th September, 1609.)

² " And further yt is ordered That a lre be writt to S^r Robert Mansfeild for leaue
" to lay the Iron Ordinance on the kinges Wharffe at Debtford as at lardge in the
" Register Appeareth " (*Court Minutes*, 25th September, 1609)

Wharfe at Deptford there to remaine for some shorte space vntill
the Shipp be lanchd. The wth yo^r favor the Companie will be
readie to requite in the best manner they May: And I remaine
Yo^r very loueing freinde

London the 25th of
Septemb 1609.

Tho: Smyth:



THEISE are to Certifie all those whome yt may Concerne
That we the Gou^rno^r and Companie of the Marchaunte
of London tradinge into the East Indies haue
appointed the Bearer hereof Barber wth all
expedicon to make his repaier aboard of Shipp called the Dragon
latelic come from the Indies, and there to
remayne to foresee and vse all meanes for
prevencon that noe goodt of what kinde soever be
conveyed or carried out of the said Shipp wthout
the warrant of the Gou^rno^r of the said Company in writeinge
accordinge to the Tenor of a lre from the Lo^r highe Thier of
England, whearevnto we doe authorize him by this o^r Comission.
In witnes whereof I the Gou^rno^r of the said Companie haue
hearevnto sett my hand the 15th of November 1609.

A Commission
not printed, such a
one beinge used
out of the Dragon
with a power

Tho: Smyth.



London the of March 1609.



ALBEY^T we haue receiued noe lres from yo^r, nor yo^r
Generall since yo^r departure, nor otherwyse heard from
yo^r, but by some vncertaine reports from Cairo,
wherby wee vnder stand yo^r haue traded at Mocho
netre Aden, both in sellinge of English and buyinge those

The arrival of the Dragon at Deptford was announced at
the house of the merchants of the East India Company that it was the
first of November, and that the ship was expected to arrive at
Deptford that night, and that all expeditions were to be made to the Dragon with
Commission to foresee and prevent that no goods should be conveyed out
of the ship without the warrant of the Governor of the said Company.
The Governor of the said Company was then at Deptford, and he was
at the house of the merchants of the East India Company, and he was
at the house of the merchants of the East India Company.

Rich: Reane
Wm: Revett
John Iourden
Philip Calasocke
Ioffrey Carene
Rich: Weekes
and others.

Country Commodities, whereof we hope yo^u haue by the Carivan of Aleppo, and by the way of Cairo written vnto vs as alsoe haue sent Iohn Iourden overland accordinge to yo^r Comission,¹

w^{ch} yf yo^u haue neglected yo^u are worthy much blame, for yt may much preiudice the Company, and be the occasion of yo^r owne waunte, for that we knowe not whither to direct either shippinge or fres vnto yo^u: yett such is the care we haue of yo^r good that haueinge now sent out three Ships to say the Tradesincrease of 1000 Tuns,² the Pepp Corne of 240 Tuns and the Little Darlynge of 100 Tuns whereof is Admirall S^r Henrie Middleton³ and m^r Lawrence fleemell⁴ principall ffacto^r: we haue not onelie by them sent yo^u theis fres but alsoe haue giuen them chardge in their Comission, that wheresoeuer they shall finde any of yo^u they shewe you all loue and kindnes whereof we doubt not.

Our pleasure therefore is that all such stocke as is (for o^r accompt of the fourth voyadge) in all or any of yo^r Custodies or w^{ch} you may receiue, yo^u doe as M^r fleemell shall aduise yo^u (yf already yo^u haue not) speedilie tourne into such Commodities as are best and most profitabie for theis parte, and w^{ch} will take least bulke, as good rawe silke, fine booke Callicoes yf they be cheepe, rich Indico, good drugges, cloues, or maces well chosen for we must pay freight for them to the accompt of the Sixt voyadge, yett doe we not soe tye yo^u to the saveinge of freight but that yo^u should send such Commodities whereof alsoe wee may make most profitt, & the same to packe vpp very safe from wettinge markeinge them both vpon the Inner & outer surplus wth a distincte marke & n^o: whereby the same may be distinguished from goodes of any other voyadge.

¹ See page 245

² Said to have been the largest merchant ship up to that time built in England.

³ See page 46, note 3.

⁴ Proposed for "general" in the *Fourth Voyage*, but "spared" until the next expedition. On 13th Nov., 1609, he was appointed a factor for the *Sixth Voyage* at a salary of 200*l* per annum, with the stipulation that he should remain in the Indies at least three years. He died suddenly, 29th May, 1611, at Mocha, of poison, administered, as was thought, by the Aga, whom he had threatened to report at Constantinople.

And Concerninge yo^r selues whether yoⁿ shall stay in those parte or not, we haue referred that vnto S^r Henry Middleton M^r ffemell and Captaine Hawkins to deale wth yoⁿ vpon termes of stayinge and to contynue the same wages wth we formerlie agreed wth yoⁿ for, that soe the chardge of soe many as shall there remaine may be put to the accompt of this Sixt voyadge, and the rest to come home in the first Shipp that retourneth for England. Yoⁿ shall alsoe vnderstand that in this Sixt voyadge we giue o^r ffactoⁿ, noe liberty for any priuate trade but for soe much as they putt into the generall stocke, wee are contented to accept thereof bindinge them from priuate traffique directly or indirectlie, and for such wages as we are agreed vpon, they or their Assignes shall yearlie receiue the same in England, soe that they are not to receiue any wages in the Indies, exceptinge onlie some x^h yearlie to buy them apprell, and that to be paid them in Ryalls of 8 at 5^s p pæce wth we knowe to be a reasonable rate consideringe they cost us here 4^s—6^d p Ryall beside the venture and forbearance.

Now therefore soe many of yoⁿ as shall be elected to stay there and shall be contented wth theis Conditions, giueinge Bond for the true pformance thereof shall be assured to haue yo^r wages according to agreement.

And because yoⁿ had some liberty granted by the fourth voyadge to adventure some small matter in priuate we are content that such as stay behinde as ffactoⁿ (in payinge freight) shall send home such stocke as they haue gathered, vnto m^r Governo^r and Company wth shall be sould for their most aduantage, and yf they shall desyre the proceede thereof to be sent backe in the generall stocke, their request therein shall be pformed, but henceforth noe priuate adventure to any ffacto^r will be permitted.

And yf any of you dislike of the restraints of yo^r priuate trade, wee haue giuen order that yoⁿ may retourne in theis Shippes: but yf you shall be willinge to stay, yo^r may expect the Company will not lesse. Consider of yo^r desirables then yo^r care and diligence shall giue them iust occasion, for hitherto they haue neuer beene vngratefull vnto any that haue well deserved.

London the of March 1609.¹



FORASMUCH as since yo^r deptime we haue receiued noe tres from yo^a, nor M^r Rowles and yett haue hard by tres written from Cairo home (thoughe vncertaine intelligence) that yo^a haue had good traffique at Mocho both in sellinge o^r English Comodities and byinge Indico and other m^rchandize whereof we hope (though we haue not receiued them) yo^a haue written tres by the Carivans and sent Iohn Iourden over land according to yo^r Comission, w^{ch} yf yo^a haue not done will argue greate remisnes & may not onlie greatelie hinder the Company, but alsoe discouradge such ffacto^{rs} as yo^a haue lefte in those parte, for want of supplies Wherefore we haue by S^r Henry Middleton Generall of this o^r sixt voyadge not onlie written theis few lines vnto yo^a but alsoe by him sent tres vnto any such ffactory as yo^a may in any place haue planted prayinge yf by the prouidence of God yo^a shall meete together that vpon receipt of this o^r tre yo^a would relate vnto S^r Hen: Middleton, [or] his viceadmirall one m^r ffeemell the whole proceedinge of yo^r voyadge and to aduise him where yo^a haue traded, where yo^a finde least danger, & most apparance of proffitt, As alsoe yf yo^a haue lefte any of o^r stocke behinde, where, and at whose hande yt may be demanded to thend he may accordinge to order giuen him send or bringe home the same when he retourneth.

ffurther we desier yo^a to assist him and m^r Lawrance ffeemell wth yo^r best advice not onlie w^{ch} of those ffacto^{rs} yo^r selfe haue placed in that Country, but alsoe w^{ch} amongst all the ffacto^{rs} that wee haue either at Aden, Suratt, Bantam, or ells where wth whome yo^a may haue conversed are the fittest men to be ymployed in o^r service both in regard of their honest carriadge, and sufficient knowledge of that Country Comodities.



¹ A corresponding letter to the Commanders of the *Fourth Voyage*.

London y^e 19th of March. 1609.



John Hearne
Robert Browne
Henry Syddall
Bantam

Y^e the Dragon wth God be prayesd arryved at Plymouth the middle of Septemb^r last we received tres twoe from yo^r John Hearne one from Robt Browne one from John Sarys & one from Henry Syddall: By John Hearnies tre the third of Septemb^r we haue aduise what pepp, Alloes, white Benjamin and silke was sent for o^r accompt all wth we haue receiued by Gods favo^r althoughe the Ship was very leakye and came weaklie home, in soe yll case as that we durst scarce adventure her (after she was lightened aboue 100 Tonns { }) to come for London notwthstandinge we finde avery greate want of the pepp yo^r write was put abourd, to the full want as yt appeth to vs to be, Aboue twentie Tuns each Tun cont 2000 waight: w^h seemeth the more strange vnto vs in that the pepp yo^r laded at Bantam had lyen soe longe and dryed soe much, that of 748 sacke, there was lost 238 there, all w^h Considered together maketh vs thinke that o^r busines was not well husbanded neither wth yo^r nor in the Shipp comenge home: Therefore we pray yo^r that hereafter nothinge be bought nor sould privatelic but that yo^r Iournall or booke Couchant may contynnally lay open for eu^y one that is o^r ffacto^r to looke vpon, for wee hould yt noe way fitt, that he that is o^r cheefe ffacto^r, should carrie all the accompte close to him selfe in such sorte that those whoe are wth him can giue noe reason howe o^r Commodities are lessened, giifte given, nor howe the wante doe happen as some of yo^r schues haue written vnto vs in theis yo^r tres, that yo^r can yeald vs noe reason w^h way the foresaid 238 bagge of pepp should be lost:

We are sorry that there hath not bene a Contynuall booke kept there that we might thereby haue discerned in good sorte howe o^r busines hath bene carried. ffet we are giuen to vnderstand that m^r Scott brought away his owne accompte as alsoe m^r Towerson did the lyke and lette noe Coppies of them wth yo^r. It had bene fittinge for such as are the Companies seruante to haue kept a booke for the Company, there to haue remaned, and haue brought home a Coppy thereof for their owne vse, or at least so much thereof as might concerne them. ffet an amendm^t

whereof we haue sent yo^u a lardge booke to be a Contynuall Couchant soe longe as yt shall last, willinge yo^u the principall ffactor and those that shall succede yo^u, that from hencforth yo^u suffer those that are factor wth yo^u to be priuie to all thinge bought and sould or otherwyse to be disposed of As alsoe that yo^r booke and accompte may be publique and comon to all the rest of o^r ffactor, w^{ch} shall be good for yo^r selfe to avoyed scandall or suspicōn : And will be alsoe agood informaōn vnto the rest of the ffactor vnder yo^u, and bringe contentm^t vnto vs, to free vs from suspicōn of any practizes when yo^u shall carry yo^r busines publiquelie.

Wee write vnto yo^u twoe yeares past by the *Assencon* and *Vnion* as alsoe by the *Expedicon*, Captaine, David Middleton, the Coppies of w^{ch} tres we doe herewthall send yo^u.¹

Albeyt we haue heretofore suffered yo^u to haue private trade, yett the Company hath now vpon speciall consideraōn resolved, Not to pmitt yt any longer, for that we finde that those whoe haue had the manadgeinge of o^r busines, haue had more care to enrich them selues, then to seeke o^r proffitt, for yf they had not soe done they might haue ymployed o^r stocke (w^{ch} they haue had in their hande since S^r Iames Lancaster came from thence) soe as the benefitt thereof might haue borne the chardges of o^r howse at Bantam at the least.

We wrote vnto yo^u by Captaine David Middleton that yo^u should noe more pay yo^r selues yo^r wages by Royalls of 8 at iiij^s the peece but att such a moderate rate, as might be indifferent :² yett now vpon better consideraōn the Company haue concluded, and giue yo^u direct order to pay noe more wages at all there, then may be needfull for the comelie apprellinge of any of o^r ffactor w^{ch} we deeme to be x^{li} or 20 m^rke at the most p Annū and the rest to be paid here in England, either to be adventured in the generall stocke or to such of yo^r freinde, as yo^u shall assigne the Company to pay yt vnto. And wthall such wages as yo^u shall pay to lett the Ryall of 8 for fyve shillinge.

Alsoe we signifie vnto yo^u all, that althoughe any of yo^u shall

¹ See pages 236 and 285.

² Fair to both sides, just ; cp. the prayer in *English Church Liturgy* that those in authority " may truly and *indifferently* minister justice."

succcede such as were before yo^a in place yett there shall be noe succession of increase of wages allowed vnto yo^a except yt be by spetiall order & direc^on from the Governo^r and Company. Wee haue appointed S^r Henry Middleton to be o^r Generall, vnto whome we wish yo^a to shewe yo^r selues obedient, and to doe as he shall ymploy yo^a whether yt be by tarieinge there, or goeing to any other place whether he shall see occasion to carry yo^a.

Althoughe we had giuen order heretofore that noe man should bringe home any goodē in o^r Shippes of the nature and kinde that we o^r selues doe lade, yett the greatest number in the Dragon brought home store of pepp, w^{ch} causeth vs to thinke that the same was stolne from vs and occasioned the want we found of o^r pepp in the said Shipp. ffor preven^on whereof hereafter we haue reiterated the same Comandement, and wish eu^y one of yo^a that shall either be at the cleiringe of any of o^r Shippes away from thence, or come home in any of them, that yo^a see and make diligent inquirie amongst the Company of the said Shipp publiquelie, whether any of them haue any goodē of such kinde yea or noe. yf they haue and can make due prooofe that they bought yt there, then yo^a are to pay them for yt & shoote yt into the hould: yf they haue none signifie soe much vnto vs, that they denied to haue any there.

We haue alsoe taken order, that whosoeu^r shall lade any goodē in o^r Shippes and shall not register the same w^{ch} the Pursar shall haue yt taken from him. And we requier eu^y one of yo^a to doe yo^r best that the same may be dūlie pformed.

We will doe o^r best endevor to prevent that none such as S^r Edward Michelborne was, should disturbe yo^r quiett whoe dyed a yea^re since hopinge that tyme will weare out the remembrance of his deedē.

fforasmuch as we haue found greate inconvenyence by lettinge of yo^r money there at 2 or 3 for one to be paid heare, whereby du^ts of the Mariners and their wyues and Children after their deaths haue beene ympourished we doe therefore thinke yt fitt, that noe such Exchande be suffered or pmitted for the avoidinge of scandall both from yo^a and vs.

It appeth by the Accompte sent home that yo^a haue drawne yo^r wages after my^e the Ryall of 8 from the first of October 1605

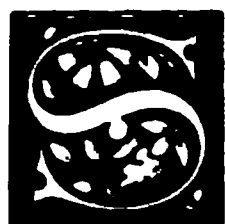
to the 31th of October 1608, w^{ch} being accompted after iiij^s vj^d the Ryall as yt costeth vs besidē the adventure we finde you haue allowed yo^r selues 470 Ryalls of 8 more then is yo^r due w^{ch} we expect to haue restored by yo^u that haue receiued the same, as alsoe that from the 31th of Octob^r 1608 yo^u receiue the Ryall of 8 at 5^s and not otherwyse.

Thomas Harwood the Gunner of the Dragon giueth vs in accompt 20 barrells of powlder lefte wth yo^u Iohn Hearne, whereof as of all thingē ells lefte vnder yo^r chardge we expect a good accompt.

There is one W^m: Lanwell lefte at Bantam whoe standeth indebted in the Pursars booke of the Dragon iij^l—iiij^s—x^d w^{ch} yo^u are to defaulke out of his wages there and make the Company Creditor for the same.



London the 15th of March 1609.



UR harty Comendaçõns remembred &c: yo^r tres of the fourth of Octob^r 1608¹ we receiued p^r Moloneux m^r of the Dragon whoe by Godē assistaunce aryued saffellie at Plymouth in Septemb^r last being 1609 subscribed by W^m: Hawkins and W^m: ffinche, together wth a note from W^m: ffinche of wares aswell there to be bought as sould wth waightē measures valuaçõns of moneys & other pticular intelligences to good purpose and w^{ch} we cannot but Comend wishinge the lyke carefullnes to be contynued in yo^u all. Wee vnderstand of yo^r saffe arriuall at the Barr of Suratt and of landinge yo^r goodē, together wth that vnhappie surprize of yo^r men & goodē by the Portugalls,² we doe vnderstand alsoe of the season of the yeare and of the depthes of o^r Shippes for that place, of all w^{ch} aduise we doubt not but to make good vse hereafter. Yett we cannot but blame yo^u, for sendinge so much goodē and moneys a shore, before yo^u had bought or laden any goodē backe againe, and alsoe for adventuringe the ymploym^t of all yo^r moneys in one bote, yt

To m^r Hawkins and
the rest of o^r ffactor^{es}
att Suratt &c:

¹ Not now extant.

² See page 219, note.

beinge the first that yo^u sent from the shore to the Shipp, whereas yf you had sent lesse at once wth good caution, yo^u might haue prevented o^r losses of goodē and men in greate measure yf not altogether, And howsoeu^r yo^u excuse yt, that yo^r men were fainte hearted and yealded wthout resistaunce, yett we are informed by Bucke and Marlowe now prisoners in Lisbone that they were destitute of powder and other meanes to defend them selues, w^{ch} was a greate neglect in yo^u to be soe secure,¹ as not to arme and animate yo^r men thorowlie, beinge in the Middest of dangers, and comittinge soe much goodē to their chardge, we are informed by some of the Dragons Company that yo^u had sould much of yo^r lead and other english Comodities at Suratt, but in your tres yo^u mention onlie the disbursem^te of all yo^r monie, yo^u write vs alsoe of greate Elaphauntē teeth bought by the way but not what they cost, such thingē yo^u doe not well to omytt we hope that o^r twoe shippes that we sett out hence in April 1608 . the *Vnion* and the *Assençon* haue visited yo^u as we gaue them Comission, And that by makeinge saile of yo^r english Comodities yo^u did furnish yo^r selues wth Indico & other Cambaia goodē in due tyme, yo^u giue vs good incourradgm^t touchinge the easinesse and the greate benefitt of placeinge a factory in Suratt and other places neare Cambaia, w^{ch} we alwaies soe conceaued, & cheeflie aymed at yt, to w^{ch} end beside all other meanes wherewth we did furnishe yo^u thether we gaue yo^u direcōns, tres, and presentē, wherewth soe soone as you should be landed to addresse yo^r selues to visitt the greate Magoll, that by his protecōn yo^r residence and ffactory at Suratt, might be more safelie settled before any further violence or treacherie of the Portugalls plottinge there, might be put in execuōn against yo^u, w^{ch} we greatlie feare yo^u did not hasten to prevent, till yt was too late, neither can we gather by yo^r tres that yo^u did land any of yo^r presentē for the kinge, and therefore we cannot but feare that yo^r interteynem^t wth him will be accordinglie, and moreover in that spetiall other Cawtion w^{ch} we gaue you to beware and not to trust the Portugalls, we finde to o^r Coste that yo^u were too carelesse, all w^{ch} Considered thoughe we hope the best, yett we cannott but

¹ Unsuspecting. It was in his "secure hour" that Hamlet's father was murdered.

rest very doubtfull both of yo^r saffetie and of o^r goodē, till wee doe heare further, we haue furnished in theis shipps for Suratt Elaphauntē teeth, Quicksylver, and other Marchandize, for w^{ch} yo^u gaue vs aduise, and whereof the Cape Marchaunt M^r ffemell hath the Invoices, wth the sales whereof, as alsoe with his direc^tions what to send ffor England, he is to make yo^u acquainted, & therein we requier yo^u to assist him wthall dilligence, and wth yo^r best endevo^r. Those base thingē as sweete fennell seedē, Cu^myn, longe pepp, and such lyke as are not worth the freight, we doe not expect nor doe wishe yo^u to send any: we haue resolved and doe thinke yt fitt M^r Hawkins, that yo^u doe in the first of theis three shipps retourne for England wth yo^r accounte Iournall, and such other yo^r obserua^tions touchinge the affaires of those Countries, that by yo^r intelligence we may be the better directed in o^r further proceedinge to settle in those partē, and in any hand we giue yo^u straight chardge to foresee and prevent that the Mariners nor any other be suffered to pester the Shipps wth luggage, w^{ch} abuse had well neare beene the losse of the Dragon in hir nowe comeinge home, beinge pestred for want of gou^rnm^t (eu^{ry} man doeinge what he listed) wth at least one hundred Tuns of Mariners goodē more then her burthen.


And forasmuch as we haue heretofore found that the priuate trade of our ffacto^rs hath beene carefully carryed for their owne Lucar and gaine wth the greate neglect of o^rs, conuertinge all the ritche & pretious thingē to their owne vse & nothings for the Company but pepp and grosse Comodities, and seeing theis three shipps in this Sixt voyadge, are the begynninge of a new accoumpte, we haue ordered that nowe and hencforth neither o^r Generalls Marchantē ffacto^rs, nor any other that we ymploye shall be pmitted any pryuate dealeinge or trade for them selues and therefore S^r Hen: Middleton himselfe, M^r ffemale and all the rest that are now ymployed in this shippinge haue putt their moneys into the generall stocke, and haue giuen their seu^{al}l Bondē wth suerties as them selues can witnesse not onelie to forbear all priuate trade directlie or indirectlie for them selues, but alsoe to forbid and hinder all others from the lyke, and therefore soe many of yo^u of the third voyadge as are now there resident, or shall be lefte there to Contynew still, notwthstandinge any libtie of priuate

trade much or little admitted vnto yo^u in the said third voyadge & seeinge this voyadge is the begynninge of a new account wherein we intend to carry an even and equall hand to all that we ymploy, we doe therefore lett yo^u knowe that you are hencforth to forbear all priuate tradinge for yo^r selues, & to ymploy yo^r selues onlie and whollie for the generall stocke giueing bonde to S^r Henry, M^r Downton¹ or M^r ffemale to the Companies vse for the true pformance thereof, onlie for apparrell and such vses yo^u are to take of yo^r wages soe much as will suffice soe yt exceed not x^{li} p Annū accounteinge the Ryall of 8 at 5^s, and the rest of yo^r wages to be paid yo^u in England, neyther hath the Generall or Cape Marchant any authoritie or power to augment wages wth any of yo^u but we haue power to gratifie any man that we shall thinke to deserue the same, w^{ch} may be sufficient incourradgm^t to styrr vp your best endevor in o^r seruice. And we haue giuen order to displace and bringe home all such as by their refusall shall shewe them selues to be otherwyse disposed then in o^r Comission we haue ordayned. And towching S^r Edward Michelborne (whoe is dead almost a yeare since) howsoeu^r we suspected him to haue gotten his goodē by wrongfull courses yet we knowe not in pticular whome he had wronged. Therefore as yett we can say nothings to that matter in as much as we receiued not the Captaines tres w^{ch} you mention were taken by the Portugalls, that he had directed to o^r kinge complaineinge of his losses And thus wishinge yo^r prosperity and good successe we Comitt yo^u to God and rest.



¹ Nicholas Downton was the lieutenant general of the *Sixth Voyage*, and had charge of the *Peppercorn*, with which he returned in safety, though in sore plight, in the autumn of 1613. In the following spring he sailed again, in the *New Year's Gift*, in command of a voyage on account of the *First Joint Stock*. At Surat he had to sustain a formidable attack from a Portuguese fleet, but successfully repulsed them. He next proceeded to Bantam, which was reached in June, 1615; and here he died on the 6th August, "death lying in ambush to intrap," says Purchas, "whom by " open force he could not deuoure."

Instruccions¹ giuen by vs the Gou'no^r & Comittees for the Company of Marchaunte tradinge [into] the East Indies vnto Lawrence ffemale our principall ffacto^r and the rest of o^r ffactors now ymployed in this sixt voyadge.

I NPRIMIS forasmuch as in o^r generall Comission we haue largelic sett downe what we haue thought necessary to be obserued in o^r generall busines and doe herewth deliver yo^u a Coppy thereof praying yo^u as much as in yo^u lieth to obserue the content^e thereof, we haue thought yt fitt onlie² for yo^r pticulare direccons to recomend to yo^r Consideracon this o^r aduise followinge

2 And because we haue beene pswaded to appointe and nominate yo^u o^r principall and cheefe ffacto^r in this voyadge out of the good report^e of diuers yo^r freinde^e and o^r owne opinion of yo^r honest behavio^r And the hope of yo^r instruccious endevor and skilfull experience in the manadgeing the affaires of m^rchandize of soe greate ymportance as yo^u knowe theis to be, we wish yo^u that wheresoeu^r yo^u shall come or settle a ffactory, to inquier and informe yo^r selfe sufficiently of the Condicons and manners of the people, and gou'nm^t and what Comodity we may send from hence most vendable in those pt^e, Espetially concerninge wollen Comodities, and other the natieue Comodities of o^r owne Country whereby we may be able to dryue a trade wthout the transportacon of money w^{ch} is the cheefe scope of o^r desires And of those sort^e of Comodities aswell wollen as others the quallity quantity culler and price And of Cloth whether highe shorne or lowe, strayned or vnstrayned, And in lyke sorte to aduise of all other Comodities what yo^u shall imagine needfull for o^r further direccons.

3 Alsoe wee desier to vnderstand what comodity yo^u finde there w^{ch} may bee vented to proffitt here or any other place wherevnto o^r ships shall nauigate in this or in any other succeedinge voyadge. As alsoe what trade those people haue wth other nations either remote or neare confineinge vnto³ them,

¹ There is another copy of this document among the *Marine Records* at the India Office (marked C 1). The two have been carefully compared, and differences of any importance noted.

² "Wee haue only thought it fit for" &c. (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

³ Bordering upon

And wherein there traffique espetially consiste together wth the valuacon of their coynes, Their seuerall weighte and measures and what other occurrence needfull for vs to knowe, and thereof to endevor by all possible meanes to giue vs intelligence overland, as by the way of the red sea to Cairo directing yo^r fres to the ffrench Consull there Resident, To be sent to Mercellus¹ inclosed to Henery Berry or any other Englishman there Resident, Alsoe by the Persian gulf by any Carauan throughe Persia either bound for Constantinople, Aleppo, or Tripole directing yo^r fres to the ymbassado^r or Consull there resident to be Conveyed vnto vs, As alsoe by the Caspian Sea throughe Muscovia vnto the English Agent there beinge, To w^{ch} purpose we giue yo^r an Alphabett of Characters wherein we wish yo^r to write for more secrecy.

4 Yf yo^r should touche at Aden or Machowe² in the red sea beinge in yo^r way before yo^r come at Suratte we wish yo^r to inquier whether those of the fourth voyadge haue not settled a factory there, yf they haue wee desier that they may receiue such comforte from yo^r as yo^r may Conveniently afford them and acquainte them of the intelligence we haue had by other mens fres of o^r ships beinge at Machowe, and of the bartringe for Indico, But not haueinge any fres from them, w^{ch} as they knowe wee gaue them in spetiall chardge & to that purpose sent one or twoe to be sent from Aden overland, wee are ignorant whether there be any incourradgm^t to maintaine trade in those partes, But yf by their fres or by any other meanes we shall vnderstand any hope of good trade, Althoughe yt be but for vent of o^r english Commodities onlie we shall not omitt to frequent those port^s wth o^r next shippinge, In the meane tyme yf yo^r may put of in any reasonable sorte either for syluer or gould, any of the Commodities we now send we wishe the same to be done as more att large in o^r generall Commission is expressed.

5 Att yo^r coming to Suratt att tyme yo^r shalbe whether m^r W^m: Hawkins or any other before yo^r arrivall haue settled Capitulacons wth the estate Merchants of that Countrey att tyme yo^r shalbe for o^r quiett traffique wth them, & att the same tyme yo^r shalbe in such manner to be treated as shall be thought fitt, We wishe yo^r in

the meane tyme to procure such safe Conducte from the kinge of Cambaia, & the other cheefe Officers of that Country as may incourrage yo^u to negotiate amongst them And wthall convenient expediōn to dispeede o^r Ships from thence, accordinge as in o^r Comission generall we haue att lardge directed yo^u And that done then yo^u may in comely sorte accompanied wth such others of o^r ffacto^{rs} as yo^u shall thinke fitt, repair vnto the Courte of the greate Magull to establish further Capitulaōn for o^r peaceable trade either at Suratt or any other porte or portē, place or places wthin any of his dominions alwaies remembringe the hono^r of o^r kinge and Country & the reputacons of o^r negotiaōns in those partē & for the greater dignity of yo^r ymploym^t vnto him we haue pcured his Ma^{ties} tre vnto the Magull, the originall & Coppy whereof we deliu^r yo^u wishinge that the deliu^y thereof may be wth that hono^r that may be well fittinge soe greate a Monarche, & as the oportunity of the place & other yo^r Convenience in those ptē shall pmitt accompanyinge some honorable present of veluett Plate or whate ells more acceptable both vnto the greate Magull & some spetiall men aboute him as in yo^r good discrecōn shall seeme meete.

6 And for yo^r better instrucōns we doe herewth deliu^r yo^u the Coppy of such priuiledge as S^r Iames Lancaster obtayned from the kinge of Achine wherevnto yo^u may ad or diminishe as occasion offereth & the lyke Coppy we haue formerly deliu^red to those of the third and fourth voyadge.

7 ffurther we wish yo^u diligently to informe yo^r selfe whether we may not settle a ffactory at Dabull neare Suratt or Negratittē¹ in the Ryver of Syndus or in any other porte towne, where o^r shippinge may not be subiect to bard² hauens as at Suratt nor in soe greate danger of the Portugalls And where we may aswell vent o^r Comodities and make retornes in the Comodities of those Countries at reasonable ratē.

8 Alsoe inquier as much as yo^u can of the depth, breadth, Ebbs, flowinge, Currantē & sholes of the portē & havens thereaboutē & what the chardge of transportaōn of Comodytie from porte to porte will cost by land as by Sea and whatt customes &

¹ See page 252. note.

² Barred

duties are payable at each porte aswell for goode and money as ancoradge of shippinge &c:

9 If any Commodities either of the fourth voyadge shall be provided at Aden or of the third or fourth voyadge at Suratt or any other poorte wherevnto yo^r shippinge shall arriue wth are to be sent for England we wish yo^r to suffer the same to be laden aboard theis o^r ships vnder seu'all marke aswell wthin the Canvas or other Cou'ture aswthout for the better discour'y thereof, And that there be pticular Invoices & bills of ladinge of all the seu'all peells that shall be laden for each accounte for avoydeinge Confusion in theis pticular accompte alsoe yf any remainders shall be lefte & deliuered over vnto yo^r we would haue a true and pfect Inventory thereof kept in a booke Couchant, wherein we will that all busines, either for buyinge sellinge bartringe exchanging shippinge receauinge transportacons and what els needfull to be registred con'ninge o^r busines and yo^r ympleym^t be from tyme to tyme duilie true and fairelie kept and written and a true copy thereof sent vs by eu'y shippinge both vnderwritten by o^r cheefe Agent as alsoe by lower or syue of those o^r ffacto^rs wth are in principall places of ympleym^t vnder him.

10 And for the better passinge of y^e busines wheresoeu^r yo^r recide we thinke yt fitt & soe requier that yo^r appointe out of the best quallified amongst those ffacto^rs wth are vnder yo^r gou'nm^t One whoe shall keepe booke faire written, aswell Journall as ledger after the order of Debiter & Creditor of all o^r busines there pced, and alsoe that some other there vnto most apt may be appointed Casheare to receiue and pay keepinge a Cashe booke very faire written wthout blottinge scrapinge or interlyncinge and alsoe that yo^r doe appointe eu'y other ffacto^r in such other Offices and places as they are best capacable wth this Cautiō that yo^r doe we holden or offered if he soe repente call them to render a reason and p^rfect accompte of thei^r conduct charge and accordinge to their behauior & good ptuence there either to contynue them in their charge or to displacethem wth such reprehension as yo^r thinke needfull.

11 And for the better orderinge of theis busineses provided to standeth in thei^r due order thei^r shall be kept in thei^r respective

then the spiritt of God w^{ch} is the guide vnto all good motions,¹ and noe ayde more pregnant to support and vphould the siner from fallinge into wickednes then the grace of God w^{ch} preserueth in all good worke and that almighty god out of his Mercy in Ihesus Christe hath promysed not onlie to here vs when we call vpon him, but alsoe to graunte vs his spiritt of grace to strengthen and assiste vs in all accōns w^{ch} Sathan or the world can inforce against vs, wee exhortē yo^r in the feare of god to be very carefull to assemble together yo^r whole familie eu^{ry} morninge and eveninge And to Ioyne together in all humility wth hartly prayer to almighty god for his m^cifull protecōn and favo^r to yo^r in all yo^r proceedinge and for all other his graces needfull for a true Christian to desier.

12 And for that Ciuell behauior is very Requisite for the begettinge of loue and estimaōn amongst those heathenish people we pray yo^r to settle such modest and sober governm^t in yo^r houshold that neyther amongst themselues there bee contentious quarrells or other occasions of strife w^{ch} may tend to the preiudice of o^r affaires and be a scandull to o^r profession and religion, As alsoe that none of yo^r people giue iust cause to any stranger to Complaine of their misdemeano^r.

13 And because we desier the hono^r of o^r kinge and the reputaōn of o^r traffique amongst them we wishe yo^r to comporte yo^r selfe, both in yo^r habitt and howse keepinge in such comelie and convenient manner as neyther may disparadge o^r busines nor be accompted too excessiue in expences.

14 And for that we imagine yf yo^r settle at Surate yo^r shall not soe speedilie finde dispackth of all the Comodities wee haue appointed to be there landed, but that there will be a greate parte thereof lefte to sell after the deptime of o^r Shipps from thence. Wee pray yo^r to advance the price thereof to the vttermost, for by settinge a good estimaōn of o^r Comodities at the firste, we shall be the better able to Contynue the same heereafter w^{ch} may well be done when we haue the trade onlie wth them.

15 And for that o^r stocke remaineing behinde in yo^r hande may be of some good value, we would haue yo^r to prouide some

¹ Accōns (*Mar Rec* copy)

speciall Comodities at the best tyme of their cheepnes as yo^r knowe are most vendible in England & the same to haue in a readines againste o^r next shippinge, wth God willinge yf we haue incouradgm^t shall be yearelie.

16. And for that yo^r shall not alwaies finde such Comodities as yo^r desier, but may haue money lyinge in Chest. We expect yo^r will make such profitt thereof, either by ymploym^t in Comodities to Resell at dearer markette:¹ or otherwyse as the trafficke of that Country shall afford, and soe as yo^r may doe the same wth saftetie. And not to be prevented when yo^r shall haue occasion to vse the same for to provide Comodity for o^r purpose herein wee must depend principally vpon yo^r prouidence & profitable regard to o^r affaires.

17 And for that there be many flacto^rs abroad dispersed as wee Imagine in sundry places w^{ch} haue beene sent out by the Adventurers aswell of the third voyage as of the fourth. Wee will that yf yo^r finde any of them in those places, wherunto yo^r shall come, w^{ch} are more fittinge to remaine there. Then those that now goe in their Shippes, That then yo^r doe Contynewe them in such charge as yo^r thinke fittinge. Provided that they are to expect noe increase of wages, other then what was formerlie agreed wth them here in England. As alsoe that they are not to requier^t their wages any more in the Country but here in England either at their retorne, or by their appointm^t vnto their freinde onke wee are Content to allowe them Ten pounde or xx m^{ke} p Annu, yf they doe not the same to binde them apprell. And to be accompted to be receiued after 5^l starlinge for the Riall of 8, & not otherwyse. And whereas some fewe of them haue beene allowed to trade yearelie for some small stocke, wee doe now absolutelie disallowe^t thereof & will noe longer pmitt any of them to exercise any private trade whatsoe^r.

18 And therefore yf any of them shall dislike to contynewe there, vpon their Contentes we wish yo^r to send him^t for England wth o^r next shippinge and for that we shall desier to vnderstand from yo^r Hawke's name p^r o^r relation^t of those p^res we desire that he maye carrie no more of these of three

¹ That is to say, the

² That is to say, the

³ That is to say, the

⁴ That is to say, the

Shippes, In some convenient manner, respectinge the place we sent him forth.

19 And althoughe wee knowe yo^u are not ignoraunt what yt is to deale wth people of faithlesse condicōn, yett wee thinke yt not amisse to put yo^u in mynde to be very carefull to buy of the best sorte of eu^{er}y Comodity, & for thinge garbleable to haue them made very cleane for otherwyse both Coste, freight, costome & chardge is cleane loste, alsoe lett yo^r goodē be carefully packed and faierlie marked both wthin and wthout, and distincte, And Invoices pfect sent by eu^{er}y Shipp wth bills of ladinge and the accompte of the Coste and chardge of every Comoditie in m'chantlike order, as alsoe send the Inventory of all goodē remaineing vpon eu^{er}y accompte & the valuaōn thereof & keepe seuerall¹ accompte of eu^{er}y voyadge.

20 Wee vnderstand that in the Persian gulfe vpon the Coaste of Arabia over against Ormus there is greate store of pearle fished,² whereof as of the needfull occurrences we pray yo^u giue vs intelligence.

21 When yo^u shall repaier to the greate Magull or be otherwyse settled in his Countrie wth peaceable trade yo^u may endevo^r by the best meanes yo^u can either by the Magull or some other his cheefe Comanders in his Country to procure what yo^u may for the restituōn of o^r goodē taken by the Portugall from vs wthin the streame³ of Suratt, As alsoe for the release of o^r people at Goa, yf the same be not already done, or wthout hope to be⁴ obtayned in yo^r Capitulaōns at Suratt yo^u are amongst others to endevo^r to procure to be free from paym^t of Customes wholly, aswell of goodē as for moneys both inwardē as outwardē yf yo^u can obtaine the same. But yf yo^u can not obtaine the same soe generally yet we doubt not but yo^u shall agree for some reasonable Customes vpon goodē onely & that yo^r moneys may be free of all dutie, of custome & such lyke, and whatsoeu^r yo^u shall agree to pay yt may be for such goodē yo^u shall onlie land at Suratt,⁵ &

¹ Omitted in *Mar. Rec.* copy.

² The reference is to the famous pearl fishery of the Bahrein Islands.

³ Streames (*Mar. Rec.* copy). For the occurrence referred to, see page 219, note.

⁴ To bee donne or obtained (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

⁵ For such goodes onlie as you shall land att Surratt (*Mar. Rec.* copy)

that the rest vnladen¹ may be free thereof, And for that we Imagine that the Portugalls will endevor by all meanes possible as well by forces by Sea, As practises ashore to intercept yo^u in yo^r busines we pray yo^u to be watchfull & vigilant to prevent all their enterprizes against you whatsoeu^r.

22 Wee deliver vnto yo^u twoe Gould Ringe sett wth Emraules being very faire stones the w^{ch} yo^u may either giue for present^e at Suratt, yf yo^u see good occasion or otherwyse to sell them for o^r most advantage. And because nothinge is more c^teine then death, and vnc^teine then the tyme thereof, we would willingly establishe such a course in the Succession of o^r cheefe ffacto^r as may giue vs good hope of the good accomplishm^t of o^r affaires And take away all occasion of Emulaçõn from amongst yo^u, And therefore wee doe resolute and ordeine, that yf yo^u m^r Lawrence ffemell shall happen to depte this lyfe before such tyme as yo^u shall be settled at Suratt That then Iohn ffowler doe succede yo^u in yo^r place vntill their arriuall thither, And yf he happen to die then consequentlie Hughe ffraigne,² Beniamyn Greene, Robert Larkyn,³ Thomas Glemon,⁴ Iohn Williams,⁵ ffancis Slany Robert Weeb⁶ Iohn Stoughton & Baylie Ball and W^m: Poulter & W^m: Reynold^e to be attendant vpon the cheefe ffacto^r whosoeu^r, But when God shall send yo^u Iohn ffowler and the rest to Suratt & that m^r ffemell be depte this lyfe before, Then wee thinke fitt that yf either m^r W^m: Hawkins, or w^m fflinche bee there resident & liueinge⁷ That then m^r Hawkins be o^r cheefe Agent duringe his abode there, And w^m fflinche to succede him and soe consequentlie Iohn ffowler, Hughe ffraigne and the rest accordinge as they are by vs heere inrancked, But yf m^r ffemalle shall liue vntill his arriuall & settlinge at Suratt or els where in the East

¹ This seems to be a mistake for "unladen" - *Mar. Rec.* copy has "unladen"

² Engaged as factor, 15th Nov., 1607, died at Bantam, apparently in 1613

³ Engaged 15th Jan., 1608, to serve seven years and to adventure 100*l*. he was an active servant of the Company and for some time was chief of the factory at Patnam where he died 12th May, 1616.

⁴ Colman (Mar. Rec. copy)

⁵ Engaged, 5th Jan. 1610, died towards the end of 1613 while on a voyage to Sumatra

⁶ Apparently an error for Robert Webb

⁷ Flynche (Mar. Rec. copy)

Indies then o^r desier is in case of his death, that he would make choise aswell amongst o^r other ffacto^{rs} there resident as of theis we now send, of such a man whoe for his honest conu'sation & best vnderstandinge to mannadge soe waightie a busines as this chardge is he shall deeme most fitt wishinge herein that noe ptiall respect be had of any but the pson most worthiest may be appointed to be both o^r cheefe Agent and super intendant to the rest of o^r ffacto^{rs} vnder him straightlie chardgeinge eu'y one of yo^u that are interteyned in this o^r seruice as you tender o^r favo^r and yo^r owne preferm^t. That yo^u giue due respect of priority aswell to o^r cheefe Agent as to all other o^r ffacto^{rs} vnder him accordinge to their degrees and places & that there be noe swellinge ambition amongst yo^u, Envieinge to giue p^rsidency to such as either by o^r selues o^r by o^r cheefe Agent shalbe placed before yo^u but eu'y one in his seu^rall place & accordinge to his place to endevo^r o^r benefitt in yo^r ymploym^t in o^r seruice and the mutuall preseruacōn of Christian loue amongst yo^u, And althoughe by accidentall¹ succession of place may fall vpon some one of yo^u whose wages is but small yett we will not yeald to any Succession of Sallary or increase of wages, but retaine that power in o^r selues to reward where we shall finde the same convenient, there is one Baylie Ball whoe hath beene a houshoulder² & reputed an honest man, But now content to goe as Steward in the Pepp Corne whose name we haue added amongst the rest of o^r ffacto^{rs}, for that we imaginne he may fitt for better place yf yo^u keepe, him in the Country w^{ch} we leaue to yo^r discrecōn.

23. Iff yo^u shall finde in yo^r trauaile or can convenientlie come by any rare byrde³ or beast^e or any other thing^e fitt for vs to present to his ma^{tie}: or any of the noble Lorde^e that are o^r honorable freind^e we pray and requier yo^u to be carefull to prouide and send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men that retourne to see them carefully kept & deliu^red to vs. And wthall yf yo^u shall knowe any of the Mariners or other to haue any such w^{ch} yo^u can not procure from them for reson then that yo^u send vs notice thereof to the end we may take order⁴ therein accordinglie.

¹ Accident (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

² Housekeepper (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

³ Anie rare thinges as fine birdes (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

⁴ Other order (*Mar. Rec.* copy)

S^r Thomas Smyth¹
 Henry Boothby
 W^m Speede
 Edward Langley
 William Reynolde
 Rowland Webb.
 Beniamyn Greene
 Hughe Greeke
 Thomas Glenham
 Robert Larkyn

ffr: Slany

Lawrence ffemell
 Iohn Williams
 Hughe ffrairie
 Iohn Stoughton
 George Cockaine



In London the
 day of March 1639.

A Comission² sett downe by Vs the Governo^r
 Deputy & Committees for the Marchaunte of London
 tradeinge to the East Indies for better direcōn of o^r
 loueinge freind S^r Henry Middleton Generall the
 Leutenante & others the Marchaunte, M^{rs}: &
 Mariners in this o^r intended VIth voyadge [to]
 the East Indies w^h we humble beseech Almighty God
 to blesse w^h a happie Conclūon.

1. **I**NPRIMIS whereas wee the Marchaunte abouesaid
 w^h of greate charge & trouble haue p^rpared twoe
 shippes and apynnace to saye the Trades Increase
 Gyles Thornton m^r. The Pepper Corne Abraham

¹ The Marchaunte given below with -

To this have subscribed
 S^r Thomas Smyth
 S^r John Watter
 Robert Bell
 William Harryson
 Hughe ffrairie
 Iohn Stoughton
 Thomas Stiles

On the other part of the text have subscribed the names of the others
 beinge p^rsent at the signinge of the Comission, which appereth by the annexed whole
 ment that the said Comission was signed and sealed with the instructions contained in
 the said Comission.

² The name of the ship is given in the margin of the page that is to saye the
 appereth by the annexed wholement that the said Comission was signed and sealed with the present
 ment and instructions.

³ Died in the voyage together with his wife and two servants

Lawes¹ M^r & the little Darlinge William Pemerton M^r: for a voyadge by Gods grace in them to be made to the East Indies [and] haue furnished the same sufficientlie & in plentifull manner wth men tackle victualls & all other needfull pvisions, fitt for such a voyadge Of an espetiall trust & confidence we haue of the Integrity, wisdome & resolu^{ti}on of o^r loueinge freind S^r Henry Middleton knight doe appointe & authorize him Generall to goe in the *Trades increase* & to Comand all o^r said Ships and the men in them, haueinge pcured him sufficient authority from o^r Sou^eigne Lord the kinge ma^{ty}: for that purpose² not doubtinge but that he will soe behaue himselfe in his chardge as he may bee both feared & loued, And that he will wthall his diligence & endevor prosecute o^r designs & labo^r to bringe this costly voyadge to a happie end.

2 Item wee doe appointe and ordeine o^r loueinge freind m^r Nicholas Downton to be Leiuetenant of the said Shipps and men and to take his passadge in the Pepp Corne. & Beniamyn Greene to be cheefe Marchaunt in the Little Darlinge as alsoe o^r good freind m^r Lawrence ffemell o^r cheefe Agent for o^r busines at Suratt in the East Indies And Mathewe Mollenoux to be Pilott maio^r for this voyadge, whome we appointe to take passadge in the *Trades Increase*. All wth Comanders Marchaunte ffacto^r Mⁿ: & Mariners we trust will soe carry them selues wth due respect one to another & obedience to eu^{ry} one of their Superio^r as loue and kindnes may be Contynued on all sides & all wholie apply their witt^e and endevorⁿ for the due pformance of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Company.

3. Item: And for that religious governm^t doth best binde men to pforme their duties yt is principally to be cared for, that prayers be said eu^{ry} morneinge & eveninge in eu^{ry} Shipp & the whole Company called therevnto wth diligent Eyes that none be wantinge soe as all may ioyntlie wth reverence & humility pray vnto Almightye God to blesse and preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge.

4 Item That noe blaspheminge of God, Swearinge, Theft, Drunkennes, or otherlyke disorders be vsed but that the same be severelie ponished, & that noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games

¹ Died on the homeward voyage of the *Peppercorn*, 27th July, 1613.

² See page 356.

be admitted for that most comonlie the same is the begynninge of quarrellinge and many tymes occasions of murthers a iust provocation of God's wrath & vengeance (from w^h the Lord deliv^r vs all) therefore yt shall be needfull that such orders be sett vp and published in eu'y Shipp & such punishm^t appointed for such Offences as may giue notice to eu'y man what he ought to avoied.

5 Item that spetiall order be giuen that noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the Shippes or filthines be lefte w^hin bourde w^h in heate breadeth noysome smells & infection but that there be a diligent care to keepe the overlopps & other places of the Shippes cleane & sweete w^h is a notable preseruation of health wherein thofficers of o^r Shippes in former voyadge haue beene much to be blamed, to the greate spoile of o^r Shippes & breedinge of sicknes w^h we trust in this will be more carefully regarded.

6 Item that the Generall Leinutenante & m^{rs}: of the Shippes doe take due notice by Inventory from eu'y Officer of the Shippes before they depte out of the riuer of Thames of the seru'all pvisions deliuer'd into each Shipp and soe soone as they shall come to Sea & not before to settle the same in the charge of the Officers appointed for that purpose in each Shipp vntill w^h tyme all stores are to remaine vnder locke and key and that the same be entred in the Purcers booke vnderwritten by the said Officers to thend that such thinge as are provided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbecilled & that nothinge thereof of any valewe be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu^r w^hout a warrant vnder the hand of the Generall, Leinutenante or cheefe Marchant of each Shipp respectiue directed to the Officer that hath such charge w^h warrant shall serue for their discharge in their accompts els otherwise to be awnswerable for the same w^h their wages: And eu'y such warrant to be registred in the purcers booke, the day of the moneth & the reason & this vpon forfeiture of soe much out of the Purcers wages this order to be obserued in each Shipp as aforesaid, that at the retourne of the said Shippes a true accompt may be yealded howe and in what manner the same haue bene used and ymployed.

7 Item that the Generall & m^{rs} of the Shippes doe sett downe & deliuer to the m^{rs} of the Shippes the names of the other Shippes that they may keep company wth them for the better reliefe and

comforte one of an other & yf sepeaçõn of them should happen by Constrainte of weather or tempest that they shall agree of a course beforehand & of a place whether to apply them selues to finde the rest.

8. Item That contynuall & true Iournalls be kept of eu'y dayes Nauigaõn duringe the whole voyadge, wth a true relaõn of eu'y materiall thinge that passeth & this not onlie to be done by the Leiuetenant but alsoe by the Marchaunt^e pursar Pilote¹ M^r & M^{rs} mat^e & that some of the principalls in each Shipp may conferr their obseruaõns together at convenient tymes once or twyce eu'y weeke at the least to the end yf any haue forgotten what an other hath obserued the same may be added, soe as a pfect discourse² may be sett downe to be presented to the Governo^r & Company when God shall grante them a safe retourne to be kept for better direcõn of posteritye.

9. Item we Comend vnto yo^u the Generall principally & to the rest of the Comanders and masters of a speciall care, that at eu'y place where yo^u shall water & refresh yo^r menn yo^u call the Companies together geueing them expresse warninge to behaue themselues peaceably & ciuilly toward^e the people of those places the better to procure their freindshipp toward^e the supply of yo^r want^e, & the lyke in eu'y place where yo^u come least the losse of yo^r liues & ou'throwe of this voyadge pay for their disorders besid^e an vtter discreditt to o^r naõn.

10 Item And that yo^r men doe vse a discreete meane in eatinge of fruit^e & fresh victualls least they surfett & fall into diseases whereof we haue had too much experience And the better to refraine vnruely appetit^e we hould yt convenient that the Generall appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies to pcure & prouide in such places what yo^u want & the same beinge prouided & brought to the Generall, by him to be reparted to each Company what may be needfull & that none presume to doe the Contrary wthout seveare ponishm^t. And that espetiall care be had to releiue the Sicke wth such fresh meat^e & other comfortable thing^e wherewth we haue furnished each Shipp for that purpose & not otherwyse to be spent in Ryott & banquettinge & soe the sicke pishe for want of thing^e needfull.

¹ Pilot (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

² Discouery (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

11 And whereas the straglinge of yo^r men in any place where they shall arriue or come, may not onlie proue the losse of such as shall soe straggle notwthstandinge they should be armed but alsoe thereby much hurte might happen to the residue of o^r people. Yt is ordered that yo^u doe not pmitt any man in any place to straggle or goe from the rest of yo^r Companies vnles vpon espetiall occasion yo^u giue warrant therevnto vpon paine of seveare ponishm^t to be inflicted vpon such as shall doe to the Contrary still doubtinge the worste & standinge vpon yo^r guard wthout giueinge any trust to the people of the place.

12 Item yt is expreslie ordered that by a generall consent of yo^u the Generall Leinutenante Marchaunte ffacto^r Masters & Mariners some good order be by yo^u taken and sett downe in writeinge soe soone as yo^u come to Sea conc'ninge the disposinge of dead mens goodē in the voyadge, either by comittinge the same by Inventory to the pticuler keepinge of some men in the Shippes & this vpon some convenient consideraçon for keepinge the same or by sale of soe much thereof at the maine maste as may not excede a third parte of the buyers wages for either buyinge or borroweing to prevent such preiudice to o^r Company as we haue felte, by Mariners buyinge soe much as their whole wages came vnto whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o^r shippes before their dischardge but alsoe deprived vs of meanes to redresse such wrogt as they haue many waies done vs in the voyadge. And to order what sallarie shall be given the Pursar for keepinge accompt thereof to avoied question & controuersie hereafter Alsoe that there be noe dealinge by Exchange betwixt pty & pty neither money for money Comoditee for money, or Comodity for Comodity neither outwardly nor homewardly for such Exchange giueth way for them to bringe more then they should or take & purloyne of o^r goodē they ought not, for prevention whereof wee order that neither the Pursar or any other doe register witnes or take knowledge of any such Contracte by Exchange. And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe goodē aboard in any the Shippes more then their Chest appointed them will Containe & the same goodē to be pticularly entred into the Pursers booke vpon paine of forfeiture to the Company: that w^{ch} shall not be soe entred eu'y Manner and

other of the said Shippes to sett their hande or marke to the said orders mentioned in this 12¹ article. And yf any ffactor shall happen to die, his goodle Booke accompte and other thinge are to be ordered² of the Generall & Leinutenante safely reserved & brought come for England, an Inventory first taken thereof & registred in the purcers booke, to be witnessed by 2 or 3 other of the Marchaunte.

13 Item for better preseruacōn of health o^r order is that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water yt be forthwth againe filled wth salt water for prevencōn of leakeinge³ and mustines.

14 Item In yo^r passadge betweene the Island of S^t Lawrence & the Coaste of Sophola⁴ beware of the flatte^r of Iudea⁵ vpon w^{ch} flatte^r it is said that the Currant doth strongly run, whereby many shipps haue pished, therefore wth greate care to be avoieded.

⁶Item for the fittest place for refreshinge whether at Saldania or at the Bay of S^t Augustine in S^t Lawrence Island we referr the same to yo^r discrecōn to doe therein as occasion may vrdge still fixinge yo^r thoughte & resoluōn to arriue at the Barr of Suratt by thend of September next accordinge to yo^r designes w^{ch} is the maine and principall scope of this o^r voyadge wth this further aduise that wheresoeu^r yoⁿ shall water yoⁿ make noe longer stay then necessetrie shall inforce, to thend yoⁿ may haue some oportunitie for refreshm^t at Succatora there to sett vp o^r Pynnasse and buy some Alloes Sacatrina to the quantity of 2 or 3 Tonns, where we pray yoⁿ to take notice that in the third voyadge W^m: Kealeing bought there twenty fower hundred waight at 20 Ryalls of 8 the hundred pound w^{ch} is 104^{li} of o^m.

15 Item wee desier that⁸ rather yoⁿ touch at Succatora for that we hope yoⁿ shall meete wth some Guzaratte⁹ at that place from whome yoⁿ may receiue some Intelligence whither W^m:

¹ "Tenth" in *Mar. Rec.* copy, in which paragraphs 10 and 11 of the text are included in paragraph 9.

² By order (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

³ Leakidge (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

⁴ Sofala.

⁵ India (*Mar. Rec.* copy). See page 118, note.

⁶ This paragraph has been missed in the numbering.

⁷ Your (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

⁸ The (*Mar. Rec.* copy)

⁹ Guzerat (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

Hawkins and the rest of o^r ffacto^rs lefte at Suratte out of the Hecto^r are liuinge or not, and in what state o^r busines there standeth whereby yo^r may the better there gouerne yo^r selues for pformance of o^r desiers, But yf the tyme of the Monson be soe farr spent that yo^r cannot arriue at the Barr of Suratt by thend of Septemb or middle of October next at the farthest, then we will yo^r to take the first oportunitie eyther to sayle to Aden or Mocha alias Mochow¹ w^hin the mouth of the red Sea aboute some ten leagues distant from Aden as we vnderstand, Att w^h porte of Mocha we haue heard the Shippes of the fourth voyadge haue traded. And where we doubt not, yo^r may sell Cloth, lead, Iron, Tynn, Quicksylver & some red caps for money or gould, for that wee thinke Comodities will be too deare in that place, Consideringe o^r purpose that yo^r goe to Suratt except yo^r may buy Cloues maces or nutmegge at a reasonable rate w^h are said to be good Comodities at Suratt as well as here in England In this place yo^r must spend the tyme till oportunitie doe serue to goe for Suratt w^h will not be till towarde the end of August followinge, soe as yo^r may arriue there by the end of Septemb w^h we pray yo^r to endevo^r by all possible meanes, But stayinge at Aden or Mocha haue espetiall care that yo^r men giue noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch and standinge vpon yo^r guard & that out of any danger of any Castle, fforte, or Gallies to prevent mischeefe

16 Item being arrined at Suratt we desier yo^r to vse the best meanes yo^r can p^rsently to vnderstand of the state of W^m: Hawkins & the rest of o^r people there and heateinge of their saffeties either to send vp yo^r longe boate w^h yo^r Indian lohn or some other whome yo^r thinke more fitt, or finde some meanes to cause some of the ffacto^rs come abourd yo^r, either the said m^r Hawkins: W^m: ffinche, Iohn Dorchester or any other of o^r ffacto^rs there, of whome take due informa^on of the state of the Country, howe they haue bene accepted of by the kinge, howe entreated by the people what priuiledges they haue gott, what Comodities of o^r are there requested, what they haue of that Country Comodities vpon their hande to be taken acquaintinge

them alsoe what Comodities yoⁿ haue brought and the quantities and takeinge knowledge of their worth there as alsoe what Comodities are there presentlie to be had and at what prices aswell fittinge for England as Priaman Bantam Banda & the Molloccos & whether the same may be had wth such speede as yoⁿ¹ may take hould of the Monson to goe to those pte. What forces the Portugalls² haue howe ready the Guzarattē are to helpe o^r nation & of all other needfull intelligences, by whome yf yoⁿ be incourradged we wish yoⁿ to send in the Darlynge and in her m^r Lawrence ffemell o^r principall Agent wth such Comodities as may be most vendible wthall speede geueing them warneing to be ready to wthstand any Enimies and keepe good watch to prevent any mischeefe of fyre or otherwyse w^{ch} lett them be sure the Portugalls will practize against them.

17 Item for that we haue prouided (as yoⁿ knowe) and laden in theis shipps sundry Comodities of good valew principally for that place as Leade, Tynn, Elaphauntē teeth, Quicksylver, sword bladē vermilion red lead Cloth kersies lookinge glasses and some red caps accordinge to an Invoice³ thereof herewth deliuered yoⁿ wee hould yt convenient that the same be laden in such frigattē as may be prouided for that purpose and the same sent vp to Suratt wthall speede wafted wth the Pepp Corne yf yoⁿ finde Incouradgm^t as aforesaid. And for better pformance of what is to be done before o^r Agent goe vp to Suratt, we pray yoⁿ and him to Consult & take good aduise wth the rest for the deliuerie of his ma^tes tres now sent. what presentē are to be deliuered, to whome, by whome, & in what manner the same to be done wth that speede & dilligence that shall be requisite Consideringe the shortnes of the tyme in keepinge the Monson for obtayneinge yo^r other portē, ffor w^{ch} presentē we haue sent in the Trades Increase 13 peecē of velvettē of diu's Colo^{rs}⁴ as appeth by the Invoice out of w^{ch} yoⁿ are to take for quantity & Colo^r what shall be

¹ "They" in *Mar. Rec.* copy,—an obvious error.

² Spaniards (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

³ Inventory (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

⁴ *Mar. Rec.* copy adds "viz. 3 peeces Crimson 2 ps of Incarnadine, 1 ps. purple: 1 ps. rose culler, 1 ps. Orringe 3 ps: Greene. [in margin, greene, sad grene, french kr] 1 ps. gingeline 1 ps Blacke." and omits "as appereth by the Invoice"

thought needfull for that purpose the rest to be sould for o^r Companies benefitt. Alsoe we haue sent (as yo^r knowe^r) in the same Shipp 228⁸/₁₀¹ ounces of guilte plate out of w^{ch} yf yo^r thinke requisite some alsoe may be geuen for present^e accordinge to aduise of m^r Hawkins & the rest, yf any thinge be presented to the kinge, Prince or greate Potentate, yt is to be done (as yo^r knowe) wth state and Comlines, for present^e for meaner psonns we wish yo^r to chuse out amonge o^r Clothes such Cullers as may be acceptable vnto them for vest^e for better pformeinge of this busines & accompanyinge o^r cheefe Agent, we haue appointed Iohn² fflowler Hughe³ ffraigne Beniamyn⁴ Greene Thomas⁵ Glenham Rowland⁶ Webb Robt⁷ Larkyn Iohn⁸ Williams ffancis⁹ Slany & Iohn¹⁰ Stoughton² to remaine there as ffacto^r¹ yf yt shall be thought fitt to leaue there soe many as the occasions in yo^r discrecons may be setued and W^m Powlter & W^m Reynolde for his attendaunte.

18 Item yf o^r former ffacto^r haue not procured a convenient howse to lodge all o^r people & Containe all o^r goode wee wish o^r cheefe Agent to Conferr wth them how they may obtaine a larger and such a one as may be stronge, and of defence soe as both they and o^r goode may remaine in saffety

19 Item the busines aforesaid beinge done, Considera^on is to be had for the ladinge and dispatch of o^r Shippes and whether yt will be requisite to make sale of o^r goode at the then currant prices for the pformance of the said ladinge, or whether yt will be better to expect higher prices, by keepinge the same till fitter oportunitie remembringe that what prices shall now be sett of o^r goode will be a president for heereafter & therefore needfull⁶ to hould o^r goode in spetiall reputa^on, for m^chandize sodenlie sould doe comonlie giue small aduancement in price, therefore in this pointe you are to be well aduized, yf then you shall hould yt more beneficiall to keep o^r goode for better m^ckette yo^r may out

¹ 228 (Mar. Acc. copy)

² In Mar. Acc. copy John Stoughton is written as he is called comes next after Richard Webb

³ The name appears above the name in the manuscript and here reproduced seem intended to mark the order of precedence

⁶ Overlaid in Mar. Acc. copy

of such moneys w^{ch} we haue now sent (w^{ch} are alsoe mentioned in o^r¹ Invoice) prouide such thinge as yo^u thinke necessary to be retourned for England w^{ch} together wth the goodē remaineing vpon yo^r hande formerly bought, wee wish yo^u to lade aboard the Pepp Corne and the Darlynge yf sufficient to loade them both may there be had, or but one of them yf yo^u shall finde reason & wthout preiudice to o^r trade wherein obserue this as agenerall order that the goodē of eu^{ry} voyadge may be m^ked and nombred seu^rally and soe expressed in yo^r Cargasons & accomptē that the goodē of each voyadge may be knowne by them selues for that they doe not Concerne the selfe same aduenturers. And hereof therefore yo^u are to be very carefull to prevent wronge in ladinge of goodē wee note theis asspetiall Comodities w^{ch} we desier Viz: Indico, of the very best aswell flatt as round soe muchas yo^u may (wth o^r moneys) well Compasse, other Comodities being alsoe to be had but lett yo^r care be extraordinary to buy the best that may be had for money aswell Indico as of all other Comodities. Callicoes white tasselled booke, good quantity & some of the courser sorte. Callicoes light colored alsoe as carnaçõn light watchettē strawe Cullers & other² light Colo^r but none of them course or sad cullers in any manner in theis yo^u may ymploy to the valewe of twoe thousand Rialls of eight. Shashes³ of all sortē for a thowsand Rialls of 8. Synamon of Zelan the best that can be gotten well packed vp in skynns *twenty Tonns*⁴ but of noe other sorte neither Scaveson nor Cowchin. Cotton yerne of the finest 20 *Tonns*. Cotton yearne somewhat courser *aboute fyue tonns*. Greene Ginger of the best and largest such as that of Battecala 4 *Tonns* red Saunders wood *aboute* 3 *Tonns*. Turbith 2 *Tonns*. Opium *fyue hundred pounde weight*. Beniamyn 10 *Tonns*.⁵ Sall Armoniake 2 *Tons* Olibanu yf good 10 *Tonns*. Lignum Alloes as much as yo^u can gett. Worme seedē clensed as much as possiblie may be from the Chaffe & dust by sifteinge & winnoinge for that the dust and chaffe is here worth nothings, *to the quantity*

¹ Your (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

² Other such (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

³ Shasses (*Mar. Rec. copy*). "Shashes are long Towels of Callico woond about their heads." (*Sandys' Travels in Purchas, Lib. VIII., ch. 8*). See also notes on page 59 of the present volume.

⁴ The words in italics are underlined in the manuscript.

⁵ *Mar. Rec. copy* adds: "if there to be had [at reasonable rate.]"

of *fower*¹ *hundred kintolls*. Gum lack: as much as yo^r can gett of the best & second sorte but none of the worst of any hande Sugers of the best some *twenty* chest^e for a triall. Silke of persia yf to be had agood quantity. Theis Comodities being bought & packed wth m^rchantlike care to prevent damadge m^rked & nombred accordinge to former direc^{ti}on both of the inside and outside for better satisfac^{ti}on of the Company in the difference of the sorte and content^e, the rather for that the outmost m^rke may be by longe lying at Sea worne out, the same to be laden & the shipp to be dispatched away wthall expedi^{ti}on for England.² And now as a first busines in dispatch to be remembred we wish yo^r to provide such Callicoes and other Comodities as may be fittinge for Pryaman, Bantam, Banda, & the Molloccoes & the same being orderly packed to be shipped wthall speede in the Trades Increase for those places w^{ch} wth *fifty* thowsand rials of eight that we wish yo^r to receiue for³ ymploym^t at Suratt as alsoe the Iron we now send *Twenty* tonns of lead in chest^e, *three* bales wth Cloth⁴ provided for Bantam the said shipp to take her first oportunity to sayle for Pryaman, together wth that shipp of the other twoe not dispatched for England.

20 Item beinge arriued at Priaman to make there sale of soe much of yo^r Iron, Callicoes, & Pintadoes as yo^r shall finde fittinge, soe much for Gould as yo^r may & the rest for large pepper wherein haue a spetiall care to buy none greene for breath in^o waight but such as shall be dry and cleane⁵ from dust to the quantety of fower hundreth Tonns or thereabout^e & some ten tonns of Beniamyn theis Comodities to be weighed by yo^r owne waight^e into the Shipp & the Purser to keepe due notice of the same with such of the ffactor⁶ as shall be appointed for that purpose that they may be able to giue vs agood accompt thereof, In execu^{ti}on of this busines take this for aduise, that yo^r make shewe to be gone from thence wth a purpose to buy noe pepp, for that when they pceane yo^r purpose to depte they will offer yo^r pepp at much lower rate than otherwyse, therefore yt is fitt to seeeme vnwilling

¹ One hundred (partic^ular Mar. Acc. copy).

² For 1 n (Mar. Acc. copy)

³ For one from (Mar. Acc. copy) This is evidently the right reading

⁴ Twelve strays of 1 lb (Mar. Acc. copy).

For 1 lb (Mar. Acc. copy)

⁵ For 1 lb (Mar. Acc. copy)

to buy and some tymes to make refusall will not be amisse, beside make shewe that yo^a haue but few Callicoes or other Comodities to sell, the better to giue them edge to buy, In the pformance of this busines remember still yo^r purpose to goe for Bantam and Banda that yo^a slip not the oportunity of the Monson, And soe wth what yo^a haue there taken in and restinge in the Shipp for Bantam there dischardge both Iron, leade, Callicoes & Cloth &c: prepared for that place for a stocke to prouide Lamkin silke of the finest & whitest (but noe Canton¹ silke at any hand) wth what other thinge yo^a shall hould needfull against yo^r retourne from Banda whether we wish yo^a to make all possible haste takeinge wth yo^a such facto^m to leaue there as in yo^r iudgm^t shall be thought meete, and for stocke of the fyfty thowsand rialle before mentioned what yo^a thinke requisite and such China stuffe and dishes as yo^a may learne at Bantam to be fittinge for the place.

21 Item being arriued at Banda present such guifte to the Gou^rno^r or Savander² there as in yo^r discreçon shall seeme fittinge and there prouide three hundreth Tonns of Nutmegge of the best and soundest that may be gotten, freed from dust and rumps all that may be, remembringe that the same will not be worth the freight & chardge Alsoe 20 Tons of Maces the lardgest and brightest that may be gotten but none that is darke Colored red maces, w^{ch} are called femenyn maces & here little worth, for accomplishinge hereof as alsoe for to leaue stocke convenient there for puiçon for a future voyadge, keepe in yo^r shipp soe much money & Callicoes as yo^a may deeme sufficient. And yf being arriued at Banda yo^a hold it possible & find yt convenient to goe to the Maluccos whilst the Nutmegge & maces are puiideinge, to seeke for Cloues, and haueing gotten to yo^r content therein, to retourne to Banda there to take in the mace & nutmegge & wth speede to retourne to Bantam leaueing a Convenient number of ffacto^m & stocke as shall be needfull at Banda as aforesaid. And beinge retorned to Bantam & haueinge brought atrue pticular of what is lefte at Banda vnder the hande of the ffacto^m there, then to take in such silke and other thinge as shall in yo^r absence be prouided there for London, where haueing settled the busines &

¹ Cotton (*Mar. Rec.* copy); but see page 286.

² Satiander (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

facto^r in good order & taken a p^ticular rela^{ti}on of o^r accompt^e and Comodities there leste, the Coppies whereof to be signed by o^r ffacto^r & to be brought alonge wth yo^u, and order geven by yo^u to keepe accompt of eu^ey voyadge by yt selfe & soe of the retornes in lyke manner that the Adventurers vpon eu^ey voyadge may haue their right as they Consist of diu^sity of Adventurers, then in God^e name wth all due speede to retorne for England.

And haueing thus farr p^{re}ceeded in a direct course we hould yt fitt to looke backe to the Barr at Suratt and there to Consider yf thinge fall out contrary to expecta^{ti}on that neither o^r people should be there in saffetie nor the place fitt for o^r trade ne yett incuradgm^t to pursue the same any farther In regard of the Comodities provided fitt for the seruice of that place & Aden & not elsewhere wthin o^r knowledge o^r expresse order is that vpon notice of the premisses yo^u forthwth wth the Monson retourne for Aden or Mocha in the red Sea yf in yo^r passadge to Suratt yo^u haue not visited the same & done what might be done for the vent of o^r Comodities & there to try for dispatch & vent of o^r said Marchandize wth beinge effected according to o^r desires, yf possible yo^u may be fitted by the Iuncke arriueing there from diu^s port^e out of the Indies wth m^{ch}andize fitting for England,¹ to lade either one twoe or all of o^r Shippes wth the same goode brought thether as namelie smooth pepp, drugge of all sorte fitting for this place, Indico of the best sorte, Nutmegge, Maces, Synamond Callicoes Beniamyn, Olibanum, Mirr, Opyum, red Sanders lignum Alloes and such like & the Ship or shippes soe laden wth speede to direct their course for England, And yf any of the Shippes remaine vnladen, then wth such Callicoes as yo^u can buy of the Iuncke fittinge for Pryaman Bantam or Banda or the Molloccos to saile directlie for Pryaman and there to pursue trade & from thence further as aforesaid as in yo^r discre^{ti}on shall seeme best.

22 Item we thinke yt not amisse further to aduise yo^u that findinge faile of trade at Suratt you endevo^r whilst yo^u are there to inuite the Guzaratte wth such Comodities as yo^u looke for to repaier to the port^e of Delisha or Tamarie at the Iland of Socotara where yo^u may agree to deale wth them for the same,

¹ London (M^{ss} A⁶ copy).

wth yf yoⁿ doe yⁿ & they alsoe shall saue much Customes yoⁿ shall pay in other port^e to the Governoⁿ thereof, yt is to be vnderstoode yf noe trade be¹ to be had at Suratt there shall be noe cause to settle any ffactory there, In such case we appointe m^r Lawrence ffemell & the rest of o^r ffactoⁿ now sent to proceede wth yoⁿ to Aden or Mocha or to such other place as yoⁿ shall thinke fitt to direct yo^r course for benefitt of trade & findinge any such place as may be beneficiall to o^r Company aswell for vent of Cloth and other o^r English m^rchandizes as for Comodities of those Countries fittinge for this wee referr to yo^r discre^{con} the setlinge of o^r ffactory there and the appointem^t of any of o^r ffactoⁿ to reside there wth such stocke as in yo^r iudgment may seeme Competent to defray their chardge & make pusion of Comodities wth that Country may yeald against the arriuall of a second supply And in that place m^r ffemell to be o^r principall Agent But findinge noe such place & proceeding to Bantam o^r order is that the ymploym^t of o^r Shipps for pformance of their ladinge be at yo^r *direct^{con}*, and that M^r ffemell shall there be lefte cheefe Agent and soe many of the rest of o^r ffactoⁿ now sent as yoⁿ and he shall deeme fitt, the rest to be placed at Banda & all o^r ould ffactoⁿ to be brought home wth yoⁿ from thence excepting Augustine Spauldinge and twoe more such as haue that language the out² ould ffactoⁿ² to deliu^r vp their chardge by accompte & Inventory to o^r said Agent & to bringe home a Coppy of the same to be deliu^red to the Gou^rno^r and Comittees of the Company then beinge.

23 Item we ordaine that such of the ffactoⁿ as shall remaine in the ships at the buyinge of any good^e shall be ymployed to weigh the same, pay the money, and keepe due accompt thereof & that nothings be done either in buyinge or sellinge of good^e wthout their priuity that they may write the same into their booke & be abell to giue vs reason for what is bought or sould either by writeing or at their retourne for England, and that they shall acquaynte the Generall & cheife Comander in eu^y shipp eu^y night wth what they haue done that day & that the Pursars booke & theirs shall then be compared together, soe as yt may appeare whether all that hath beene bought hath beene receiued

¹ Bee not (*Mar. Rec.* copy)

² Not in *Mar. Rec.* copy.

into the Shipp & there weighed aswell as on the Shore. notice to be geven¹ what is wantinge & enquiry² what is become thereof & Coppies of eu'y of the said accompte to be sent home by Sondry Shippes, & the same accompte for what hath beene then done at Pryaman, Bantam, Banda, & the Molloccoes be alsoe registred in o' booke at Bantam.

24 Item that all thinge bought and sould in eu'y place by³ by some of o' ffacto^{rs} for that purpose residinge there faier written in o' booke w^{ch} we now send signed by the Gou'no^r & Comittees, w^{ch} booke we order to be deliue'd one for o' ffactoⁿ at Suratt, one for the ffactoⁿ at Banda, one for the ffactoⁿ at Bantam, and thother for them at Pryaman or ells where where ffactoⁿ shall recide for vs, And the same booke there in the seu'all places to be kept as recorde of those that shall succede and that out of the same we may haue Coppies of what wee shall requier for the Companies better satisfacōn. Alsoe that none of o' ffacto^{rs} whomsoeu^r be suffered to bringe from thence any booke of accompte either passed by him selfe or by any others, other then Coppies for him selfe or for vs subscribed by him that shall succede in that chardge and twoe more of o' ffactoⁿ there the said Coppies soe sent to be sealed vpp. And in theis yo^r passadges and traffiques o' desier is that yo^a should informe yo^r selfe of safe harbo^{rs} and places of repaier for the vent of o' English Comodities either aboute the porte of Sabull⁴ nere Suratt or the riuer Syndus & Laree,⁵ or the Cape of Resalgat⁶ or any Coste of the porte⁷ of Arabia where yo^a may haue kinde interteynem^t of freedome from Enimies, to w^{ch} places yo^a may assay to invite Mores Guzatte or any other people tradeinge in those parte, w^{ch} such m'chandize as may be fitt for this Country and be rendred for such as we shall send at such tymes as yo^a may suppose o' shippinge may wth Conueniencie arriue there, amongst w^{ch} porte we hould the porte aforesaid in the Iland of Socotora

¹ Taken (*Mar. Rec. copy*)

² Bee (*Mar. Rec. copy*)

³ Inquired (*Mar. Rec. copy*)

⁴ Dabul (*Mar. Rec. copy*)

⁵ See Note 2, page 251

⁶ Resalgat (*Mar. Rec. copy*). The "L. Relat. de l'Herbertot" has "Rouselgout" of Fryer (1728) "Cape Resalgat" of Arab. Ind. Mus. Res. (Haddad, 1877) "Cape of the (S.H.) Iland" the low and sandy promontory of Arabia Felix which gives entrance to the Gulf of Oman.

⁷ Or any parte of the coast (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

⁸ Or (*Mar. Rec. copy*)

&c: to be most fittest aswell for the neernes of the place as saueinge the Customes & the highe way for the Guzarattē and other tradinge into the red Sea at their ordinary seasons And thus haueing sett downe what we thinke needfull for oʀ busines of mʀchandizeinge we thinke yt fittinge to sett downe some what for order in the generall gouʀnmʀ in oʀ shippinge &c :

25 Item we sett downe for oʀ absolute order and resoluõn that noe pson whatsoeuʀ w^{ch} shall succede by appointemʀ or otherwyse in any place of Comand or Office either in any of oʀ shipps, or in any of oʀ ffactories at Bantam Banda Suratt or any other place whatsoeuʀ shall take or be allowed the wages of his pʀdicessoʀ but though he be remoued preferred and come to any such place or office he shall content himselfe wth such wages as we haue formerlie agreed wth him for wthout any further demand or encroachment vpon the Company for the same vnlesse the Governoʀ and Comittees of oʀ Company for the tyme beinge shall be pleased to graunte the same, or any other allowance of gratitude or rewardē vpon their desertē.

26 Item for that the Company accompteth yt presumption for any oʀ ffactoʀ to assume to them selues the name of Captaine wthout their expresse order, we ordeyne that they shall come home as priuate Marchauntē & onlie retheyne that title prayinge yoʀ the Generall to forbear to Conferr any other title or dignity vpon them.

27 Item That noe Cabens be altered nor pticions pulled downe in any of oʀ Shipps or chandged from the state they now are in at the settinge out of the same w^{ch} in former voyadges haue beene done to the greate hurte of oʀ Company and discontent & hazard of all.

28 Item that noe wages to noe pson whatsoeuʀ be increased or giuen contrary to what wee haue already here appointed but the pties to be referred to be rewarded by the Company at their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserued: Nor m^r: ffactoʀ, nor other Officers of speciall place in oʀ Shipps to be remoued wthout Consent of such of the Counsell as we haue appointed to aduise wth yoʀ the Generall vpon all oʀ occasions, to w^{ch} end we haue thought yt convenient & soe ordered, that mʀ Nicholas Downton, mʀ Lawrence ffemell and such others as yoʀ

the Generall shall thinke good to call vnto yo^u shall vpon any occasion consult & aduise wth yo^u for the disposinge of any busines of ymportance in this voyadge whose psons and counsells we pray yo^u loueinglie to ymbrace, And all them same in the Councell aforenamed excepting them lefte in the Countrie as ffacto^r to be in lyke manner of the Councell wth yo^u homewardē yf they or any of them doe retourne wth yo^u. And not soe to thinke vpon aucthority sett vpon yo^u that the same should serue for any yo^r pticular respect knowinge that a wise man is best tried when he is put in authority & that he is accompted of more fortitude that over cometh himselfe then he that prevaileth against a multitude.

29 Item as yo^u knowe this voyadge being exceedinge troublesome & costlie will not admitt any priuate trade but whatsoeu^r is achiued by this generall & greate chardge should be applyed to the benefitt of o^r whole Company. Therefore we sett yt downe as an absolute order that noe man neither Generall, Leiutenant, Marchaunt, Master or Mariner or any other pson or psons whatsoeu^r in any theis o^r Shippes doe trade or deale for any m^cchandize whatsoeu^r wth we shall prouide for o^r retourne or any other sorte of m^cchandize more then will be conteyned wthin his proportioned chest of allowance for this voyadge and the same to be registred in the pursars booke to thend that yf any pson die vpon the voyadge their freinde & executo^r may knowe what they had & take notice what is become of the same houlding yt most reasonable¹ that those whoe lyue by o^r ymploym^t should deale wth the Comodities wth we labo^r to gett to produce meanes for paym^t of their wages and defrayinge of chardges of this o^r greate and costlie voyadge.

30 Item we forbid all vnnecessary expence of shooteing of Ordinance at drinking of healthes² or at the Captaines goeing

¹ Vnreasonable (*Mar. Rec. copy*). this is evidently the right rendering

² Cf. *Hamlet*, Act I, Scene 2

"In grace whereof,

No joy and health that Denmark drinks to day,

But the great cannon to the clouds shall tell,

And the king's rouse the heavens shall bruit again,

Repeating still the death of late

ashore or such lyke for that thereby much poulder is wastfully consumed and o' shipp and goodē put in much hazard & danger & lykewyse by yt way is geuen to the Gunners vnder culler thereof to ymbecille the same.

31 Item for avoieding Confusion in the gou'nm' of o' people & for that nothing is soe vncertaine as the state of mans lyfe. Wee ordaine that yf God shall call yoⁿ S^r Henry Middleton (during this voyadge) out of this world wth God defend then that m^r Nicholas Downton shall succeede yoⁿ & excercyse yo' chardge whome we trust will soe behaue himselfe therein as shall be agreable to the good reporte of sundry men of worth giuen of him: But yf yt shall please God that the said m^r Nicholas Downton shall depte this lyfe then we Comitt the government of o' Shipps & the Mariners therein to such as we haue nominated in a writeing subscribed by the Gou'no' & sealed wth the seale of o' Company put vpp into a boxe sealed wth hard waxe & deliu'ed to S^r Henrie Middleton to be kept close and not opened soe longe as the said S^r Henry Middleton¹ & Nicholas Downton or either of them shall lyue: but yf yt shall please God to take both of them out of this world Then we ordaine that all o' Mⁿ & Mariners in o' said Shipps shall submitt them selues to the gouernm' and Comand of such pson or psons as we haue nominated therevnto in o' said writeinge sealed vp in a Boxe as aforesaid. Prouided alwaies that noe pson what soeu' wth shall succeede in the aforesaid place of government shall demand be allowed or expect the wages of his predicessor but shall content himselfe wth his first wages promysed him by the Company.

32 Item for that in sondry voyadges heretofore the Company haue beene much wronged by the Generalls Captaines & mⁿ of their Shipps in takeing diu's psons into the same shipps & carryinge them alonge wth them in the said voyadge to the East Indies for their pticuler gaine and proffitt & haue lefte the same pties amonge o' Company ffactoⁿ in the Indies where they haue driuen and handled for them selues & their freindē a pticular trade to the greate chardge & hindrance² of o' Company, & haue

¹ The words "to be kept . . . Middleton" have been omitted in the *Mar. Rec.* copy.

² Prejudice (*Mar. Rec.* copy).

practised wth o^r ffacto^r there to deceaue vs, and to convey¹ sundry of the rithest Comodities of those pt^e to their priuate vses. It is therefore o^r expresse o^rder & direc^on to yo^r S^r Henry Middleton Generall of this o^r ffeete & to Nicholas Downton Leiuetenant of the same & to all other the Marchaunt^e ffacto^r m^r Pursars & Mariners and eu^y other pson or psons enterteyned, and hired to serue in this said voyadge that neither yo^r or any of yo^r shall admitt or suffer to passe in, or receiue into any of o^r said Shipps in this o^r now intended voyadge any pson or psonns of what degree or quality soeu^r other then such pson or psons as are interteyned & hired by the Governo^r and Comittees of o^r said Company to passe therein.

33. Item yf duringe yo^r Contynuanee in the pt^e of the Indies vpon good aduise & Considera^on yo^r finde yt more profitable for the Company to haue one of theis Shipps remaine in the Country there to trade from place to place then to retorne home laden wth the rest, Then we referr the same to be ordered by yo^r as shall seeme good in yo^r discre^on to make choise of one of the smaller Shipps to be employed for that purpose.

34 Item. And lastly to prevent disorders & misbehavio^r of the Mariners of theis o^r shipps either in their passadge out, or retourne home vpon o^r owne Coast^e wee ordaine that yo^r suffer none of o^r foresaid Shipps either outward^e or homeward^e to goe into any of the port^e of flalmouth Plymouth or DARTHmouth vnlesse necessity compell yo^r therevnto.

And soe haueing remembred what we thinke needfull for yo^r direc^on in this voyadge & relyinge vpon yo^r dilligence & care in pursueing o^r busines to o^r most aduantage wee Comitt yo^r to the protec^on of Almighty God whome we beseech to blesse yo^r endeavo^r & graunte yo^r a saffe passadge and saffe retourne to al o^r Comforte.

Considering that vnto m^r Sharpey Generall of the fourth voyadge Comission was geuen to seeke for trade at Aden Mocha Suratt Cambaia Larce, Nigertuttey in the Ryver Syndus, at Priaman Banda or the Molluccoes & where he found yt most convenient & profitable that he should there settle a factory for

¹ Certaine in Mar. Re. copy - an evident blunder

increase of trade to the benefitt of the Generall Company, forasmuch as yt is credibly reported that they haue traded at Mocha we suppose that they haue there setled a factory, wherefore we pray yoⁿ at yo^r arriuall at Socotora carefully to enquire what is become of them and hereing that they haue left ffactoⁿ at Mocha we pray yoⁿ vse yo^r best meanes to send o^r tres vnto them w^{ch} herewth are deliu^red yoⁿ,¹ that they may receiue some comforte or there findinge noe good² conveyance we Suppose at Suratt yoⁿ shall not onlie heare of them, but from thence by the Iuncke bound to Moccha yoⁿ may send o^r tres, & advise them whether yt be fitt to stay there or come to Suratt to be employed in the Companies seruice or retourne in one of the first Shipp^s & bringe wth them in some good Comodities soe much as is remaineing in their hande for thaccommpt of the fourth voyadge, but yf yoⁿ heare not of them in any of those places,³ then we pray yoⁿ to enquire for them at Priaman Bantam Banda or⁴ the Molloccoes yf yoⁿ goe thither, and findinge them deliu^r o^r tres whereby they shall pceiue that it is o^r pleasure: they shall followe the direc^{ti}ons w^{ch} yo^{ur} selfe & those appointed to Consult wth yoⁿ in this voyadge and the said ffactoⁿ shall vpon due delibera^{ti}on conclude vpon.⁵

Henry Middleton

Beniamyn Greene

Nicholas Downton

Gyles Thornton

Abraham Lawse

W^m: Pemberton

If you shall finde in yo^r trauaile or can convenientlie come by any faire⁶ byrde, or beast or any other thinge fitt [for] vs to p^rsent to his Ma^{tie}: or any of the noble

postscript

¹ See page 311.

³ Partes (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

² Not in *Mar. Rec. copy*.

⁴ And (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

⁵ The *Mar. Rec. copy* concludes:—

Signed by S^r Thomas Smith Gouvernor

Robert Bell

Robert Middellton

Thomas Style

Hughe Hamersly

Robert Offley.

⁶ Rare thinges as live birdes &c (*Mar. Rec. copy*).

Lorde that are o' honorable freinde, we pray and requier yoⁿ to be carefull to prouide and send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men.¹



Most highe and mighty kinge²



AS there is nothing wth increaseth more the glorie and dignity of Sovereigne Princes vpon earth, then to extend their renowne vnto farr dissident nations; Soe havinge vnderstoode of late yeares from some of o' loueing Subiecte that haue traded into diu's Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yoⁿ, of the reputa^on and greatnes of yo' power and Dominion, Wee have incour-
adged o' said Subiecte to vndertake a voyadge into yo' Country aswell to sollicite yo' freindshipp & amity wth vs, as to enterteyne such Comodities of each others Countreyes as may be most of vse the one to the other, beinge nothinge doubtfull but such will be yo' Princelie magnanimity & dispositi^on to embrace this o' desier, & not onelie to receiue o' people wth yo' accustomed benignity and favo', but for their better encourradgm^t to afford yo' Ryall protec^on for the setting of a factorie there, wth such security & liberty of comerce as shall be most Convenient for the aduancem^t of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others Subiecte: wherein for o' parte we doe willingly offer o' selues & the libertie of o' kingdomes & Countreyes whensoeu' any of yo' Subiecte shall vndertake to haue comunication wth vs. And in the meane tyme as a pledge of o' Royall inclyna^on & desier towards yoⁿ wee haue sent yoⁿ a small

Two of this draught
were written wth
Blanches

¹ *Mar. Rec.* copy continues "that returne to see them carefully kept and delivered vs, And whatt yf you shall knowe any of the maryners or other to haue any such, wth you cannot procure from them for reason then that you send vs notice thereof to the end wee may take order therein accordingly." The whole of this postscript is in the *Mar. Rec.* copy, incorporated in the last paragraph of the commission.

² These are the royal letters carried out in the *State Paper* for presentation to various Eastern princes and governors.

present by o' servant S' Henry Middleton knight wth we pray yo^u to accept, as an introduccōn to that freindshipp wth we hope will fructifye and increase to each others Contentm^t. Geven at o' Pallace of Westminst' the &c :



James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of
greate Brittainē ffrance & Ireland defendo' of the
Christian faith &c: To the highe and myghty
K: of Cambaia. Prince the greate kinge of Cambaia, Empero' of
Mogores &c: greetinge

Most highe & mighty Empero'.



WE Cannot but expresse vnto yo^u the highe Contentm^t we haue receiued, at the kinde reception & interteynem^t of o' seruant Captaine William Hawkins, and his Company at yo' porte of Suratt, where they haue receiued soe many demonstrations by yo' principall Officers and Comanders there, of yo' desier to embrace o' loue and freindshipp & to interteyne a Correspondencie of peaceable trade, and Commerce wth o' Subiecte, as we cannot but thankfully acknowledge the same, & reciprocally offer the lyke effecte towardē yo^u and yo' people, whensoeu' they shall vndertake to haue any Comunicaōn of trade wth o' kingdomes and Dominions: But we were sorry to vnderstand of that vnhappy accident, wth befell o' Subiecte in their retourne from yo' Coastē towardē their Shipp^s,¹ by being vnworthilie surprized wthin yo' Streames by diu's ffriggottē of the Portugalls of Goa whoe vniustlie haue taken from them nyneteene of o' Subiecte beside agreate quantity of their marchandize, and detayne them prisonners at Goa, vnder this sole pretext, as yf both yo'selfe and yo' Countreys were assubjected to the Crowne of Spayne and therefore not lawfull for any other Christian people to trade wth yo^u: wth indignity thoughe Almighty God hath geuen vs power enoughe to revenge agaynst them, yett because yt hath relaōn to the greatnes of yo' estate as beinge done wthin

¹ See page 219

the Compasse of yo^r power & aucthority, Wee haue thought good, first to represent yt vnto yoⁿ; and to seeke redresse of yt, by yo^r meanes, then to enter into any course of hostility in those parte contrary to the peaceable inclynacōn of trade wth our Subiecte are willinge to entertayne wthall other Nations; Notwthstanding wth hard successe o^r Subiecte are noe whit discourradged from vndertakeinge (as now they doe) another voyadge into yo^r Countreys, wth three good shipps laden wth such Comodities of o^r kingdomes as may be most of vse to yo^r people, being Confident of yo^r further favo^r and protecōn, wth such Immunities and priuiledge for their trade and Commerce wth yo^r people, as may incourradge them more and more to fixe and Contynue a firme Correspondencie there to the increase of proffitt of each others Subiecte. And for a pledge of o^r Royall inclinacōn towardē yoⁿ Wee haue sent yoⁿ a small present by o^r Servaunt S^r Henry Middleton knight, Generall of this o^r voyadge wth wee pray yoⁿ to accept in good parte & to vse him wthall courtesie and respect, as is befittinge the quallity of his place. Geven at o^r Pallace of Westminst^r this &c:



James by the grace of Almightye God kinge of
greate Brittainē ffrance and Ireland defendo^r of the
Christian faith &c: To the right Honorable
the cheefe Commander of the greate Citty of
Cambaia greetinge



WHERE[AS] wee haue vnderstoode from some of o^r Subiecte, what greate courtesies they haue receiued, and daylie doe receiue at yo^r haunde, in their arriuall and settlement of their trade in the greate Citty of Cambaia, We could not omitt att this second voyadge thither, but to expresse vnto yoⁿ our thankfull acknowledgment for the same, wth o^r Constant hope of yo^r further enlevo^r towardē them aswell for their future saffeguard & protecōn in those places, against the Malice and violence of any that should attempt to wronge them, as for their better incourradgment to establish and increase

(as now they haue begun alreadie) a firme Correspondencie of trade in those partē, wherein for oʳ parte, wee will not omytt any thinge that may tend to the furtheringe of soe greate a good for the aduancm^t of oʳ Subiectē.

As for the iniury and losse w^{ch} oʳ Subiectē latelie receaued by the Portingalls of Goa (as is well knowen vnto yo^u) thoughē we want noe meanes to revenge oʳ selues against them, yett because we would be loath to interrupt the peaceable course of trade in those partē, and for that the Iniury doth alsoe redound to yo^u, as being done wthin the lymittē of yoʳ Comand, Wee haue thought good first to desier yoʳ peaceable Intercession for the redresse thereof, before oʳ Subiectē should attempt any thinge hostilly agaynst them, wherein yo^u shall doe a worke worthy of yoʳ selfe, and by w^{ch} yo^u shall oblige oʳ people more and more vnto yo^u. And for oʳ good inclinacōn towardē yo^u, wee haue sent yo^u atoken of oʳ loue and frendship by oʳ servant S^r Henrie Middleton knight, Generall of this oʳ voyadge.

Geuen at oʳ Pallace of Westminst^r this



James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate
Brittane ffrance & Ireland, defendoʳ of the Christian
faith &c :

To the kinge of
Succatora.

To the highe & mighty Prince the kinge of
Succatora Geeteinge.

Most mighty kinge

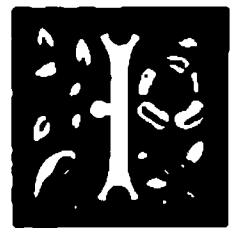


HAUEINGE vnderstoode from some of oʳ loueingē Subiectē, that in their course of Navigation & traffique into diu's partē of the East Indies, they haue alsoe visited yoʳ Coastē & Territories where they haue not onlie refreshed themselves of such necessities, as are belongingē to soe greate a Nauigaōn, but haue alsoe receiued the best interteynem^t that could be expected; wee hould yt oʳ parte to acknowledge the same wth thankē, and to ymbrace yoʳ amity and freindshipp wthall the respectē of honoʳ, that may tend to the establishingē and encreaseing of the same to oʳ mutuall

contenta^{ti}on & aduancem^t of proffitt of each others Subiect^e; Wherein for o^r parte, as we doe readily offerr o^r selues and any thinge that shall be in o^r power, soe wee doe expect the lyke effect^e from yo^u, to redound vpon o^r Subiect^e, in yo^r good vsage of them, and affording them yo^r princelie favo^r and protec^{ti}on against such as should goe aboute to harne them. And for a pledge of this o^r good inclina^{ti}on toward^e yo^u, wee haue sent yo^u this small Present by o^r servant S^r Henrie Middleton knight, wth wee pray yo^u to accept in good parte Given at o^r Pallace of Westm: this &c :



James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate
Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendo^r of the Christian
faith &c: To the most highe & mightie Prince
the kinge of Bantham Greetinge
Right highe and mighty Prince



I^t hath beene noe small contentm^t vnto us to vnderstand from o^r Subiect^e retourned from their last voyage into yo^r Countries, both howe favorable they haue beene vsed by yo^u, and yo^r people, & howe willinge yo^u haue beene to interteyne o^r loue & freindshipp, both wth yo^u haue beene Contented to confirme vnto vs by a present of sower Balls¹ of silke wth yo^u haue sent vnto vs, ffor wth wee can not but retourne vnto yo^u o^r harty thanke wth all the kinde demonstrations of o^r reciprocall desier to increase o^r amity & correspondency wth yo^u, as far as the same may be honorable vnto vs, & profitable to each others Subiect^e; In confidence whereof o^r Subiect^e haueinge vndertaken a new voyage into yo^r Country for the reestablisshinge of their trade & traffique wth yo^r Subiect^e, wee hope yo^u will Contynewe vnto them yo^r accustomed favo^r, and afford them such liberties & ymmunities there, as they may be thereby both incourradged in their greate adventures, and secured from oppression or wronge of any that would goe aboute

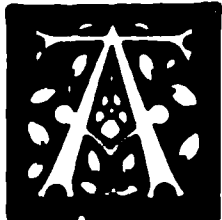
¹ Bales.

to harme them. And in thankfulness of theis yo^r kindnesses to o^r people, wee haue sent yo^u a token by this bearer o^r Servant S^r Henry Middleton knyght, Generall of o^r present voyadge Giuen at o^r Pallace of Westminst^r this &c :



R. of Tedore

James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittainē ffrance and Ireland defendo^r of the Christian faith &c: To the most highe and mightie Prince the kinge of *Tedore*, Greetinge
Most highe & mighty kinge



S wee haue taken greate contentm^t to vnderstand from o^r Marchaunte att their retourne from their last voyadge out of yo^r Country, howe kindlie & favorably they haue beene interteyned by yo^u and yo^r people in their peaceable trade, soe we Cannot but reiteratiuely expresse o^r thankē for the same, wth all the respectē of hono^r that can be expected from vs, being readie both to ymbrace yo^r freindshipp and amity & to establish a constant entercourse of trade & traffique betwixt each others Subiectē for w^{ch} purpose, o^r Subiectē haueing vndertaken a new voyadge into yo^r Country, wee could not but take occasion to salute yo^u, & to pray yo^u to Contynewe yo^r favo^r towardē them, wth such Conditions of saffetie & ymunitie to their psons, Shippes and goodē, as they may be both encoradged in their iust and honest course, and protected against any wronge and vyolence of any that would goe aboute to harme them, And for a pledge of o^r Princelie disposi^{ti}ōn towardē yo^u. Wee haue sent yo^u a token by o^r servant S^r Henrie Middleton knight Generall of o^r Marchaunte present voyadge Geven at o^r Pallace of Westminst^r this &c :



James by the grace of Almighty God, kinge of
 greate Brittainē ffrance & Ireland defendo^r of the
 Christian faith &c: To the right honorable
 lord, the Governo^r of the Citty of *Aden*
 Greetinge

Right honorable Lord.



THE Entercouse of amyty and freindshipp wth hath
 beene theis many yeares betweene vs & o^r Predecesso^r,
 and the mighty howse of *Ottoman*, confirmed by soe
 many demonstrations of free Commerce & libertie of
 trade throughe each others kingdomes & domynions, hath
 encourradged o^r Marchaunte to frequent alsoe those parte, where
 yo^r haue chardge, and the rather because they haue lately
 vnderstoode that twoe of their Shippes in their course of Nauiga-
 tion into diu's parte of the East Indies, haue alsoe beene in
 the mouth of the *red* Sea & found opportunity of traffique by
 enterteyneinge each others Comodities wth hath induced them
 nowe to vndertake this voyadge, and prayed o^r intercession vnto
 yo^r for them, that they might be favorably receaued, and inioye
 in those parte alsoe such liberty of trade wth saffetie and good
 vsage for their persons, Shippes and goodē, as they now haue and
 inioye in the hether parte of the *Grand Signors* domynions, wth
 wee doe not doubt but yo^r will be willinge to afford vnto them,
 and the rather because they bringe wth them a safe *Conduct* from
 the *Grand Signier* in that behalfe. And of o^r good will & inclina-
 tion towarde yo^r, wee haue sent yo^r a small token by o^r Servant
 S^r Henry Middleton knight, wth wee pray yo^r to accept in good
 parte. And soe we Comitt yo^r to the protecōn of the most
 highe & almighty God the Creator & Preseruer of all thinge:
 ffrom o^r Pallace at Westminst^r this &c:



James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate
 Sabander of Nero. Brittainē ffrance and Ireland Defendo^r of the
 Christian faith &c: To the right honorable the
 Sabander of Nero,¹ Greeteinge.

Right honorable Lord



ALTHOUGH wee haue heretofore by o^r tres vnto
 yo^u expressed o^r acknowledgem^t for the favorable
 vsage & interteynem^t yo^u haue giuen to o^r Subiecte
 in their trade and traffique wthin yo^r Countries,
 yett they haueing now vndertaken a lyke voyadge thither
 againe, wee cannot but reiterate o^r former acknowledgm^t as
 a matter honorable to yo^u, and acceptable to vs, And the
 rather because wee doe not doubt but thereby yo^u will be more &
 more induced to afford vnto o^r Subiecte such further favo^r &
 pteccōn wthall Condicons of hono^r and saffety to their persons,
 Ships & goodē, as may encoradg them to contynewe their trade
 & Commerce wth yo^r people; wherein yo^u shall doe a worke worthy
 of yo^r selfe, and much advantagious to the proffitt of each others
 Subiecte. And for a demonstraçōn of o^r favorable inclynation
 towardē yo^u, and embracinge of yo^r loue & freindshipp, wee haue
 sent yo^u atoken by o^r servant S^r Henrie Middleton knight,
 Generall of this o^r voyadge, w^{ch} wee pray yo^u to accept in good
 parte, and to hono^r and respect him accordinge to the quallity of
 his place. Given at o^r Pallace of Westminst^r this &c:



AFTER² my hartie Comendaçōns wheras the Companye
 of m^cchantē trading to the *East Indyas*, being now
 buylding a Shippe in *Ireland*, and hauing occasion to
 vse some readye monye, for prouiding of sundrie
 thinge ther, necessarye for the finishing of the said shippe haue
 made suite for lycense to transport from hence,
 the some of Thre hundred poundē sterling, Theis
 are therfore to wyll and require y^e to suffer any

A warrant for
 transportacon of 300^{li}
 into Irel:

¹ i.e. Neira, one of the Banda Islands.

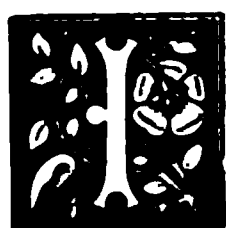
² The loss of the 1610-14 Court Book prevents the giving of details as to the circumstances under which this warrant was applied for. It is interesting as an example of the strictness of the currency laws of the period.

psons aucthorized by thē to shippe forth the said some of Thre hundred pounde. Prouided that y^u take bond for deliu^rye of the said mony in *Ireland*, ther to be employed as aforesaid. And for so doing this (being grounded vppō his ma^te warrant vnto me in that behalf) shalbe yo^r sufficyent discharge. ffrom *Whitehall* the 4 of Octobr 1610.

Yo^r louing friend

To my louinge friende, the

R SALISBURYE



JAMES,¹ by the grace of God, king of *England, Fraunce* and *Ireland*, defend^r of the faith &c. TO our trustye and welbeloued seru^{ant} *Henry Myddleton* knight, Greting. WHEREAS, dyuers of o^r louing subiecte, by the name of the *Gouerno^r and Companye of Marchants of London* trading into the *East Indyas*, at ther owne aduentures, coste and charge, for the hono^r of this o^r Realme of *England*, and for the encrease and aduauncement of trade, and m^{ch}andize wthin the same, haue set forth sundrie voyage to the *East Indies*, and alreadye discovered and begunne to settle a trade into those parte, and intending the contynuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those place alreadye settled, as by furth^r discouerye of other parte, w^{ch} may be fitt for the enterchaunging of the Co^modities of our kingdomes, wth the Co^modities of those place, such as may be of spⁱall vse and benefitte to vs and o^r subiecte, hauing to this purpose now p^rpared and sett forth thre Shippes to the said *East Indyas*, and the place adioyning therunto AND WHEREAS our said Subiecte the Aduenture^r of those voyage, haue chosen y^u, our said seru^{ant} *Henry Myddleton* knight, to be y^r principall Gouerno^r or Generall of all the m^{ch}ante, maryners and oth^r our Subiecte, w^{ch} are or shalbe shipped in the said thre Shippes, WE graciouslye fauouring the^r intended voyage, and approuinge and allowinge of

A Commyssion from
his Ma^te to Sr Henry
Myddleton knight

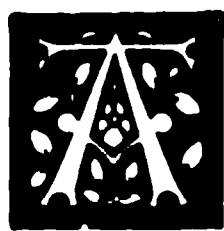
¹ The original and duplicate of this commission (with the remains of the Great Seal still attached) are preserved among the *Parchment Records* (Nos. 6 and 7) in the India Office. There are also Minutes of the Grant at the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 205).

ther choice of y^e to the same gouernm^t, being wylling to furnishe y^e wth all fitt and conuenyent power and auctoritye, to rule & gouerne all and euerye our Subiecte, employed in this voyage, by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto yo^e in the obseruinge and executing of all such good orders, and constitucons, as y^e shall thinke conuenyent to ordeine and make for the furtheraunce of y^e said voiage according to such p^rict^r direccons and enstruccons, as y^e shall receiue from y^e said Gouerno^r and Companye of m^rchant^e, the Aduenturers in this voyage, Straightlye charging and comaunding all and euerye pson or psons employed in this voyage, and shipped in the said thre Shippes, to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^e during the said voyage, and to beare themselves one toward^e anoth^r in good ord^r and quyetnes for auoyding any occasion that might breede mutinye, quarrells or dissencon amongst them, to the hinderaunce of the good successe, w^{ch} is to be hoped for by God^e prouidence of this said voyage. AND in default of such duitie and obedyence to be p^rfourmed toward^e y^e, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells or dissencons that may arise, by the euyl and disorderlye disposicon of any pson whatsoeuer, WE do herbye authorize y^e our said seru^ant *Henry Middleton* knight during the said voyage, or during so long tyme as y^e shall liue in the said voyage, to chastice correct and punishe all Offendo^r and transgressors in that behalf according to the qualite of ther offences, wth such punishm^te as are comonlye vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Capitall. AND for Capitall offence as wilfull murth^r, w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of god, or mutinye w^{ch} is an offence w^{ch} may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voyage, the same being dulye and iustlye proued against any of the pson or psons aforesaid. WE do herby giue vnto y^e o^r said seru^ant *Henry Myddleton* knight, during all the tyme of the said voyage, or during so long tyme as y^e shall liue in the said voyage, full power and auctoritye to vse and put in execucon our lawe, called Lawe Marciall in that behalf, And these our tres shalbe vnto y^e sufficyent warrant and discharge, for the doing and executing of all and singler the p^rmisses. AND forasmuch as at this p^rsent tyme, we are in amitye wth all Christian Princes, and are vnwylling that any o^r Subiecte should giue occasion of breach or

hinderance therof towardē any o' Confederates friendē or Allies, And because we are not ignoraunt of the emulacōn and enuye wth doth accompanye the discoverye of Countreyes and trades, and of the quarrells and contenōns wth do many tymes fall out betwene the Subiectē of dyuers Princes when they mete the one wth the oth' in forreigne and farre remote Countreyes in prosecuting the course of the' discoveries, and being desirous that our Subiectē should forbear to moue or beginne any quarrell or contenōn vppō the Subiectē of o' Confederates friendē or Allies, eith' in ther going forth or retourning from any of ther voyage **WE THEREFORE** do herebye straightlye charge and comaund y^e o' said seru^{nt} *Henrye Myddleton* knight, and all other vnder yo' gouernm^t, that neith' in yo' voyage outward or homeward, or in any Countrey, Island, Port or place, wher y^e shall abyde or come, during the tyme of yo' being abroad, out of o' kingdomes or domynions, wher y^e meete wth any the Subiectē of y^e king of *Spaine*, or of any oth' o' Confederates, friendē, or Allies, or of any other nacōn or people, ther Shippes, Vessells, goodē or m^cchandizes, y^e do not attempt or go about to sett vppō, take or surprize their psons, Shippes, vessells, goodē or m^cchandizes, or offer any iniurye or discourtesye vnto them, as y^e wyll aunswer the contrarye, at yo' vtt^most pills. Except y^e shalbe by them first therunto iustlye poked or driue, eith' in the iust defence of yo' owne psons, Shippes, vessells, goodē or m^cchandizes, by any ther disturbaunce or hinderance w^{soeu}r in yo' quyett course of trade, or for recompence and recou'ye of the psons, Shippes, goodē or m^cchandizes of any o' Subiectē, that are alreadye in or neare the *East Indies*, or for any oth' iust cause of yo' defence. In w^{ch} cases so excepted, if y^e attempt, surprize, and take the psons, Shippes and goodē of any Prince or State, by whose Subiectē y^e shall susteine any wrong, or losse in manner as aforesaid, y^e shall not for any such acte or acte, grounded vppō the occasions aboue mentioned, be in daung' or subiect to the pill and penalties of o' lawes. Alwayes p^rsupposing and so requiring y^e to vse all possible endeu^r by all meanes whatsoeu^r, to suffer no spoile to be made of any goodē or m^cchandizes, nor imbeaschig of any thing whatsoeu^r that shalbe recou'ed by y^e, but to see the saufelye brought home wth ther Bylles of lading and Chart' pties, to the intent that

there may be restitucon made by vs, so soone as y^a shall receiue satisfacon from that State or people, by whome y^a are dampnified of what Natiō soeuer. AND forasmuch as o^r said Subiecte the m^chante and oth^r the Aduenture^m of this voyadge, out of prouydence and foresight yf any mortalitye eith^r by sicknes or otherwise (w^{ch} God forbyd) should befall vnto o^r seru^{nt} *Henry Myddleton* knight, haue made choise of o^r trustie and louing subiecte Cap^{te} *Nichās Downton*, to succede the said *Henry Myddleton* knight, in the charge and comāund of principall Gouverno^r or Gen^{all} of all the psons employed in this voyage as aforesaid WE do alsoe (in case such an accydent should happen) allowe and approue of ther choyce in that behalf, And do herby giue full power and authoritye to the said Cap^{te} *Nichās Downton*, to do and execute all and euerye thing, incydent to the charge of principall Gouverno^r or Generall of all the psons employed in this voyage as aforesaid in as ample manner and forme, and to all intente and purposes, as is before comytted and imposed vppō our Seru^{nt} *Henry Myddleton* knight, And these o^r tres shalbe also sufficyent warrant and discharge to the said Cap^{te} *Nichās Downton*, for the doing and executing of all and singuler the p^rmisses as afores^d. IN WYTNES wherof we haue caused these o^r tres to be made Patent^e. WITNES our self at Westm the seauententh day of March in the seauenth yeare of our Raigne of *England, Fraunce and Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the thre and forteth

per breue de priuato Sigillo. COPPIN.



AMES,¹ by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, ffraunce and Ireland, defend^r of the faith &c TO OUR trustye and welbeloued *Anthonye Hippon*,² greting, WHERAS dyuers of our louing subiecte, by the name of the Gouvern^r and Companye of m^chante of

¹ Captain Hippon's Commission for the *Seventh Voyage*, 1611 (see also *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, page 208).

² See page 114, note 3.

A Commission from
his Ma^{ty} vnto Anth^y
Hippo^{us} Cap^{tn}.

Londō, trading into the *East Indy*es, at ther owne aduentures coste and charges, for the honor of this o^r Realme of England, and for the encrease and aduancement of trade, and m^{ch}andize wthin the same, haue set forth sundrie voyage to the *East Indy*es, and alreadye discovered, and begonne to settle a trade into those parte, and intending the contynuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those pte alreadye settled, as by furth^r discoverye of oth^r pte w^{ch} may be fitt, for ent^rchaunging of the Comodities of o^r kingdomes, wth the comodities of those place, such as may be of speciall vse and benefitte to vs and o^r subiecte, hauing to this purpose now p^rpared and sett forth the good Shippe called the *Globe*, AND wheras our said subiecte, the Aduenture^r of those voyage, haue chosen y^e the said *Anthony Hippo*, to be Gouverno^r or Captaine of all the m^{ch}ante, maryners, and all oth^r, as well our Subiecte, as of what Natiō soeu^r that shall goe in the said Shippe, we graciouslye fauouring the intended voyage, and approving and allowing of ther choyce of y^e to the same gouernm^t, being wylling to furnishe y^e wth all fytt and conuenient power & authoritie, to rule and gouerne all and euerye our Subiecte and others whatsoeu^r, employed in this voyage by a due obedyence to be by the y^eilded vnto y^e in the obseruing and executing of all such good orders and constitucōns as y^e shall thinke conuenient to ordeine and make for the furtheraunce of the said voyage, according to such p^rctice directōns and instructōns as y^e shall receiue from the said Gouverno^r and Companye of m^{ch}ante the Aduenture^r in this voyage. Straightlye charging and commaunding all and euerye pson and psons employed in this voyage, and shipped in the said Shippe to geue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^e, during the said voyage. And to beare themselves one toward^t anoth^r in good order and quietnes, for auoyding any occasion that might breede mutinye, quarrells or dissensions amongst the to the hinderaunce of the good succe^se, w^{ch} is to be hoped for, by gods p^rvidence of this said voyage AND in default of such dutye and obedyence to be p^rformed toward^t y^e, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells and dissensions, that may arise by the cuyll and disorderlye disposicion of any pson whatsoeu^r, we do herbye

authorize y^u, our said subiect *Anthonye Hippon*, during the said voyage, or during so long tyme as y^u shall lyue in the said voyage, to chastize correct and punishe all offend^m and transgresso^r in that behalf according to the qualite of ther offence; wth such punishm^te as are co^monlye vsed in all armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall, And for Capitall offence, or¹ wilfull murth^r, (w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of god) or mutynie, (w^{ch} is an offence which may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voyadge) the same being iustlye and dulye proued, against any of the pson or psons aforesaid WEE do hereby giue vnto y^u o^r said subiect *Anthonye Hippon*, during all the tyme of the said voyage, or during so long tyme, as y^u shall lyue in the said voyage, full power and authoritey to vse and put in execu^{ti}on our Lawe called Lawe Martiall in that behalf, and these o^r tres shalbe yo^r sufficyent warrant, and discharge for the doing and executing all and singler the p^rmisses. AND forasmuch as at this p^rnt tyme we are in Amitye wth all x^pian prince, and are vnwylling that any o^r Subiecte, should giue occasi^on of breach or hinderaunce therof, toward^e any o^r confederat^e, friende or allyes, And because y^u² are not ignoraunt of the emula^{ti}on and enuye w^{ch} doth accompanye the discouerye of Countrys, and Trades, and of the quarrells and conten^{ti}ons w^{ch} do many tymes fall out betwene the Subiecte of dyuers Prince when they meete the one wth the oth^r in forreigne and farre remote Countrys, in psecuting the course of ther discoueryes; and being desirous that o^r Subiecte should forbear^e or³ beginne to³ moue any quarrells or conten^{ti}ons, vpp^o the subiecte of o^r confederat^e, friende or allyes, eith^r in ther going forth or retourning from any the voyage WEE therefore do straightlye charge and co^maund y^u, o^r said subiect *Anthonye Hippon*, and all oth^r vnder yo^r gouernm^t, That neith^r in yo^r voyage outward or homeward, or in any Countrie, Island, Port or place, wher y^u shall abide or come during the tyme of yo^r being abroad out of o^r kingdome or domynions, wher y^u meete wth any the Subiecte of the king of *Spayne*, or of any oth^r o^r Confederates, friende or Allyes, or of any oth^r Nati^on or people, ther shippes, vessells, good^e or m^rchandizes, yow do not attempt or

¹ A mistake for "as."

² This should be "we."

³ These two words appear to have been transposed in copying.

go about to sett vppō, take or surprize, ther psons, shippes, vessells, goodē or m'chandizes, or offer any Iniurye or discourtesye vnto thē, as y^e wyll aunswer the contrarye at yo^r vttermost pills Except y^e shalbe by them first therunto poked or drawne, eith^r in the iust defence of yo^r owne psons, shippes, vessells, goodē or m'chandize, by any their disturbaunce or hinderaunce w^hsoeu^r in yo^r quiett course of trade, or for recompence, and recouerye of y^r psons, shippes, goodē, or m'chandizes of any o^r Subiectē that are alreadye in or neare the *East Indyas*, Or for any oth^r iust cause of yo^r defence, In w^h causes so excepted, if y^e attempt, surprize and take, the psons shippes and goodē of any Prince or State, by whose Subiectē y^e shall susteyne, any wrong or losse in manner as aforesaid, y^e shall not for any such Act or Actē, (grounded vppō the occasions aboue mencōned,) be in daung^r or subiect to the pill and penaltyes of o^r Lawes, Alwayes p^rsupposing, and so requiring y^e to vse all possible endeuo^r by all meanes whatsoeu^r, to suffer no spoyle to be made, of any goodē or m'chandizes nor embezilling of any goodē whatsoeu^r that shalbe recou^red by y^e, But to see them saufelye brought home, w^h ther bylles of lading, and Chart^r pties, to the intent that there may be restitu^ōn made by vs so soone as y^e shall receyue satisfac^ōn from that State or people, by whome y^e are dampnified, of what Natioⁿ soeu^r AND forasmuch as o^r said Subiectē, the m'chante and other the Aduenture^r of this voyage, out of prouydence and foresight of any mortalitye, eith^r by sicknes or otherwise, w^h god forbyd should befall, vnto our Subiect *Anthonye Hyffon*, haue made choyce of o^r trustie and welbeloued Subiect *Robert Breene*,¹ to succede the said *Anthonye Hyffon* in y^r charge and comāund of Gouverno^r and Captaine of all the psons employed in this voyage WEE do also in case such an accydent should happē allowe and approue of ther choyce in that behalf, And do herby giue full power and authoritie to the said *Robert Breene*, to do and execute all and euerye thing incydent to the charge of Gouverno^r and Cap^m of all the psons employed in this voyage, as aforesaid, in as ample manner and forme, vnto all intentē and purposes, as is before comytte^d and imposed vppō o^r Subiect *Anthonye Hyffon*, And

¹ See page 34 note 1.

these oʳ tres shalbe also a sufficyent warrant and discharge to the said *Robert Browne*, for y^e doing and executing of all and singler the pʼmisses as aforesaid IN WYTNES whereof, we haue caused these oʳ tres to be made Patent^e, WYTNES our self at *Westmynster*, the fourth day of Decem̄r, in the Eight yeaʳe of our Raigne of *England Fraunce & Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the fower and fortith.

COPPIN

Per breue de priuato Sigillo

Articles indented & agreed vpon the thirtenth day of Decem̄r in the yeaʳe of oʳ Lord 1610. Betweene S^r Thomas Smyth knight Gouʳnoʳ of the Company of Marchaunt^e of London, tradeinge to the East Indies, and Certeine Committees of that Company appointed by order of Courte for that purpose, on thone parte. And *Peter Floris & Lucas Athewmes*,¹ Dutch Marchaunt^e on thother parte. In manner & forme followinge.



IN PRIMIS. Itt is agreed that a shipp shall be prouided by the said Gouʳnoʳ and Companie of the burthen of fower hundred Tunns or thereabout^e To be readie to sett saile from hence in this instant Decem̄r, or in Ianuarie next, wth fower score men (Marchaunt^e & all others) & victualled for thirtie monnethes for a voyadge (by gode grace) to be made therewth into the said East Indies.

Item: ffor the pformance thereof, as alsoe for a competent

¹ Peter Floris (here miswritten Ploris) and Lucas Anthemmis (or Anthennis) were two Dutch merchants to whom was entrusted the management of the Company's *Seventh Voyage* (1611), which was especially intended to open up trade on the Coromandel Coast and at Patani and Siam. Probably both of them—and certainly Floris—had had experience of trade in the Indies; and, as will be seen from the present document, they had a considerable stake in the enterprise, contributing one-eighth of the total capital. The voyage proved to be a success, but was fatal to Floris, who died within two months of his return to London (1615). Anthemmis, who had been left at Siam, remained there until September, 1615, when he proceeded to Patani, and thence to Masulipatam, finally reaching London in September, 1618.

stocke of 12000^l or thereaboutes is appointed to be leuied, whereof 1500^l is to be putt into the said stocke by the foresaid *Peter Floris & Lucas Athames* for their aduerture. And 600^l of the said 15. 0^l, is by them presentlie to be paid, to such a Casheare as shalbe therevnto by the said Gourno^r & Companie chosen. And the other 900^l to be likewise paid to the said Chasheare in Iune or Iulie next followinge the date of theis presentes (w^h the said Companie doe acknowledge to haue received). The rest of the said stocke of 12000^l is to be supplied by the said Company.

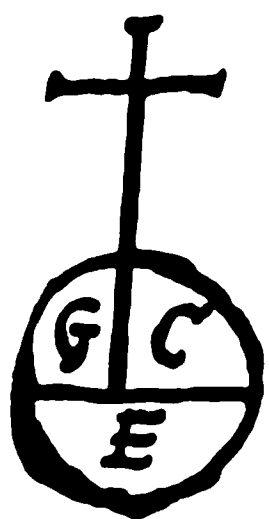
Item. That of the foresaid 12000^l intended for the said stocke, the chardge of the Shippe, victuallinge & such other necessities shalbe supplied, & then the Remainder of the said some shall be imployed as a stocke by them for this voyadge.

Item. That the said *Pieter Floris, Lucas Athames & Robert Breene* shall be the principall ffactors for sale & imploynt of the said stocke, duringe the said voyadge. And that whatsoever shalbe by them bought or sould in the tyme of this their said voyadge shalbe registred and written by some English Marchaunte to be appointed by the said Gourno^r & Companie for that purpose. And alsoe the said *Pieter Floris, & Lucas Athames* doe promyse that they will neither buye nor sell any Marchaundize or Comodities whatsoeu^r, nor make any priuate, nor any other bargains before hand, but such and att those tymes when the said *Robert Breene*; and other English Marchaunte shall be by att the makinge of them. Promysinge further to vse their best diligence & endevor to informe teach & instruct the said English Marchaunte in all the misteries & secrette belonginge to the said trade and busines.

Item. The said *Pieter Floris & Lucas Athames* doe promyse that they will not intermeddle nor haue any dealinges w^h any other busines then buyinge & sellinge of Marchaundize & such o^r Comodities w^hout the Consent of the Captaine and *Robert Breene*; w^h the rest of the said English Marchaunte: Nor w^h sellinge any factory in any place, or w^h any state whatsoeu^r w^hout the Consent & resolution first had of the said Capt & english Marchaunte as abovesaid. Promysinge further that the said Capt & english Marchaunte shall cause the shipp to sayle, &

direct their course to all such hauens and portes as the said *Pieter Ploris* & *Lucas Atheumes* shall from tyme to tyme direct them vnto.

Item The money and Marchandize appointed for the foresaid stocke shall be m^rked wth the Companies marke, & remaine in the Custodie and chardge of the said Captaine & english Marchauntes vntill there be tyme of ymploym^t, and then to be deliuered to the said *Pieter Ploris*, *Lucas Anthemes* & *Robert Browne* as occasion shall serue, and by them required. And att



what tyme soeu^r the said Marchandize, or any parte thereof shall be sould & ymployed in other wares & goodē the same shall presentlie be brought abourd & putt into the hould of the said shipp (marked wth the said Companies marke expressed in the margent). And this to be done as often as any chaunge, sale or ymploym^t shall be made of the said wares goodē or marchandize. And due accomptē to be kept by the said englishe Marchaunte from tyme to tyme of the doinge

thereof, soe as the Gou^rnor & Company (for the tyme beinge) may receiue true informacōn of eu^y pticuler buyinge and sellinge wth the places where the same was done, & the tymes when.

Item Thatt for the doinge & pformaunce of this busines the said Gou^rnor & Company doe promise to allowe to the said *Pieter Ploris* and *Lucas Anthumes*, for their factorie vpon the nette pceede of the said stocke (Marriners wages & all other chardges deducted []) as followeth.

If there be vnder Centum p Cento, nette proffitt made, by the said voyadge, then they are to receiue noe factorage.

If there be *Centum p Cento* nette proffitt made as for example 24000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 4 p Centū.

If one hundred and a halfe be made, nett proffitt vpon the hundred as 30000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 5 p Cent.

If Twoe hundred be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 36000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 6 p Cent.

If twoe hundred & a halfe be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 42000^{li} for 12000^{li} then they are to haue 7 p Centū.

If three hundred be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 48000^l for 12000^l then they are to haue 8 p Centū.

If three hundred & a halfe be made nette proffitt vpon the hundred as 54000^l for 12000^l then they are to haue 9 p Centū.

If fflower hundred be made nette pffitt vpon the hundred as 60000^l for 12000^l then they are to haue 10 p Centū. And noe more what increase soeu^r they shall retourne of proffitt or gaine, they shall haue noe more then 10 p Centū.

Item That duringe the said voyadge they shall neither by themselves, nor any other for them or to their vse directlie or indirectlie, vse or exercise any priuate trade or Marchandizeinge whatsoeu^r But shall applie themselves & their whole endeuo^r for the good & aduancem^t of the gen^lall stocke, And the said Gou^rnor & Companie, doe promise to vse their best care & diligence to p^ruent the like priuate trade or Marchandizinge to be made by the said Captaine, englishe Marchaunte or any other Marriners whatsoeu^r.

Item that the said *Peter Floris & Lucas Antheumes* shall become bound vnto the said Gou^rnor & Comp: in 2000^l for their true & faithfull dealeinge wth the said Gou^rnor & Comp: in the said voyadge, and for the due pformance of whatt is for them to be pformed abouesaid. As alsoe for the deliu^ringe vp in writeinge of a true and iust accompt of all there pceedinge in the said voyadge.

Item yf God shall call the said *Peter Floris & Lucas Athenumes* out of this lyfe, before that they shall retourne backe into the porte of London, then the benefitt of their factorage as abouesaid, and nette pcede of their aduventure pporcionable wth the rest of the Aduenturers shall be trulie paid and satisfied vnto their heires Executors or Administrators.

Item yt is further agreed That yf the said *Peter Floris* or the said *Lucas Antheumes* or either of them doe fortune to die, & the other retourne that then the suruio^r shall stand for both, & be accomptable in the behalfe of both, for all that hath past in the said voyadge accordinge to the true meaneinge of theis Articles.

Item. Whereas certaine Articles of Agreem^t were made and concluded, betwixt the said S^r: Thomas Smyth Gou^rnor of the

said Companie &c : on the one parte : And Peter *Floris* & *Lucas Antheumes* on thother parte bereinge date the 27th day of March 1610. for c'teine couenant^e to haue beene pformed on either parte: Itt is nowe agreed vpon that the said Articles shall be disannulled and cancelled, & whatsoeu^r is conteyned in them to be of noe strength nor power.

In Witnes whereof the said *Pieter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* haue sett to their hand^e and seales to thone parte, and the said Companie haue fixed their Comon scale vnto theis present^e to thother parte the day & yeare first aboue written

Whereas mention is made in the precedent Articles of a stocke of 12000^{li} to be ymployed by the foresaid *Pieter Floris* & *Lucas Antheumes*, for w^{ch} they are to receiue factorie accordinge to the said Articles of agreem^t betwixt the Companie and them; They nowe findinge that by the increase of chardges the Capitall will be raysed vnto 14000^{li} or thereaboutes, doe desier that the Companie would be pleased to graunt them considera^{ti}on in there factorye for the said encrease, w^{ch} the Company are willinge to yeald vnto in manner and forme followinge as is sett downe (accordinge to their owne desier) *on thother side of this Roll. Viz.* as followeth.

Pieter Floris : Lucas Antheumes :


Consideringe that the settinge forth of the Shipp cometh to more then was att the first supposed yt would haue done, In reguard whereof the Capitall is encreased wth Marchandize and money to 14000^{li} or thereabout^e: Wee therefore the Gou^rnor Deputy & Comittees for the foresaid Companie (att the earnest request of the forenamed Peter *Floris* and Lucas Antheumes) are willinge and contented for their satisfac^{ti}on to graunt that there prom^{ti}o and factorie shall be reckoned as followeth.

If they bring in retourne the nette some of 24000^{li} then there prom^{ti}o shall begyn att 4 p Centū, and soe to Continue to 29000^{li}

Butt yf it soe happen that they bringe in nette retourne 30000^{li} or aboue the same some shall be diuided by 12000^{li}, & the prom^{ti}o to be reckoned as aforesaid.

And in like manner the same some shall be diuided by 14000^{li}

A Comission¹ graunted by vs the Gou'nor Deputy & Comittees, for the Company of Marchaunte of London, tradeinge [into] the East Indies vnto Anthony Hippon Capt *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* & Robt *Browne* o' principall ffactors, together wth Thomas Essington,² Symon Evans, *Adam Denton*, & George *Chauncey* the rest of o' ffactors and all other o' Marriners employed in this o' seaventh voyadge in the good shipp called the *Globe*.

I.  N PRIMIS Whereas wee the Marchaunte abouesaid wth o' greate chardge & trouble haue prepared a shipp called the *Globe*, for a voyadge by Gode grace in her to be made to the bay of *Bengala* & other places in att or aboute the East Indies, & haue furnished the same in sufficient & plentifull manner, wth men, tackle, victualls, & all other needfull puiçons, fitt for such a voyadge. And haueinge beene pswaded by the good reporte of dyvers, & alsoe of an espetiall trust and confidence wee haue of the integritie, wisdome and resoluçons of o' loueinge freinde Anthonie Hippon, *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* & Robt *Browne* Doe appointe and authorize the said Anthonie Hippon to be o' cheefe Captaine & master, duringe the said voyadge, & to comaund o' shipp wth the men & Marrin's att Sea, And *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* & Robt *Browne*, our principall ffactors & Cape Marchaunte for the orderinge & disposeinge of such moneys gooder & Marchandize on shore, as shall be carried alonge wth them in the said shipp. And Thomas Essington, Symon Evans, *Adam Denton* & George *Chauncey*, wee appointe to take their passadge in the said shipp as o' ffactors to keepe bookes & accompte of all gooder &

A Comission graunted by the Comp: to Capt Hippon in the 7th voyadge &c:

¹ This commission, though apparently completed and communicated to those concerned, seems to have been superseded by a fresh draft, which will be found on page 379. Possibly Floris and Anthemis were dissatisfied with it in its present form.

² Of this band of factors, Essington, on the death of Hippon in July, 1612, became captain of the *Globe*, and held that post until his death at Masulipatam in May, 1614; Denton became in turn chief at Patani and at Masulipatam, returning home in 1621; and Chauncey, after being stationed at various factories, died at Patani in the autumn of 1615.

Marchandize sould and delyuered, and bought and receiued from tyme to tyme wth the names of the portes, where any such trade or traffique is made. All w^{ch} both Commanders Marchaunte ffactors and Marriners wee trust will soe carrie them selues wth due respect one to another, loue to their equalls & obedyence to their Superio^r as loue & kindnes may be contynued on all sides and all whollie applie their wittē and endevo^r for the due pformeance of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Companie.

2 Item for that religious gou^rnm^t doth best binde men to pforme their duties, It is principally to be cared for, that prayers be said eu^{ry} Morninge & eueninge in the Shippe, & the whole Company called therevnto wth dilligent Eyes that none be wantinge, soe as all may ioyntlie wth reuerence and humilitie pray vnto Almighty God to blesse & preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge And for that purpose wee haue deliuered vnto the purser a faire Bible, wth the booke of Comon prayers.

3 Item That noe blaspheminge of God, sweareinge, theft, drunkennes, or other like misdeameano^r be vsed, butt that the same be seuerelye punished & that noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games be pmitted for that the same are most comonlye the begynninges of quarrells, and many times murther a iust occasion of Gods wrath and vengeance from w^{ch} the lord deliuer vs all Wherefore wee doe order that the Captaine shall giue punishm^t to be sett vp & published in the said shipp for such offences whereby eu^{ry} man may take notice what he ought to avoied.

4 Item. Thatt noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the shipp or tilthines be left w^{ch} in bou^rd w^{ch} in heate breedeth noysome smells, and infeccō: Butt that the outloppe and other places of the shipp be kept cleane & sweete w^{ch} is a notable preseruacō of health

5 Item That contynnall & true Iournalls be kept of eu^{ry} dayes course & navigacō duringe the whole voyadge, w^{ch} the obseruacō of fallinge w^{ch} eu^{ry} Coast & land, or porte where they come, for the depth of water, & in what latitude yt lyeth w^{ch} true relacō of eu^{ry} thinge that passeth And this to be done seuerally by Captaine ffactors, Pylott, M^r mate and purser And

they att conuenient tyme to conferr together aboute the same, To thend that yf any of them haue forgotten what an other obserued the same may be added whereby a discourse may be sett downe, to be presented by the Captaine to the Gou'nor and Company, when God shall graunte the said shipp safe retourne.

6. Item Thatt all money & Marchandizes w^{ch} shall be shipt here by the Gou'nor and Companie shall be kept by the Captaine he giueinge a receipt for the same w^{ch} said receipt shall be kept by *Peter Floris Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne thereby to demand the said money & goodē when they shall come to those places, where they shall vse the same And then the same shall be deliuered ouer by the Captaine vnto them from tyme to tyme duringe the said voyadge.

7 Item Wee will that the Captaine shall cause the Boates or Sciffes to be alwaies in a readines to be ymployed to all such places as o' principall Marchauntē shall appointe them, And not to dispose of them any otherwyse soe longe as they shall haue occasion to vse them.

8 Item such Marchandize wares & money as the Capt shall deliuer into the handes of the principall Marchauntē he shall take a receipt from them thereof: And such wares and Marchandize as shall be brought into the shipp by the foresaid principall Marchauntē *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes & Robt Browne* (or such as shall succeede in their places) beinge marked wth the Companies marke, they shall take a receipt of the Capt for the same. And this shall be done soe often as any goodē shall be dischargd forth of the shipp, or laden into the shipp, And the Captaine to be carefull that the goodē be well preserued & kept drie. To w^{ch} end he shall haue espetiall care to looke often tymes vnto the overloppe, that ytt be well kept.

9 Item the principall Marchauntē shall not doe any thinge (w^{ch} is wthout the compasse of their tradeinge) wthout the Counsaile of the Capt & other ffactors whether yt be in setlinge of any factory, or any contract or agreement to be made wth any kinge or potentate in the Indies Neither shall the Captaine haue any comaund or authoritie on the land to haue any thinge to doe wth the trade of Marchandizeinge Butt therein whollie wee doe authorize & put in trust o' principall Marchauntē *Peter Floris,*

Lucas Anthemes & *Robt Browne* to be cheefe Comanders on the land, to thend they may pforme the busines accordinge to their owne inuention. And *Thomas Essington*, *Symon Evans*, *Adam Denton*, and *George Chauncey* shall be wth them to assist them both in keepinge the bookes of accomptes as alsoe the Cashe.

10 Item yf the principall Marchaunte shall haue occasion to vse 5 or 6 Marriners or more to helpe to watch and keepe the goodē on Land in their howses, then yo^r Capt *Anthony Hippon* shall (vpon their demand) lett them haue soe many as they shall need, and those of the best and trustiest men yo^r haue.

11 Item To the end that the voyadge be not hindred through want of victualls, Wee doe ordeyne and requier that the Captaine shall not alter the daylie allowance of victualls, wthout first haueinge taken Counsell & consent of o^r principall Marchaunte, Whoe shall keepe Counter bookes of all the Victualls that are spent, and that shall remaine in *Esse*, the better to make their reckoninge for their pceedinge in the voyadge. And when yo^r shall come vnto the Land then shall the victualls be lockt vp in the shipp, and the principall Marchaunte shall pvide fresh victualls from the land, the better to enlardge the store, yf any may be peured.

12 Item. That att any place where yo^r shall water, and refresh yo^r selues, or putt in for traffique and Marchandizeinge, you Capt *Anthony Hippon* shall call the whole Companie together giueinge them most strict & straight charge and warninge not to straggle, but to behaue them selues peaceable and Ciuillie towardē the people of that place, (yf any be there) the better to peure their freindshipp, towardē the supplie of yo^r wante, and in yo^r course of trade least the losse of yo^r lines and outhrowe of o^r voyadge pay for yo^r disorders, beside an vtter discredit to o^r Nation, And that yo^r men doe vse a discrete meane in cateinge of fruite, fresh victualls, or drinkinge of water, leaste they surfett and fall into diseases, whereof wee haue had too much experience. But as any fresh promisions shall be peured a shore by our principall ffactors, the same shall be first brought vnto the Captaine (whoe wth there advise) shall reporte the same vnto the Company as to yo^r shall seeme good and needfull: And none presume to doe contrary wthout seuerate punishment And that

espetiall care be had to releiue the sicke, wth such fresh meate, and other Comfortable thinges, wherewth wee haue furnished yo^r shipp for that purpose, and not otherwise to be spent in Ryott and banquettinge and soe the sicke p^{is}he for wante of thinge needfull.

13. Item Whereas the stragglinge of yo^r men, in any place where they shall arryue and come, may not onlic proue the losse of such, as shall soe straggle (notwthstandinge they should be armed) but alsoe thereby much hurte might happen to the residue of o^r people. It is ordered that yo^u doe not p^{er}mitt any man in any place to straggle or goe from the rest of yo^r Companie vnlesse vpon some spetiall occasions yo^u giue Warraunt therevnto, vpon paine of seueare ponishm^t to be inflicted vpon such as shall doe the Contrarie, still doubtinge the worst and standinge vpon yo^r garde, wthout giueinge any trust vnto the people of the place.

14 Item fforasmuch as wee are well pswaded, of the discreçon, circumspection & good vnderstandinge of o^r principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris, Lucas Antheumes*, and Robt Browne. Wee doe therefore requier yo^u Capt *Anthonie Hippon* that yo^u be alwaies readie to saile to all such hauens and portes, as o^r foresaid principall Marchaunte shall direct yo^u to sayle vnto, and there to remayne vntill the said principall Marchaunte, shall haue finished there busines, & then from thence to saile vnto such other places as they shall requier yo^u. And this shall be soe often by yo^u pformed as they shall thinke fitt: for therein consisteth the welfare of the said voyadge And noe man shall counsaile or resolute to retourne homewardes, vntill such tyme as o^r said principall Marchaunte shall haue fully finisht there intended trade, vpon forfeiture of all their wages.

15 Item It is expreslie ordered that by a generall Consent of yo^u the Capt: Marchaunte, facto^r: and Marriners, some good order be by yo^u taken, and sett downe in writinge, soe soone as yo^u come to Sea, conc^{er}ninge the disposinge of dead mens goodē in the voyadge eyther by Comittinge the same by Inventory to the pticular keepinge of some men in the shippes (and that vpon some convenient consideraçons, for keepinge the same) or by sale of soe much thereof att the mayne maste as may not exceede a

third parte of the buyers wages, for either buyinge or borroweing, to preuent such preiudice to o^r Company as wee haue felt by Marriners buyinge soe much, as there whole wages came vnto: whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o^r shippes before their dischardge, butt alsoe deprived vs of meanes to redresse such wronges, as they haue many waies done vs in the voyadge. Alsoe that there be noe dealeinge by Exchange betwixt ptie and ptie, neither mony for mony, Comoditie for Comoditie Comoditie for money outwardes nor homewardes (for such exchange giues way for them to take and purloyne of o^r goodē). ffor preuencion whereof, wee order That neither the purser (nor any other) doe register, witnes, or take knowledge of any such contract by exchange. And noe man to be admitted meanes, to bringe goodē aboard, vpon paine of forfeiture to the Company of that w^{ch} shall be soe brought in. And yf any ffactor shall happen to die, his booke, accompte, and other thinges are to be ordered by the Cap^{tn}: & safelie reserved and brought home for England (an Inventory first taken thereof and registred in the pursers booke, to be witnessed by twoe or three others of the Companie[]). And that eu^{ry} Marriner or other in the shipp, doe sett there handes or marke to the said Orders mentioned in this 15th Article.

16 Item To the end that all difficult matters may the better be passed over by good endeuo^r wee doe appointt a Counsell of Eight psonns whereof Cap^{tn}: *Anthony Hiffon* to be Presedent (in matters of the shipp or for Iustice) and *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* & *Robert Browne*, wth *Thomas Essington*, *Symon Evans* *Adam Denton*, and *George Chauncey* (beinge in all eight psonns, whereof one of them to recorde whatt matters shall passe) shall be a sufficient Counsell to determyne, all cryminall & ciuill causes that shall come before them. Yett forasmuch as *Peter Floris* & *Lucas Anthemes* haue excused themselves thatt they are not acquainted wth the losse¹ and Iustice of o^r land, therefore they shall be exempted & not required to come to the Councell, when any matter of Iustice is to be handled (for such matters shall be determined by the rest of the Counsell). But yf yt be for any matters on land (or for any thinge w^{ch} con^cerneth trade[]).

¹ Laws

then one of the principall Marchante shall be president (either *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* or Robt Browne as they shall thinke fitt amongst themselues, to determyn for that purpose[]). And the foresaid Counsell shall allowe of the said pson for President, and shall hearken to his ppositions, and take Counsell and resolute vpon the same, as occasion shall be offered. And all of them aforenamed (exceptinge such as shalbe lefte in the Country as ffactors) to be in like manner of the Counsell wth yo^r homeward.

17. Item the Cap^l : shall haue espetiall care that noe man whatsoeu^r (of whatt quallity or Condiçôn soeu^r he be) his owne pson beinge alsoe included herein) shall vse any priuate or secreete trade vpon peine of fforfeiture of all thatt shall be found by any man soe doinge, and besides shall endure arbitrary punishment. And wee requier the principall Marchaunte to haue espetiall care hereof on the land, and to preuent yt soe much as they can or is possible. And the Cap^l : and other Marchaunte shall alsoe haue a vigilant eye, & good regard on the principall Marchaunte, to the end the Company may be the better serued [()whoe haue beene at such excessiue chardges) and reape the benefitt of the trade, discour'd by there expences.

18 Item for better preseruacôn of health, o^r order is, That from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water, yt be forthwth againe filled wth salt water, for preuençôn of leakage and mustines.

19 Item No pson whatsoeu^r wth shall succede by appointm^t or otherwise, in any place of comãd or office, either in o^r shipp, or in any ffactory to be settled, shall take or be allowed the wages of his predecessors. But thoughe he be remoued, preferred, and come to any such place and office, he shall content him selfe wth such wages as wee haue form^lie agreed wth him for, wthout any further demand or incroatchm^t vpon the Company for the same (vnlesse the Gou^rno^r & Comittees of the Company for the tyme beinge, shall be pleased to graunt the same att their retourne, or any other allowance of gratitude or rewarde vpon their desertes[]).

20 Item forasmuch as wee are c^{te}inelie informed that when twoe of o^r principall Marchante *Peter Floris*, & *Lucas Anthemes* shall come into the Indies, they are lyke to be much hated by the

Dutchmen there, whoe will seeke to doe them wronge and all the villanie they may therefore we expreslie chardge yo^r the Captaine (and all others that are in o^r shipp & voyadge) to defend and preserue them from wronges, wthall the power and strength you may against any that shall offer to doe them wronge or iniury: Or shall goe aboute to hinder them in their busines, w^{ch} might much endanger our voyadge. The lyke Comandem^t wee doe expreslie giue vnto all others that are in any of o^r shippes, & imployed in o^r busines in any places whatsoeu^r.

21 Item Wee doe expreslie chardge yo^r Capt *Anthony Hippon* not to suffer any Cabbins to be new built or altered, nor ptic^{ions} pulled downe in o^r shipp (except for enlarginge of the hould, or makeinge better puision for the bringinge home of o^r goods, and that by the aduise of the Councell, or for the better accomodatinge of there fightes¹ if need shall be²), or changed from the state they nowe are in, att the settinge out of the same, w^{ch} in former voyadges haue beene done to the greate hurte of o^r Companie, and discontent and hazard of all.

22 Item That noe wages to noe pson whatsoeu^r be encreased or giuen contrary to whatt we haue already appointed, but the pties to be referd to be rewarded by the Company att their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserved. Nor flactors, mrs mates, nor other officers of espetiall place in o^r shipp to be remoued wthout consent of such of the Councell as wee haue appointed to aduise wth yo^r the Capt^m: vpon all occasions. And not to thinke vpon authoritie sett vppon yo^r That the same should serue for any yo^r pticular respecte, knowinge that a wise man is best tryed when he is putt in authoritie. And that he is accompted of more fortitude that ou^rcometh himselfe then he that p^ruaileth against a multitude.

23. Item Wee forbid all vnecessarie expence of shooteinge

¹ "Fights are the wast of aith, which hang round about the ship, to hinder men " from being seen in fight, or any place where men may cover themselves, & yet " use their arms." (Philip's *World / History*, quoted in *Nares (1611)*)

² "Being nere unto it, they spread their fights which were of thicke matter, and " began to defend themselves." (Hakluyt's account of the Dutch voyage of 1595)

³ "Upon more sailing, pursued up with y^ear fights

G^o the "Shew my power in ocean when they all

Mary Winton / Winton Act II, Sc. 2

of Ordinance, att drinkinge of healthes or att the Captaines or Cape Marchant^e goinge a shore, or such like, for that thereby much powder is wastfullie consumed and o^r shipp and good^e putt in much hazard and danger: And likewise by yt way is giuen to the Gunners (vnder colour thereof) to embecyll the same.

24. Item for avoiedinge confu^on, in the gou^rnm^t of o^r people, And for that nothinge is soe vnc^oteine as the state of mans lyfe, Wee ordeyne that yf God shall call you Captaine *Anthonie Hippon* (duringe this voyadge) out of this world, (w^{ch} God defend) then wee Comitt the same gou^rnm^t of o^r shipp and Marriners therein, to such as wee haue nomynated in a wryteinge subscribed by the Gou^rno^r and sealed wth the seale of the Company, putt vp into a Boxe N^o: 1. sealed wth hard Waxe & deliu^red to Cap^{tn}*e*: *Anthony Hippon* to be kept close, and not opened soe longe as the said Capt *Anthonie Hippon* shall liue: Butt yf it shall please God to take him out of this world (that shall succede Captaine *Anthony Hippon*) Then wee ordeine thatt o^r M^r and Marriners in o^r said shipp shall submit themselues to the gou^rnm^t and Comand of such pson or psons as wee haue nominated therevnto, in a writeinge sealed vp in a Boxe No: 2. And remaineinge in the Custodie of the said Capt *Anthonie Hippon* & those that shall succede him, Prouided alwaies that noe pson whatsoeu^r, w^{ch} shall succede in the foresaid place of gou^rnm^t shall demaund be allowed or expect the wages of his predecessor, but shall content himselfe wth his first wages promysed him by the Companie, or referr him selfe to be considered of accordinge to his desert^e att his retourne by the Gou^rno^r Deputy and Comittees of the Company for the tyme beinge whoe haue ever respected men that shall deserue well of them.

25. Item for that in many voyadges heretofore the Company haue beene much wronged by the takeinge in of diu^s psonns into ther shippes [()not interteyned by them) w^{ch} haue beene carried into the East Indies, for some mens pticular gaine and proffitt to the greate chardge and hindraunce of the Companie Itt is therefore o^r expresse order & direc^on to yo^r Captaine *Anthony Hippon*, and to all other the Marchant^e ffacto^r & Marriners & eu^ry other pson or psonns, enterteyned & hired to serue in this said voyadge, That neither yo^r nor any of yo^r shall admitte, or suffer to passe

or receiue into o^r said shipp (in this o^r nowe intended voyadge) any pson or psonns, of whatt degree or quallitie soeu^r, other then such pson or psons as are interteyned and hired by the Gou^rnor and Committees of o^r said Companie to passe therein.

26. Item If it should happen (as God forbid) that o^r shipp should haue wante of men or other necessary meanes (wth such longe voyadges are subject vnto) then wee will that you desire to be releued by any shipp yo^u shall meete (wth is appteyneinge vnto vs, or any other Englishe shipp, whatsoeu^r) And wee hereby straightlie chardge and comand all Generalls, Captaines, Masters, or any other Officers (in any of the shippes whatsoeu^r, appteyneinge to the Companie of Marchaunte of London, tradeinge to the East Indies[)], whome yo^u shall chaunce to meete in any such yo^r distresse, That they supplie yo^u, ayde and releue yo^u wth such men, or any other necessities, wth yo^u shall haue neede of, & they may convenientlie spare yo^u wthout endaungeringe themselves and their shippes. And that yo^u pforme the like good Offices to any of o^r shippes, that yo^u shall meete dureinge the said voyadge, whome yo^u shall finde distressed.

27 Item If yo^u shall finde in yo^r trauaile or can convenientlie come by any faire birdc or Beaste or any other thinges fitt for vs to present to his Ma^{ty}: or any of the Noble Lordc, that are o^r honorable freinde, Wee pray and requier yo^u to be carefull to prouide, and send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men that retourne to see them carefully kept, and deliue^d to vs. And wthall that yf yo^u shall knowe any of the Marriners or others to haue any such, wth yo^u cannot peure from them for reason, then that yo^u send vs notice thereof, to the end wee may take order therein accordingle.

28 Item And lastlie to preuent disorders and misbehauours of the Marriners of this o^r shipp, either in their passadge out or retourne whome^l vpon o^r owne Coastes, wee ordeyne that yo^u suffer not o^r foresaid shipp, either outwardc or homewardec, to goe into any of the portes of Fawlmouth Plymouth or Dartmouth (vnto see ne c^ostic compell yo^u therevnto, &c).

And soe haueinge rememb^red what wee thinke needfull for yo^r direccon in this voyadge, and relynre vpon yo^r diligence and

care in psueinge o' busines to o' most aduantage, Wee comitt yoⁿ to the ptecōn of the Almightye God, whome wee beseech to blesse yo' endevorⁿ, and graunte yoⁿ a safe passadge & safe retourne to all o' Comforte.

Item Wheareas the stores appteyneinge to eu'y pticular Office are nowe sufficientlie furnished for this voyadge, and an Invoice deliu'ed vnto yoⁿ the Cap^{lme}: of eu'y pticular store: w^{ch} heretofore in some of o' former voyadges haue (through the remisnes of o' Comanders[]), bene ymbecilled and appropriated to mens pticular vses. ffor the better preuentinge therefore of the lyke inconueniences hereafter, wee ordeyne and giue yt in chardge vnto yoⁿ Cap^{lme}: *Anthony Hippon*, that yoⁿ cause trewe notice to be taken, and a iust accompt kept of the expence of the Gunners, Carpenters, Boateswaines Stewardes and eu'y such store, both by the purser and some others that yoⁿ shall appointe therevnto. That att yo' retourne wee may receiue from yoⁿ a iust accompt of eu'y pticular to be awnswered accordinge to the Invoice nowe deliu'ed vnto yoⁿ, And howe the same haue beene spent and disposed of.

Anthonie Hippon
Pieter Floris
Lucas Antheumes
 Robt Browne
 Tho: Essington




A Comission² graunted by vs the Gou'no' Deputy & Committees for the Company of Marchaunte of London tradeinge to the East Indies to be obserued and kept by *Anthonie Hippon* Cap^{lme}: and *Pieter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes* and *Robert Browne* Marchaunte, o' principall

¹ A mistake for "sigilli."

² This appears to be a revised commission, substituted for the preceding document, and is probably the authoritative version of the Company's instructions for the voyage. Here again one finds cause to mourn the loss of the Court Minutes for this period

ffactors together wth Thomas Essington, Symon Euans, *Adam Denton* and *George Chauncey* the rest of o^r ffacto^r nowe ymployed in this o^r *Seauenth* Voyadge.

1. N PRIMIS Whereas we the Marchaunte abouesaid wth o^r greate chardge and trouble haue p^rpared a shipp called the *Globe* for a voyadge by Gode grace in her to be made to the *Bay of Bengalla* & other places in at or aboute the East Indies and haue furnished the same in sufficient and plentifull manner, wth men tackle victuals and all other needfull prouisions fitt for such a voyadge, And hancinge beene pswaded by the good reporte of diuers, and alsoe of an espetiall trust and Confidence wee haue of the integritie, wisdome and resolucons of o^r louinge freinde *Anthony Hippon*, *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and *Robert Browne* doe appointe and authorize the said *Anthony Hippon*, to be o^r cheef Capt and Maister duringe the said voyadge and ordeine him to haue the full gou^rnm^t over the shipp and Marriners, And *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and *Robert Browne* to be o^r principall Marchaunte and ffactors. And haue appointed *Tho: Essington*, *Symon Euans*, *Adam Denton*, *George Chauncey* o^r ffactors to be assistaunt to them,ouer all wth said Marchaunte and ffactors the Captaine shall haue noe Comand nor authoritie, neither by water nor land in any matters conc^rninge trade.

2 Item Thatt all money and Marchandize wth shall be shippt here, by the Gou^rnor and Comp: shall be kept by the Captaine he geiueinge a receipt for the same, wth foresaid receipt shall be kept by *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and *Robert Browne* thereby to demand the said money and good^e when they shall come to those places where they shall vse the same, and then the same shall be deli^red by the Capt vnto them from tyme to tyme duringe the said voyadge.

3 Item To the end that *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and *Robert Browne* may the better pforme their busines in their trade (the w^{ch} wee doe refer vnto their discretions) Wee doe therefore expresse charge yo^r *Thomas Essington*, *Symon Euans*, *Adam Denton*, and *George Chauncey* to be ready att all tymes to goe either by water or land wheresoe^r o^r said principall Mar-

chaunte shall direct yoⁿ and requier the same for the Companies occasions.

4 Item We will that the Captaine shall cause the boate or Sciffes to be alwaies in a readines, to be ymployed to all such places as o^r principall Marchaunte shall appointe them, and not to dispose of them any otherwise soe longe as they shall haue occasion to vse them.

5 Item such Marchandize wares and money as the Captaine shall deliur vnto the hande of the principall Marchaunte, he shall take a receipt from them there, And such wares and Marchandize as shall be brought into the shipp by the foresaid principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris, Lucas Anthemes & Robert Browne* or such as shall succede in their places beinge Marked wth the Companies m^ke, they shall take a receipt of the Captⁿ: for the same, and this shall be done soe often as any gooder shall be discharged forth of the shipp or laden into the shipp. And the Captaine to be carefull that the gooder be well p^rserued and kept drie, To w^{ch} end he shall haue a spetiall care, to looke often tymes vnto the overlopps thatt yt be well kept.

6. Item The principall Marchaunte shall neither doe nor pretend to begynne to doe any thinge (w^{ch} is wthout the Compasse of their tradeinge) wthout the Counsell of the Captaine and other ffactors, whether ytt be in setling any ffactorie, or any contract or agreem^t to be made wth any kinge or Potentate in the Indies, neither shall the Captaine haue any authoritie on the land, to haue any thinge to doe wth the trade of Marchandize. But therein whollie wee doe authorize and putt in trust o^r principall Marchaunte *Peter ffloris, Lucas Anthemes and Robert Browne* to be cheefe Comanders on the Land to the end they may pforme their busines accordinge to their owne invention. And Thomas Essington, Symon Evans, Adam Denton, & George Chauncey shall be wth them to assiste them both in keepinge bookes of accompt^r, as alsoe the Cashe. Butt not meete to disburse any money (eyther in the chardges or otherwyse) wthout the knowledge and expresse Comandement of the principall Marchaunte.

7 Item Itt is expreslie ordered, that by agenerall Consent of you the Captaine Marchaunte ffactors & Marriners some good order be by yoⁿ taken, and sett downe in writeing, soe soone as

yo^r come to Sea, conce'ninge the disposinge of dead mens goodes in the voyadge, either by Comittinge the same by Inuentorie to the pticular keepinge of some men in the shippes & this vpon Conuenient consideracons for keepinge the same, or by sale of soe much thereof att the mayne maste, as may not excede a thirde parte of the buyers wages, for either buyinge or borrowinge to preuent such preiudice to o^r Company as wee haue felt, by Marriners buyinge soe much as their whole wages came vnto whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o^r shippes before their discharge butt alsoe deprived vs of meanes to redresse such wronges as they haue many wayes done vs in the voyadge. Alsoe that there be noe Dealinge by exchange betweene ptie and ptie neither money for money, comoditie for money, or comoditie for comoditie outwarde nor homewardest, for such exchange giues way for them to take and purloine of o^r goodes. ffor preuencion whereof wee order that neither the Purser, nor any other doe register, witnes, or take knowledge of any such contract by Exchange. And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe goodes aboard vpon paine of forfeiture to the Company of that w^{ch} shall be soe brought in, And yf any flactor shall happen to die, his bookes accompte and other thinges are to be ordered by the Captaine, and safelie reserued and brought home for England (an Inuentorie first taken thereof and registred in the pursers booke, to bee witnessed by twoe or three others of the Company). And that eu'ry Marriner or other in the shipp, doe sett their hande or marke to the said orders mentioned in this 7th article.

8 Item If the principall Marchaunte shall haue occasion to vse 5 or 6 Marriners or more to helpe to watch & keepe the goodes on land in their howses, then yo^r Captaine *Antonie Hippo* shall vpon there demand lett them haue soe many as they shall need and those to be of the best and trustiest men alsoe.

9 Item To the end that the Company may be the better in all thinge insthe dealt wthall, and the true and vpright carriadge of the busines may be made manifest and appeare plainlie The foresaid principall Marchaunte *Peter Ellis*, *Lazarus Antheumes* and *Robt Browne* shall keepe a iust and true accompt of all that shall be done by way of Marchandizinge And shall doe nothinge

att any tyme wthout haueinge the English bookep¹ or the Cashere by them, And shall informe instruct and shewe, them all such knowledge, misterie, or arte appteincinge to their tradeinge as shall be in their power to pforme, And the said pties shall all of them eu'y eight dayes (or soe often as possiblie they may) compare the bookes and the Cashe together, to the end that yf any error should be comitted by the one or thother the same might be amended, and the bookes kept in good ballance: Soe that by life or death of any of them the state of the bookes might be found pfect.

10. Item to the end the voyadge be not hindred through want of victualls wee doe ordeine and requier that the Captaine shall not alter the dailie allowance of victualls, wthout first haueinge taken Counsell & consent of o^r principall Marchaunte^r whoe shall keepe Counter bookes of all the victualls that are spent, and that shall remaine in *Esse* the better to make their reck[on]inge for their pceedinge in the voyadge. And when yo^u shall come vnto the Land then shall the victualls be lockt vp in the shipp and the principall Marchaunte^r shall prouide fresh victualls from the land the better to lengthen out their store soe much the longer. But yf they cannot prouide any, then yo^u may vse the shippes victualls as tyme and occasion shall inforce you.

11 Item forasmuch as we are pswaded of the discretion circumspection and good vnderstandinge of o^r principall Marchaunte^r *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Antheumes*, and Robt Browne wee doe ordeyne that their opinions & direccons in the busines of trade in Marchandizeinge, be followed wthout any controlm^t, As likewise wee will and requier yo^u Captaine *Anthony Hippon* that yo^u be alwaies readie to saile to all such landes and portes as the foresaid *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* shall direct yo^u to saile vnto and there to remayne vntill the said principall Marchaunte^r *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* and Robt Browne shall haue finished there busines, And then from thence to saile to such other places as the said *Peter Floris* and *Lucas Antheumes* shall requier yo^u And this shall be soe often by yo^u pformed as they shall desire (for therein consisteth the welfare of the whole voyadge[]). And noe man shall counsaile or resolute to retourne

¹ Book-keeper.

homewardes vntill such tyme as o' said principall m'chaunte shall haue fullie finisht there intended trade vpon forfecture of all their wages, and seveare ponishment for the same.

12 Item The Ires from his Ma^{ty}: wth wee haue procured vnto the Kinges Princes and Potentates of the Indies,¹ and haue made in the names of o' principall Marchauntes *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and *Robert Browne* together wth *Thomas Essington*, *Symon Euans*, & *Adam Denton* o' factors and deliuered vnto o' said principall Marchauntes shall be presented by them, in the presence of the rest of o' ffactors, [() or soe many of o' Englishe Marchante as shall be therevnto appointed) in the name of the kinges Ma^{ty}: of England, and for the honor of the English Nation, by them to procure such freedome both of Customes and all other thinges as they shall finde to be profitable for the Companie, and that the Companie may thereby be trewlie informed of whatsoe^r shall be done therein.

13 Item To the end all difficult matters may the better be passed over by good endeours wee doe appointe a Counsell of eight psonns whereof Capteine *Anthony Hippon* to be president (in matters of the shipp or for iustice []), and *Peter Fioris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and *Robt Browne* wth *Thomas Essington*, *Symon Euans* and *Adam Denton* and *George Chauncey* being in all eight psonns, whereof one of them to recorde whatt matters shall passe, shall be a sufficient Counsell to determyn all Cryminall and Cyuell matters that shall come before them yett forasmuch as *Peter Fioris* and *Lucas Anthemes* haue excused them selues that they are not acquainted wth the lawes and iustice of o' land therefore they shall be exempted and not required to come to the Counsell when any matter of Iustice is to be handled (for such matters shall be determyned by the rest of the Counsell) But yf yt be for any matters on land (or for any thinge wth conserneth trade) then one of the principall Marchaunte shall be President either *Peter Fioris*, *Lucas Anthemes* or *Robt Browne* as they shall thinke fitt amongst themselves to determyne for that purpose, And the foresaid Counsell shall allowe of the said pson for president and shall hearken to his propoticons, and take Counsaile, and resolve vpon the same as occasion shall be offered.

14 Item yf yt should happen that o^r principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris*, *Lucas Anthemes* and Robt Browne, should not carrie them selues well in this voyadge, there faultes and misdoeinges shall be written vpp & deliuered over vnto the Company in England for to be censured by them, butt they shall not be displaced duringe the voyadge.

15. Item the Captaine shall haue aspetiall care that noe man whatsoeu^r, of whatt quallitie or Condiçõn soeuer he bee (his owne pson beinge alsoe included herein) shall vse any priuate or secreete trade, vpon peine and¹ forfeiture of all that shall be found by any man soe doinge, and beside shall endure arbitrary ponishment, And wee requier the principall Marchaunte to haue a spetiall care hercof on the land, and to preuent yt soe much as is possible, And the Captaine and other Marchaunte shall alsoe haue a vigelent Eye & good regard on the principall Marchaunte to the end the Companie may be the better serued (whoe haue beene att such excessiue chardge) & reape the benefitt of the trade discourd by their expences.

16 Item fforasmuch as wee are c^rteinlie enformed, that when twoe of o^r principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris* & *Lucas Anthemes* shall come into the Indies they are like to be much hated by the *Dutchmen* there whoe will seeke to doe them wronge and all the villanie they may, therefore wee expreslie chardge yo^u the Captaine (and all others that are in o^r shipp and voyadge[]) to defend and preserue them from wronges wthall the power and strength yo^u may against any that shall offer to doe them wronge or iniurie: Or shall goe aboute to hinder them in their busines, w^{ch} might much indanger o^r voyadge, The like Comandem^t wee doe expreslie giue vnto all others that are in any of o^r shippes & imployed in o^r busines in any places whatsoeuer.

17. Item for avoiedinge Confusion in the gou^rnm^t of o^r people, and for that nothinge is soe vncerteine as the state of mans life: Wee ordeine that yf God shall call yo^u Captaine *Anthonie Hippon* duringe this voyadge, out of the world, (w^{ch} God defend) then wee Comitt the gou^rnm^t of o^r shipp & Marriners therin to such as wee haue nominated in a writtinge subscribed by the Gou^rno^r & sealed wth the seale of the Company putt vp

¹ A mistake for "of."

into a Boxe N^o: 1 sealed wth hard waxe & deliuered to Captaine Anthonie Hippon to be kept close and not opened, soe longe as the said Captaine Anthony Hippon shall lyue. Butt yf yt shall please god to take him out of this world that shall succede Captaine Anthonie Hippon then wee ordeyne that o^r Master and Marriners in o^r said shipp shall submitt them selues to the gou^rnm^t and Comand of such pson or psons as wee haue nomynated therevnto in a writeinge sealed vp in a Boxe N^o: 2 & remayneinge in the Custodie of the said Captaine Anthonie Hippon & those that shall succede him. Prouided alwayes that noe pson whatsoeu^r wth shall succede in the aforesaid place of gou^rnm^t, shall demand, be allowed, or expect the wages of his predecessor, butt shall content himselfe wth his first wages promised him by the Companie. Or referr himselfe to be Considered of accordinge to his deserte (att his retourne) by the Gou^rno^r and Comittees of the Companie for the tyme beinge.

18 Item If yt should happen (as God forbid) that o^r shipp should haue waunte of men or other necessarie meanes (wth such longe voyadges are subiect vnto) Then we will that yo^r desire to be releued by any shipp yo^r shall meete wth is appteineinge vnto vs, [t]or any other Englishe shipp whatsoeu^r) And wee doe hereby straightlie chardge all Generalls Captaines Masters or any other Officers (in any of the shippes whatsoeu^r appteineinge to the Company of Marchaunte of London tradeinge to the East Indies[.]); whome yo^r shall chaunce to meete in any such yo^r distresse thatt they supplie ayde and releyue yo^r wth such men or any other necessities wth yo^r shall haue neede of, and they may conuenientlie spare yo^r wthout endaungeringe them selues and their shippes. And that yo^r pforme like good office to any of our shippes that yo^r shall meete duringe the said voyage whome yo^r shall finde distressed.

19 Item Whereas we haue sent alonge wth yo^r one chest of money conteyneinge fower thousand Ryalls of 8. wth wee intend for a stocke to be left at *Bantam* against the tyme that yt shall please God to send o^r shippinge thether. Wee doe therefore ordeine that o^r principall Marchaunte *Peter Floris Lucas Inthornes* and Robt Browne shall leaue one or twoe of o^r fiactors att *Bantam* to whome they by their experience shall finde most

fitt to vndertake the same seruice) together wth the said Cheste of money intended for the foresaid stocke (or the valewe thereof) as alsoe halfe of the proceede w^{ch} shall be raysed by the ymploym^t thereof in their said voyadge thither, where o^r said ffactors shall remaine, and make ymploym^t of the said stocke and proceede thereof in such Comodities as by your discretion shall be thought most necessarie to be transported wth our shipping for o^r best aduantage to such places as shall be found conuenient, And the other halfe of the gaine to be for the accompt of the *Globe*.

20. Item yf yo^u shall finde in yo^r trauaile, or can conuenientlie come by any faire birdes or beastes, or any other thinge fitt for vs to present to his Ma^{ty}, or any of the noble Lordē that are o^r hono^{ble} freindē, Wee pray and requier yo^u to be carefull to prouide, & send the same wth espetiall chardge to some carefull man or men that retourne, to see them carefullie kept and deliuered to vs. And wthall yf you shall knowe any of the Marriners or others to haue any such w^{ch} yo^u cannot pcure from them for reason then that yo^u send vs notice thereof, to the end we may take order theirein accordingle.

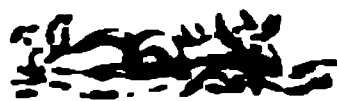
And soe haueing remembred what wee thinke needfull for yo^r direcōn in this voyadge, and relynge vpon yo^r dilligence and care in pursuing o^r busines to o^r most aduantage Wee comitt yo^u to the ptecōn of the Almightye God, whome wee beseech to blesse yo^r endeuo^r and graunte yo^u a safe passadge and safe retourne to all o^r comfortes.

Item Whereas wee haue giuen direcōns that one or twoe of o^r ffactors should be lefte at Bantam, whome o^r principall Marchauntē *Peter Floris* Lucas Anthemes and Robt Browne by their experience shall finde most fitt for o^r seruice there, vpon further aduise and Consideracōn Wee doe now ordeyne that Thomas *Essington* shall passe from porte to porte wth yo^u dureing the said voyadge, and retourne backe againe wth yo^u in the same shipp into England: And that yo^u take the oportunitie (from the most conuenient place yo^u shall arriue att) to send one or twoe of o^r ffactors in such conuenient shippinge as [yo^u] may procure) to carrie his Ma^{ty}es tres vnto the kinge of Iapan, together wth such stocke of Marchandize & Comodities as wee haue appointed o^r said principall Marchauntē to prouide for that purpose And yf

you should be driuē to any want of ffactors during this o' said voyadge then yoⁿ may ymploye the purser or his mate, or both yf occasion require, soe that yoⁿ be espetiallie carefull to supply the place of the purser wth some sufficient pson to vndertake that voyadge.

Memorandū It is ordeyned by vs that yf God should take out of this world o' loueinge freind Robt Browne, Then wee doe referr yⁿ vnto a Boxe N^o. 3. to vnderstand o' will and pleasure, Whome wee haue appointed to succede him in place, of o' principall ffactor, to be ioyned wth Peter floris and Lucas Anthemes, o' other principall ffactors.

Anthonie Hippon
Peter floris.
Lucas Anthemes
Robt Browne
Thomas Essington



Most highe and mightie kinge:¹



AS there is nothinge wth increaseth more the glory & dignitie of Sou'eigne Princes vpon earth then to extend their renowne vnto farr discident Nations, Soe haueing vnderstoode of late yeares from some of o' loueinge Subiecte, that haue traded into diu's Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yoⁿ, of the reputation and greatnes of yo^r power and dominion. Wee haue incourradged o' said Subiecte to vndertake a voyadge into yo^r Country, aswell to sollicit yo^r freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to enteyne² such Comodities of each others Countries as may be most of vse the one to the other, being nothinge doubtfull but such will be yo^r princelie magnanimity and disposiōn to imbrace this o' desire, and not onlie to receiue o' people wth yo^r accustomed benignitie and fauo^r, but

In word draught
are to be written with
Blacke and in
printed

¹ These appear to be copies of Royal letters carried out in the *Elizabethan Voyages* (see page 17 of B. 1. 1).

² "Enterteyne" seems to be meant.

for their better incourradgm^t to afford yo^r Ryall protec^{ti}on for the settling of a ffactorie there, wth such securitie and libtie of Commerce, as shall be most conuenient for the aduancem^t of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others subiecte; Wherein for o^r parte wee doe willinglie offer o^r selues & the libtie of o^r kingdomes and Countries when soeuer any of yo^r subiecte shall vndertake to haue any communicac^{ti}on wth vs. And in the meane tyme, as a pledge of o^r Royall inclinac^{ti}on and desier towarde yo^u, wee haue sent yo^u a small present by our seruant A. B. w^{ch} we pray yo^u to accept, as an introduc^{ti}on to that freindshipp w^{ch} we hope will fructifie and encrease to each others Contentm^t.

Giuen att o^r Pallace of Westm̄ the &c.



To the kinge of *Cambaia*

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittainē ffrance and Ireland, defendo^r of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and mightie Prince the greate kinge of *Cambaia*, *Emperour* of Mogores &c greetinge

Most highe & mightie Emperour.



WE can not but expresse vnto yo^u the highe Contentm^t wee haue receiued att the kinde reception and interteynem^t of o^r seruant Captaine William Hawkins, and his Company att yo^r porte of Suratt, where they haue receiued soe many demonstra^{ti}ons by yo^r principall Officers and Comanders there, of yo^r desire to imbrace o^r loue and freindshipp, and to interteyne a Correspondencie of peaceable trade and Commerce wth o^r subiecte, as wee can not but thankfullie acknowledge the same, and reciprocally offer the lyke effecte towarde yo^u and yo^r people, whensoeu^r they shall vndertake to haue any Comunica^{ti}on of trade wthin o^r kingdomes and dominions: Butt wee were sorrie to vnderstand of that vnhappy

accident,¹ wth befell o^r Subiecte, in their retourne from yo^r Coastes towardē their Shippes, by being vnworthilie surprized wthin yo^r streames by diu's friggette of the Portingalls of Goa, Whoe vniustlie haue taken from them Nyneteene of o^r Subiecte besides agreat quantitie of their Marchandize, and detaine them prisonners att Goa, vnder this sole pretext, as yf both yo^r selfe, and yo^r Countries were assubjected to the Crowne of Spaine, and therefore not lawfull for any other Christian people to trade wth yo^u, wth indignitie, thoughē Almighty God hath geuen vs power enoughe to reuenge against them, yett because ytt hath relacō to yo^r greate estate, as beinge done wthin the Compasse of yo^r power and authoritie, wee haue thought good first to represent yt vnto yo^u, and to seeke redresse of ytt by yo^r meanes, then enter into any course of hostilitie in those partes contrary to the peaceable inclination of trade wth o^r Subiecte are willinge to interteyne wth all other nations. Notwthstand[ing] such hard successe o^r subiecte are noe whitt discourradged from vndertakeinge (as nowe they doe) an other voyage into yo^r Countreys, wth three good shippes laden wth such Commodities of o^r kingdomes as may be most of vse to yo^r people, beinge Confident of yo^r further favo^r and pteccōn, wth such ymunities and priuiledges for their trade and Co^merce wth yo^r people, as may encourradge them more and more to fixe and contynue a firme Correspondencie there, to the encrease of proffitt of each others Subiecte. And for a pledge of o^r Royall inclinacōn towardē yo^u, wee haue sent yo^u a small present by o^r seruant **A. B.** Generall of this o^r voyage wth I pray yo^u to accept in good parte, and to vse him wth all courtesie and respect, as is befittinge the qualitie of his place **Giuen att o^r Pallace of Westminster the &c.**



Comānder of *Cambaia*

James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittainē ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the right hono^{ble}: the Cheefe Comānder of the greatt Cittie of *Cambaia* greetinge.



HERE[AS] wee haue vnderstoode from some of o^r Subiecte whatt greate Courteseyes they haue receiued, and daily doe receaue att yo^r hande, in their arriuall and settlement of their trade in the greate Cittie of *Cambaia* wee could not omitt att this second voyadge thither, butt to expresse vnto yo^r o^r thankfull acknowledgm^t for the same wth o^r constant hope of yo^r further endevors towarde them, aswell for their future safeguard and protecōn in those places, against the violence and malice of any that should attempt to wronge them, as for their better incourradgm^t to establishe and increase (as nowe they haue begun alreadye) a firme Correspondencie of trade in those partes; wherein for o^r parte, wee will nott omitt any thinge that may tend to the furtheringe of soe greate a good for the aduancm^t of o^r Subiecte. And as for the iniurie and losse w^{ch} o^r Subiecte latelie receiued by the Portingalls of Goa (as is well knowne vnto yo^r) thoughe wee want noe meanes to reuenge our selues against them, yett because wee would be loth to interrupt the peaceable course of trade in those partes, and for thatt the Iniurie doth alsoe redowne to yo^r, as beinge done wthin the limitte of yo^r Comand: Wee haue thought good first to requier yo^r peacable intercession for the redresse thereof, before o^r Subiecte should attempt any thinge hostilly against them, wherein yo^r shall doe a worke worthy of yo^r selfe, and by w^{ch} yo^r shall oblige o^r people more and more vnto yo^r. And for o^r good inclinaōn towarde yo^r: wee haue sent yo^r a token of o^r loue and freindshipp by o^r seruau^t A B. Generall of this our voyadge. Given att o^r Pallace of Westminst^r the &c:.



To the K : of *Succatora*.

James by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittainē ffrance and Ireland Defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and Mightie Prince the kinge of *Succatora*.

Most mightie Kinge



HAUEINGE vnderstoode from some of o' loucinge Subiecte that in their course of Nauiga^on, and traffique into diu's partes of the East Indies they haue alsoe visitted yo' Coastes and Territories where they haue not onelie refreshed them selues of such necessities as are belongeing to soe greate a Nauigation, butt haue alsoe receiued the best interteynem^t thatt could be expected: Wee hould ytt o' parte to acknowledge the same wth thanks, and to ymbrace yo' Amity and freindshipp wth all the respecte of hono^r thatt may tend to the establishinge and encreaseinge of the same to o' mutuall contentation and aduancm^t of proffitt of each others subiectes: Wherein for o' parte, as wee doe readilie offer o' selues, and any thinge thatt shall be in o' power, soe wee doe expect the lyke effecte from yo^r to redound vpon o' Subiecte, in yo' good vsage of them, and affourdinge them yo' Princelie ffavors and ptecc^on against such as should goe aboute to harme them. And for a pledge of this o' good inclination towarde yo^r, wee haue sent yo^r this small Present by o' seruau^t A B. wth wee pray yo^r to accept in good parte. Gyuen att our Pallace of Westminster the &c :

To the k : of *Bantam*.

James by the grace of God kinge of greate Brittainē ffrance and Ireland Defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the most Highe and mightie Prince the Kinge of Bantam Greeteinge.

Right highe and mightie Prince.



IT hath beene noe small contentm^t vnto vs, to vnderstand from o^r Subiect^e retourned from their last voyadge into yo^r Countreys, both howe favorablie they haue beene vsed by yo^u, and yo^r people, and howe willinge yo^u haue beene to interteyne o^r loue and freindshipp, both w^{ch}, yo^u haue beene Contented to confirme vnto vs, by a Present of fower balls¹ of silke, w^{ch} yo^u haue sent vnto vs, ffor w^{ch} wee cannott but retourne vnto yo^u, o^r harty thanks wthall the kinde demonstracons of o^r reciprocall desier to encrease o^r Amytie and Correspondency wth yo^u, as farr as the same may be honorable vnto vs, and pffitable to each others Subiect^e; In Confidence whereof, o^r Subiect^e haueinge vndertaken a newe voyadge into yo^r Countrie for the reestablisheinge of their trade and traffique wth yo^r Subiect^e, wee hope yo^u will Contynue vnto them yo^r accustomed favour, and afford them such liberties and immunities there, as they may be thereby both incourradged in their greate adventures, and secured from oppression or wronge of any that would goe aboute to harme them, And in thankfullnes of theis yo^r kindnesses to our people, wee haue sent yo^u a token by this bearer o^r seruant A B Generall of o^r present voyadge. Gyven att o^r Pallace of Westminster, the .



K. of Tedore.

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of great Brittane, ffraunce and Ireland Defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the most highe and mighty Prince, the kinge of Tedore Greetinge

Most highe and mightie kinge



S wee haue taken greate contentm^t to vnderstand from o^r Marchaunt^e att their retourne from their last voyadge out of yo^r Country, howe kindlie and favorablie they haue beene interteyned by yo^u, and yo^r people in their peacable trade, Soe wee cannot but reiteratiuely

¹ Bales?

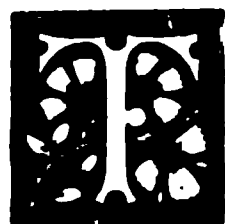
expresse o^r thankes for the same, wthall the respect^e of honor, that can be expected from vs, being ready both to ymbrace your freindshipp and Amity, and to establish a constaunt entercourse of trade and traffique betwixt each others Subiect^e, ffor w^{ch} purpose our Subiect^e haueinge vndertaken a new voyadge into yo^r Countrey, wee could not butt take occasion to salute yo^a & to pray yo^a to contynue yo^r favor toward^e them, wth such Condiçions of safetie and Imunitie to their psonns, shipps, and good^e, as they may be both encouraged in their iust and honest course, and protected against any wronge and vyolence of any thatt would goe aboute to harme them. And for a pledge of o^r princelie disposition toward^e yo^a Wee haue sent yo^a a token by our servaunt **A B** Generall of o^r Marchaunt^e present voyadge Gyven att o^r Pallace of Westm̄ the .



Gouernor of Aden.

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of great Brittane ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian ffaith &c: To the right honorable Lord the Gou^rno^r of the Cittie of Aden Greetinge

Right honorable Lord.



HE entercourse of Amity and freindshipp, w^{ch} hath beene theis ma[n]y yeares betweene vs and o^r Predecessors, and the mightie howse of *Ottoman*, confirmed by soe many demonstraçions of free comerce and liberty of trade through each others kingdomes and domynions, hath incourradged o^r Marchaunt^e to frequent alsoe those partes, where yo^a haue chardge, and the rather because they haue latelie vnderstoode thatt twoe of their shipps in their course of Nauigaçion into diu's partes of the East Indies, haue alsoe beene in the mouth of the red Sea, and founde oportunitie of traffique by entertheyneinge each others Comodities, w^{ch} hath enduced them nowe to vndertake this voyadge, and prayed our intercession vnto yo^a for them, that they might be favorabic receiued, and enioya

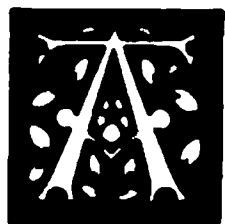
in those partes alsoe such libtie of trade wth safety and good vsage for their psonns shippes and goodē as they nowe haue and inioye in the hither partē of the Grand Signio^rs dominions, w^{ch} wee doe not doubt but yo^u will be willinge to afford vnto them, and the rather, because they bringe wth them a safe Conduct¹ from the Grand Signior in that behalfe. And of o^r good will and inclinacōn towards yo^u, wee haue sent yo^u a small token by o^r Servaunt **A B** w^{ch} wee pray yo^u to accept in good parte. And soe wee Comitt yo^u to the protecōn of the most highe and mightie God, the Creator and preseruer of all thinges. ffrom o^r Pallace att Westminster the .



Sabander of Nero.

Iames by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittaine ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the right ho^{ble}: the Sabander of *Nero* Greeteinge

Right hono^{ble} Lord.



ALTHOUGHEE wee haue heretofore by o^r letters vnto yo^u expressed our acknowledgm^t for the favorable vsadge and interteynem^t yo^u haue giuen to o^r Subiectē in their trade and traffique wthin yo^r Countreys, yett they haueinge nowe vndertaken alyke voyadge thither againe Wee can not but reiterate o^r former acknowledgm^t as a matter honorable vnto you, and acceptable to vs: And the rather because wee doe not doubt, but thereby yo^u will be more and more induced to afford vnto o^r Subiectē such further fauour and protecōn wthall Condiçōns of honor and safetie to their psons, Shipps and goodē, as may incourradge them to contynue their trade and Commerce wth yo^r people, wherein yo^u shall doe a worke worthy of yo^r selfe, and much aduantagious to the proffitt of each others Subiectē. And for a demonstraçōn of o^r fauorable inclynation towardē you, and embraceinge of yo^r loue and freindshipp wee haue sent yo^u a token by o^r servaunt **A B** Generall of this o^r voyadge: w^{ch} wee


¹ See page 434.

pray yoⁿ to accept in good pte, and to honor and respect him accordinge to the quallitie of his place Giuen att o^r Pallace of Westminst^r this &c :



April 4^o: 1611.

A Comission¹ sett downe by vs the Gou^rno^r Deputy and Comittees for the Marchaunt^e of London tradeinge to the East Indies for better direc^on of o^r loueinge freind^e Iohn Sairis² Captaine and cheefe Comander and Gabriell Towerson³ Captaine of the Hector o^r principall and cheefe Marchaunt^e & others the Marchaunt^e M^{rs}: & Marriners in this o^r intended eight Voyadge to the East Indies w^{ch} wee humblie beseech Almightye God to prosp wth a happie Conclusion.

I  NPRIMIS Wheares wee the Marchaunt^e abouesaid wth o^r greate chardge and trouble haue p^rpared three shipps (to saye)

The Cloue Iames ffoster: M^r:

The Hector Thom: ffuller M^r:

The Thomas Rich: Dawes M^r:

for avoyadge by god^e grace in them to be made to the East Indies, haue furnished the same sufficientlie and in plentifull manner wth men tackle and all other needfull p^rvisions for such a voyadge. Of an espetiall trust & Confidence wee haue of the integritie, wisdom, and resolu^on of o^r loucinge freind Iohn Sairis geⁿ doe appointe and authorize him cheefe Capt & Comander to goe in the Cloue, & to Comand all o^r said shipps & in the men in them, haueinge p^rcured him sufficient authoritie from o^r sou^reigne Lord the kinges Ma^{tie}: for that purpose⁴: Not

¹ For the *Eighth Voyage* under Saris, especially memorable for the opening up of trade with Japan, and the establishment of a factory in that country.

² See page 92, note.

³ See page 33, note.

⁴ There is a minute of this royal commission in the Public Record Office, under date 30th March, 1611 (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies, 1513-1616*, p. 215). No copy of it is known; but it doubtless followed on the lines of previous commissions, of which there are several examples in the present volume

doubtinge butt thatt he will soe behaue himselfe in his chardge as he may be both feared and loued: And that he will wthall his dilligence and endevors prosecute our designes & labour to bringe this costlie voyadge to a happie end.

2 Item wee doe appointe and ordeyne o^r loueinge freind Gabriell Towerson gen^l to be Captaine of the Hector and men, & to take his passadge in the said shipp And Tempest Peacocke to be cheefe Marchaunte in the Thomas: All w^{ch} Comanders Marchaunte ffactors Masters & Marriners we trust will soe carrie them selues wth due respect one to an other, & obedience to eu^y one of their Superio^r as loue and kindnes may be continued on all sides, and all whollie applie their witt^e and endeuo^r for the due pformance of this voyadge in the best manner they may for the good of the Companie

3 Item and for that religeous gou^rnm^t doth best binde men to pforme their duties it is principally to be cared for: That prayers be said eu^y morninge and eueninge in eu^y shipp & the whole company called therevnto wth dilligent Eyes that none be wantinge soe as all may ioyntlie wth reuerence and humilitie pray vnto Almightye God to blesse and preserue them from all dangers in this longe and tedious voyadge: ffor the better pformance whereof wee haue deliu^red to each of the pursers a Bible wherein is conteyned the booke of comon prayer.

4 Item That noe blaspheminge of God, swereinge, thefte, drunkennes, or otherlike disorders be vsed but that the same be seu^rlie ponished And thatt noe diceinge or other vnlawfull games be admitted for that most co^monly the same is the beginninge of quarrellinge, and many tymes occasion of murther, a iust puocation of God^e wrath & vengeance, from w^{ch} the Lord deliu^r vs all. Therefore ytt shall be needfull that such orders be sett vpp & published in eu^y shipp, and such ponishm^t appointed for such offences as may giue notice to eu^y man whatt he ought to avoied.

5 Item that spetiall order be giuen that noe liquor be spilt in the ballast of the shipp, or filthines be left wthin bourde w^{ch} in heate breedeth noysome smells & infec^cõn, but thereby a dilligent care be had to keepe the ou^rlopps & other places of the shipp cleane and sweete w^{ch} is a notable preseruacion of health: Wherein the Officers of o^r shipp in former voyadges haue beene

much to be blamed, to the greate spoile of o^r shippes & breedinge of sicknes, w^{ch} wee trust in this will be carefullie regarded.

6 Item Thatt the cheefe Captaine & Comander & Capt of the Hector, and Cape Marchaunt of the Thomas & Mⁿ of the shippes doe take due notice by Inventorie from eu^y Officer of the shippes before they depte out of the riuer of Theames of the seu^rall p^{ro}visions deliuered into each shipp. And soe soone as they shall come to Sea & not before to settle the same in the chardge of the Officers appointed for thatt purpose in each shipp, vntill w^{ch} tyme all stores are to remaine vnder locke & key, & that the same be entred in the pursers bookes, vnderwritten by the said Officers, to thend that such thinges as are p^{ro}vided for their needfull supplies may not be ymbecilled & that nothinge thereof of any valewe be ymployed for any vse whatsoeu^r wthout a warrant vnder the hand of the cheefe Captaine and Comander Captaine of the Hector, Cape Marchaunt of the Thomas or cheefe Marchaunt of each shipp respectiuelie directed to the Officer that hath such chardge, w^{ch} warrant shall serue for their dischardge in their accomptes, ells otherwise to be awnswared for the same wth their wages. And eu^y, such warrant to be registred in the pursers booke, the day of the monneth and the occasion And this vpon forfeiture of soe much out of the pursers wages yf it be throughe his neglecte, this order to be obserued in each shipp as aforesaid, that att the retourne of the said shippes a true accompt may be yealded, howe and what manner the same may be vsed and ymployed.

7 Item to thend that all difficult matters may be the better passed over wth good aduise and discre^{ti}on: wee doe appointe a Counsell to be called together vpon any spetiall occasions of trade & Marchandizeinge (viz) Iohn Sayris cheefe Captaine and Comander, Gabriell Towerson Captaine of the Hector, Tempest Peacocke¹ Comander of the Thomas, Richard Cockes,² Ambrose

¹ Tempest Peacock was left at the newly-established factory at Firando, in Japan, as next in command to Cocks and Adams. In March, 1614, he set out on a trading expedition to Cochin China, and was there murdered by the natives not long after his arrival.

² Richard Cocks held charge of the English factory at Firando from its establishment in 1613 till its withdrawal ten years later, and died on his way home, 24th March, 1624. His *Diary* whilst in Japan has been published by the Hakluyt Society, under the editorship of Mr. E. Maunde Thompson, of the British Museum.

Armeway, Richard Wickham,¹ Edward Cambden,² and George Ball,³ whereof one of them to record whatt matters shall passe, all w^{ch} are to aduise and giue their best Counsell and direc^{ti}on in psecuteinge such courses for trade as may be conceiued most convenient for the good of the voyadge. And for all Sea-fareing causes whatsoeu^r wee doe likewise appointe a Councell to be called together (viz) Iohn Sairis cheefe Capt & Comander Gabriell Towerson Capt of the Hecto^r. Thomas ffuller, Iames ffoster, Richard Dawes, Mathew Porter, Thomas Barwicke, Iohn Elmer, and Thomas Iones.

8. Item that the cheefe Captaine & Comander together wth the rest of the Counsell appointed for that purpose doe sett downe and deliu^r such instruc^{ti}ons as may serue for the Comanders of thother shippes to keepe Company together for the better releefe and Comforte one of an other, And yf separac^{ti}on of them should happen by constrainte of weather or tempest that they shall agree of a course before hand & of a place whether to applie them selues to finde the rest.

9 Item that contynucall & true Iournalls be kept of eu^{ry} daies Nauiga^{ti}on dureinge the whole voyadge, wth a true rela^{ti}on of eu^{ry} materiall thinge that passeth & this not onlie to be done by the cheefe Capt & Comander, Captaine of the Hector but alsoe by the Marchaunte pursers, Mⁿ & Mⁿ mates & that some of the

¹ Richard Wickham went out first to the Indies as a factor in the *Union* in the *Fourth Voyage*. At Zanzibar he was captured by the natives and handed over to the Portuguese. By them he was carried to Goa, where he met the traveller François Pyrard. In 1610 Wickham was sent, with other European captives, to Portugal, whence he made his way back to England in time to offer his services for this *Eighth Voyage*. Saris left him with Cocks at the factory at Firando; and his letter-book during a portion of his service there (1614-16) is still preserved among the India Office Records. Wickham left Japan in 1618 for Bantam, whence he proceeded to Jacatra, where he died not long after, worth, it was said, a large sum of money, accumulated in the course of his trading.

² Edward Camden was left by Capt. Saris at Bantam as chief factor for the goods of the *Fifth Voyage*, and died there, probably some time in 1613.

³ George Ball was left by Saris at Bantam, where in March, 1617, he succeeded Barkeley as President. Loud complaints were soon made as to his excessive private trading, and in 1621 he was brought home a prisoner, and an action entered against him in the Star Chamber for 70,000*l*. The proceedings, however, dragged on very slowly, and the case had not been finally settled when he died (about the beginning of 1625).

principalls in each shipp may conferr their obseruacons together att conuenient tymes, once or twise eu'y weeke att the least to the end yf any haue forgotten whatt an other hath obserued the same may be added, soe as a pfect discourse may be sett downe to be presented to the Gou'nor & Company when God shall graunte them a safe retourne to be kept for better direccon of posteritie.

10 Item Wee Comend vnto yoⁿ the cheefe Capt: & Comander principallie, & to the rest of the Comanders & Masters as a spetiall care, that att eu'y place where yoⁿ shall water & refresh yo^r men yoⁿ call the Companies together, giueinge them expresse warninge to behaue them selues peaceablie and Ciuillie towardē the people of those places the better to pcure their freindshipp towardē the supplie of yo^r wantes, & the like in eu'y place where yoⁿ shall come leaste the losse of yo^r liues & ou'throwe of o^r voyadge pay for their disorders besidē an vtter discreditt to o^r Nation. And that yo^r men doe vse a discreete meane in eateinge of fruites and fresh victualls least they surfett and fall into diseases whereof wee haue had too much experience. And the better to restraine vnruilie appetites, wee hould ytt conuenient that the cheefe Captaine & Comander appointe some of the discreetest in the Companies to pcure & pvide in such places whatt yoⁿ want, & the same beinge bought & brought to the cheefe Captaine and Comander by him to be repte to each Companie whatt may be needfull & that none presume to doe the contrarie vpon paine of seveare ponishm^t. And that espetiall care be had to relecue the sicke wth such fresh meates & other comfortable thinges wherewth wee haue furnished each shipp for that purpose, & not otherwise to be spent in Ryatt & banquettinge & soe the sicke pishe for want of thinges needfull. Where espetiall care must be had that when those that are the most weake psonns come to fresh Victualls after longe abstinence att Sea they be not suffered in any wise to eate of those fresh meatē w^{ch} shall be gotten on shore but that yoⁿ cause such fresh victualls as yoⁿ can prouide to be boyled in pottage, till yt be sodden in peeces & the cheefe substance lefte in the broth & giue them of that broth onelie to feede vpon moderatelie for twoe or three daies till their stomackē be somewhatt settled & their bodies Comforted.

11 Item and whereas the straglinge of yo^r men in any place where they shall arrine or come, may not onlie proue the losse of such as shall soe straggle notwthstandinge they should be armed, but alsoe thereby much hurte might happen to the residue of o^r people. It is ordered that yo^e doe not pmitt any man in any place to straggle or goe from the rest of yo^r Companies vnlesse vpon spetiall occasion yo^e giue warrant therevnto vpon paine of seueare ponishm^t to be inflicted vpon such as shall doe to the Contrarie, still doubtinge the worste and standinge vpon your guard wthout giueinge any trust to the people of the place, haueing in remembrance the ou^rsight of the Comanders of the Vnion to their owne destruction & ou^rthrowe of the voyadge.¹

12 Item yt is expreslie ordered by a gen^{all} Consent of yo^e the cheefe Captaine and Comander, Capt of the Hector, Cape Marchaunt of the Thomas Marchaunte ffactors Mⁿ & Marriners some good order be by yo^e taken and sett downe in writeinge soe soone as yo^e come to Sea concⁿinge the disposinge of dead mens goodē in the voyadge, either by comittinge the same by Inventorie to the pticular keepinge of some men in the shippes, and this vpon some convenient Considera^çon for keepinge the same or by saile of soe much thereof att the maine maste as may not exceede a third pte of the buyers wages, for either buyinge or borrowinge to prevent such preiudice to o^r Companie as wee haue felt by Mariners buyinge soe much as their whole wages come vnto, whereby they haue not onlie forsaken o^r shippes before their dischardge, butt alsoe depriued vs of meanes to redresse such wrongē as they haue many waies done vs in the voyadge. And to order what sallary shall be giuen the purser for keepinge accompt thereof to avoied question and Controu^sie hereafter, Alsoe that there be noe dealeinge by exchange betwixt ptie and ptie neither money for money, Comoditie for money Comoditie for Comoditie neither outwardē or homewardē, for such exchange gines way for them to bringe more then they should, or take or purloyne of o^r goodē they ought nott: ffor preuen^çon whereof Wee order that neither the purser, or any other doe register witnes, or take knowledge of any such contract by exchange.

¹ The reference is to the murder of Rowles and his companions in Madagascar (see page 228. n. 1.)

And noe man to be admitted meanes to bringe goodly aboard in any the shippes more then their Chest appointed them will conteyne, and the same goodly to be pticularlie entred in the pursers booke vpon paine of forfecture to the Company, that wth shall not be entred, eu^{er}y Marriner & other of the said shippes to sett their handly or marke to the said orders mentioned in this 12 article. And yf any ffactor shall happen to die, his goodly, bookes accompte and other thinges are to be ordered of the cheefe Capt & Comander & Capt of the Hector & Cape Marchaunte of the *Thomas* to be safelie reserved and brought home for England, an Inventorie first taken thereof & registred in the pursers booke, to be witnessed by twoe or three other of the Companie.

13 Item for better p^rseruaⁿ of health o^r order is that from tyme to tyme as the water Caske shall be emptied of fresh water, ytt be forthwth againe filled wth salt water for preuencion of leakidge & mustines.

14 Item in yo^r passadge betweene the Island of S^t Lawrence & the Coaste of *Sephola* beware of the flatte of Iudea^l vpon wth flatte it is said thatt the Current doth stronglie run, whereby many shippes haue pished, therefore wth greate care to be avoieded.

15 Item for the fittest place for refreshinge whether att *Saldania* or att the Bay of S^t Augustine in S^t Lawrence Island, wee referr the same to yo^r discretions to doe therein as occasion may vidge, still fixinge yo^r thought and resolucions to arrive att the Bar of Sumatt by theend of Septemb^r next accordinge to o^r designs, w^{ch} is the maine and principall scope of this o^r voyadge, wth this further aduise that wheresoe^r yo^r shall water yo^r make noe longer staye then necessity shall enforce, to theend yo^r may haue some oportunitie for refreshment att *Succatona* there to buy some *Miles Succatona* to the quantitie of fower Tonns, where we pray yo^r take notice that in the last voyadge *William Knaunge* bought there twentie fower hundredweight att xx Ryalls of eight the hundred pound w^{ch} is 1000 of o^r.

16 Item wee desire that rather yo^r touch att *Succatona* for that wee hope yo^r shall not be wth Com^r at that place, from whence yo^r may receive some intell^l place whether *William*

Hawkins & the rest of o^r ffactors leste att *Suratt* out of the *Hector*, are liueinge or not, as alsoe of the state of S^r *Henrie Middleton*, & of those shippes thatt went wth him, & in whatt state o^r busines there standeth, whereby yo^u may the better there gou^{ne} yo^r selues for p^rformance of o^r desires: Butt yf the time of the *Monson* be soe farr spent that yo^u cannot arriue att the *Barr* of *Suratt* by thend of *Septemb* or *Middle* of *Octob* next att the farthest, then wee will yo^u to take the first oportunitie either to saile to *Aden* or *Mocha* alls *Mochowe* wthin the mouth of the red Sea, aboute some tenn leagues distant from *Aden* as wee vnderstand. Att w^{ch} porte of *Mocha* wee haue herd that one of the shippes in the fourth voyadge hath traded and where wee doubt not you may sell Cloth, leade, Iron, Tynn quicksiluer for money or Gould for that wee thinke *Comodities* will be too deare in that place consideringe o^r purpose that yo^u goe to *Suratt*, except yo^u may buy *Cloues* *Maces* or *Nutmegge* att a reasonable rate w^{ch} are said to be good *Comodities* att *Suratt* as well as here in *England*. In this place yo^u must spend the time till oportunitie doe serue to goe to *Suratt* w^{ch} will not be till towardē the end of *August* followinge, soe as you may arriue there by the end of *Septemb* w^{ch} we pray yo^u to endeavor by all possible meanes Butt stayinge att *Aden* or *Mocha* haue espetiall care that yo^r men giue noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch & standinge vpon yo^r guard, and that out of any danger of any *Castle*, *forte*, or *Gallies* to preuent mischeefe

17 Item being arriued att *Suratt* We desier yo^u vse the best meanes yo^u can presentlie to vnderstand the estate of *William Hawkins* and the rest of o^r people there, as alsoe whatt hath beene done by S^r *Hen: Middleton* for the setlinge of a c^{te}ine and safe trade there. And hearinge thatt all is well then either to send vp yo^r longe boate in & wth *Tobias Cockes* & some others whome yo^u shall thinke fitt, or finde some meanes to cause some of the ffactors there to come abourd yo^u, either *William ffinche* or some others of whome take due obserua^on of the estate of the Countrie, howe they haue beene accepted of by the kinge, howe intreated by the people, whatt priuiledges they haue gott, what *Comodities* of ours are there requested, what they haue of their Countrie *Comodities* vpon their haudē to be laden, acquainte

them alsoe whatt Comodities yo^r haue brought & the quantities, & takeinge knowledge of their worth there, As alsoe whatt Comodities are there presentlie to be had and att what prices aswell fittinge for England as Priaman Bantam, Banda & the Molloccoes & whether the same may be had wth speede as you may take lould of the Monson to goe into those ptes. What forces the Enemies are of, howe readie the Guzaratte are to helpe of Nation, & of all other needfull intelligences, by whome (yf yo^r be incontradged) wee wishe yo^r to send in the Thomas & in her Tempest Peacocke of ffactor wth such Comodities as may be most vendible wth all speede, gineinge them warninge to be readie to wthstand any Enemies & keepe good watch to preuent any mischeefe of fire or otherwise, w^{ch} lett them be assured will be practised against them.

18. Item for that we haue puided as yo^r knowe and laden in this shippes sundrie Comodities of good value principallie for that place, as leade, Tynn, sword blade, peeces, Cloth, kersies and some other things accordinge to an Invoice herewth deliuered yo^r. Wee hould yt convenient that as many of the same as yo^r shall thinke fitt may be laden in such fryggotte as can be puided for that purpose & the same sent vp to Surat. Wee pray yo^r to Consult and take good advise for the deliury of his Ma^{ty}: tres nowe sent, whatt presentie are to be deliuered, to whome, by whome, & in what manner, the same to be done wth what speede and diligence that shall be requisite, consideringe the shortnes of the tyme in keepinge the Monson for attairinge yo^r other portes for w^{ch} presentie wee haue sent in the Cleve as appeth in the Invoice: Out of w^{ch} yo^r are to take for quantitie & Coullor whatt shall be thought needfull for that purpose, the rest to be sould for of Companies benefit. As alsoe wee haue sent in the same shipp 1000^o pices of gilt plate together wth 1000^o peeces out of w^{ch} yo^r thinke to present some alow may be given for presentie accordinge to a litle of m^r Hewkys aduise & the rest. If any thinge be presented to the Kinge Prince or greate Potentate it is to be deliuered as yo^r knowe wth state and courtesie. For presentie for meane portes wee will haue to be chose out amenge of Clothes such Clothes as may be acceptable vnto them for vestes. And for the best part of the cloth to be sent & the best poynt of cheefe

ffactors wee leaue yt to yo^r discretion wth the aduise of the rest of the Counsell to appointe such as yo^u shall thinke fitt, and to leaue there soe many & such for ffactors as thoccasions in yo^r discretions shall necessarilie requier.

19 Item the busines aforesaid beinge done Considera^{ti}on is to be had for the deliueringe & dispatche of o^r shippes & yf yo^u shall finde sufficient meanes either by the helpe of stocke form^{er}lie left in the Countrie or by the sale of such Marchaundize as yo^u shall now carrie wth yo^u, to lade all the three shippes wth such Comodities as may there be had fittinge to be retourned for England, wee will you to take that oportunitie to freight them all and lett them be retourned as aforesaid: Or yf meanes may be had for the dispatch of twoe then that the Hector and Thomas be sent for England vnder the Comand of Gabriell Towerson Capt of the Hector in the ladinge of w^{ch}, or but one of them yo^u are to obserue this a gen^{er}all order that the goodē of eu^{er}y voyadge may be m^{ak}ed and nombred seu^{er}ally and soe expressed in yo^r Cargasons, and accomptē that the goodē of each voyadge may be knowne by them selues, for that they doe not conc^{er}ne the selfe same Adventurers And hereof therefore you are to be very carefull to preuent wronges in ladinge of goodē. Wee note theis as spetiall Comodities w^{ch} wee desier (viz) Indico of the very beste aswell flatt as round soe much as yo^u may wth o^r moneys well compasse, other Comodities alsoe beinge to be had, but lett yo^r care be extraordinary to buy the very best that may be had for money, aswell Indico as of all other Comodities, Callicoes white tasselled booke good quantitie & some of the couiser sortes, Callicoes light colored alsoe as Carnatian,¹ light Watchettē, strawe Colors & other light Colors, butt none of them

¹ All along the well-wooded narrow Konkan Coast, and through all the wide extended fertile plains of Southern Gujerat, the Hindu women of Western India, of the higher castes, have, or had in my time, 22 to 37 years ago, a marked partiality for robes (*saris*) of a single coloured text, contrasted with a pretext (*παρρηή*, *clarus*) of the complementary, or, indeed, any other harmonising colour, the Hindu weavers being able to bring any two colours, even pea-green and purple, and scarlet and purple, into perfect unison. In the Southern Konkan particularly, I found that, besides robes of Cardinal white bordered with gold (*χρυσοπάρυφος*, *chrysoclarius*), the most commonly worn were of marigold or saffron yellow (*ποκωρός*) edged with Mazarine blue and buff, or primrose yellow edged with pale blue, both universally favourite combinations, and of pea green with purple (*παρμολοργής*), and blazing

course or sad colors in any manner, in theis yo^u may ymploye to the valewe of both soe much as yo^r stocke will affoorde, regardinge to haue some whatt of other Comodities Cotten yearne of the finest well requested . . . Tonns, greene ginger of the best and lardgest suchas that of Battecala Twoe Tonns, red Saunders wood aboute fyue Tonns Turbith . . . Tonns Opium ffine hundred weight. Beniamyn tenn Tonns, Salt Armoniacke not much, Olibanu (yf good) not much, Lignum Alloes asmuch as yo^u can gett soe yt excede not fyue Tonns, Wormeseede cleansed asmuchas possible may be from the chaffe & dust, by sifteinge & wynnowinge for that the dust & chaffe is here worth nothings, to the quantitie of ffortie kintolls, Gumlacke as much as yo^u can gett of the best and second sorte but none of the worst att any

scarlet (corrodorphs) with pistachio green, and lastly of carnation, with a pretext of either apple green, interthreaded with gold, or deep blue separated from the text of carnation by a strip of gold, a chromatic concordance of exquisite refinement. And beyond doubt it was the great charm of these Indian stuffs that first made carnation a fashionable colour in England. It takes its English name from "the Carnation" [in German *das Indarat*], or Double Clove Pink, otherwise known as "the Whitsuntide" [in German *Pfingsten*] Gillyflower, the *Quartus* *Antiochus*, *flos Jovis*, *Caryophyllus* of botanists, and this name was not given to it on account of its colour, but is corrupted from its earlier English name of "Coronation," given to it on account of the use of its flowers for festive chaplets. Thus Spenser in *The Shepheardes Calender*, April, 134-145 —

"Bring hither the Pincke *Quartus Antiochus*, and purple Cullambine
With Gillyflowers [single 'Clove Pink'] .

Bring *coronatus* As and Sops in wine [scented 'Clove Pink']
Worne of Paramoures,

Strowe me the ground with Paffadowne Lilies,
And Cowslips, and Kingcups, and Ioyed Lilies
The pretie Pawnee [Pansy]

And the Chevisaunce [*Cheiranthus Cheiri*, the 'Wallflower'] .

Shall match with the fayne floure Deice, [*Fleur de Lys* (*de Louis VII.*),
the 'Lily'] .

But already the proper English name of the double *Quartus Caryophyllus* was being contracted to "Carnation." Late in his *New Herball* (1578) of the tautologically named "Clove Gillyflowers," writes B. in, ch. 7 — "The greatest and bravest sort of them are called *Coronation* or *Coronation*," and, again, Shakespeare in *Love's Labour's Lost* (1611) III. i. — "Trayle us, sir, how much *coronation* ribbon may a man buy for a remuneration" (that is, as I take it, "reddened" strips or fillets of silk) for chaplets, or other headgear. Although even at this early stage of the decay of the name it may have acquired the meaning of red, from its erroneous association with, and indeed, express derivation from the Italian *coronata* or *coronatus* (Flores, 1678) literally "the crowned word," or "carnated," a word which, until it obtained a special significance through its erroneous association with "the Coronation"

hand, Sugers of the best some fewe Chestes for a triall, silke of persia (yf to be had) a good quantitie Theis Comodities being bought and packed wth m^{ch}chauntlike care to preuent damage nombred & marked accordinge to former direc^{ti}on both of the inside and outside for better satisfac^{ti}on of the Company in the difference of the sorte and contente, the rather for that the outmost marke may be by longe lieinge at Sea worne out, the same to be laden & the shipps to be dispatched away wthall expedi^{ti}on for England. And nowe as a first busines in dispatch to be remembred wee wishe yo^r to provide such Callicoes and other Comodities as may be fittinge for Priaman Bantam Banda & the Molloccoes, & the same being orderlie packed to be shipped wthall speede att yo^r discre^{ti}ons for those places w^{ch} wth Rialls of 8

could never with any propriety be applied to the carnation *saris* formerly, and I hope still, woven by the weavers, and worn by the women, of Ahmedabad, and Surat, and Katnagheri. Equally erroneous is the accepted lexicographical derivation of the name, "Garden Pink," of *Dianthus hortensis*, from its pinked or jagged edges. Until the Garden Pink became a familiar flower in this country, pinked work was known as pounced, *i.e.* punched, work. Thus in *The Persones Tale* Chaucer writes of "pounced and dagged clothing"; and evidently "the Garden Pink" gave its name not only to its characteristic colour, and to the cant words "pink" a stab, and "pink" in the sense of acme (*i.e.* "flower, bloom"), as in the phrase used by Shakespeare in *Romeo and Juliet*, IV, 2—"The very *fink* of courtesy," but also to the method of ornamenting any textile fabric by notching its edges, and piercing it over with eyelet-holes, a word corrupted from *œillet* the French name of the Pink-worts generally, and which reappears in the English name, "Sweet William," of *Dianthus barbatus*; a flower much esteemed, writes Geraude, in 1597, "to deck up the bosoms of the beautiful, and garlands and crowns for pleasure." In short, the English word pink, in its primary, and all its secondary meanings, is but a corruption from the Greek word *ἡρπηνόσση*, the Harvest Festival held by the Jews on the "Fiftieth" day after their Passover, and identified by us with Whitsunday [Dominica in Albis], the first annual festival adopted by the Christian Church; and "the Garden Pink" is therefore nothing but "the Whitsuntide flower" [cp. German *Ähnung rose*, "the Peony"]. Chaucer is the first, so far as I know, to use the term in his description of the wife of the carpenter of Oxford, in *The Miller's Tale*, l. 82:—

"Sche was a primerole, and a *figgesneyghe*."

Some commentators explain the word as meaning that she was pig's-eyed; while others, more sympathetically, but also quite wrongly, as a corruption of "Pansy"; but the word is really Pfingsten-eye [cp. Daisy, in Old English *Daieseyghe*, *i.e.* Eye of Day], the Eye of Whitsuntide; which, from the usual time of their flowering, is a most appropriate name for almost any European species of *Dianthus*. What Chaucer means is that the carpenter's young wife was sweet as a Primrose, and fair and rosy as a Garden Pink, in all the beauty of its full Whitsuntide bloom.

what yo^u thinke requisite, and such China stuffe and dishes as you may learne att Bantam to be fittinge for the place.

21. Item being arriued at Banda present such guistes to the Gou^{er}nor or Savander there as in yo^r discretion shall seeme fittinge & there prouide accordinge to your discretions of Nutmegge of the best and soundest that may be gotten freed from dust and Rumps all that may be, remembringe that the same will not be worth the freight and chardges. Alsoe Maces the largest and brightest thatt may be gotten, but none that is darke colored, red maces w^{ch} are called feminine Maces & heare little worth. ffor accomplishinge hereof as alsoe for to leaue stocke convenient there for puision for a future voyadge, keepe in yo^r shipp soe much money & Callicoes as you may deeme sufficient. And yf being arriued att Banda yo^u hould yt possible & finde yt convenient to send to the Molloccoes whilst the Nutmegge and Maces are puideinge to seeke for Cloues, and haueinge gotten to yo^r Content therein, to retourne to Banda there to take in the Mace and Nutmegge & w^{ch} speede to retourne to Bantam leaueinge a convenient numb of ffactors and stocke as shall be needfull at Banda as aforesaid. And beinge retourned to Bantam & haueinge brought a true pticuler of whatt is lefte at Banda vnder the hande of the ffactors there, then to take in such silkes & other thinge as shall in yo^r absence be puided there for London. Where (haueinge settled the busines and ffactors in good order & taken a pticular rela^{cion} of o^r accompte and Comodities there lefte, the Coppies whereof to be signed by o^r ffactors and to be brought alonge wth yo^u, and order giuen by yo^u to keepe accompt of eu^{ry} voyadge by yt selfe, and soe of the retournes^l of eu^{ry} voyadge may haue their right as they consiste of diu^{sitie} of Aduenturers, [1]) Then in God^e name wth all due speede to retourne for England. And haueinge thus farr pceeded in a direct course wee hould yt fitt againe to looke backe to the barr att Suratt and there soe² Consider yf thinges fall out contrary to expecta^{cion} that neither o^r people should be there in a little, nor the place fitt for o^r trade, nor yett incourradgm^t

¹ These words have been omitted here; the gap may be supplied from the corresponding passage in the commission for the Sixth Voyage (see page 340), which is printed almost word for word.

² i. e.

to pursue the same any farther. In regard of the Commodities puided fitt for the scrvice of thatt place and *Aden*, & not els where wthin o^r knowledge, o^r expresse order is that vpon notice of the premisses yoⁿ forthwth wth the Monson retourne for *Aden* or *Moccha* in the red Sea, yf in yo^r passadge to *Suratt* yoⁿ haue not visitted the same & done what might be done for the vent of o^r Commodities, and there to trie for dispatch and vent of o^r said Marchandize, w^{ch} beinge effected accordinge to our Desires yf possiblief you may be fitted by the Juncke arriueinge there from diu^rs portes out of the Indies wth Marchandize fittinge for England to lade either one or twoe or all of o^r shipp wth the same goode brought thither as namelie smooth pepp, druggē of all sorte fittinge for this place, Indico of the best sorte, Nutmegge, maces, Synamon, Callicoes, Beniamyn, Olibanū, Mirr, Opium, red Saunders, Lignum Alloes, & such like, & the shipp or shipp soc laden wth speede to direct their course for England. And yf any of the shipp remaine vnladen then wth such Callicoes as yoⁿ can buie of the Iunckes fittinge for *Priaman* *Bantam* *Banda* or the *Mollocoes* to saile directlie for *Priaman* & there to pursue trade & from thence further as aforesaid as in yo^r discretion shall seeme best.

22 Item wee thinke yt not amisse further to aduise yoⁿ that findinge faile of trade at *Suratt* you endevo^r whilst yoⁿ are there, to inuite the *Guzarattē* wth such Commodities as you looke for, to repaire to the portē of *Delisha* or *Tamarie* att the Island of *Succotara* where you may agree to deale wth them for the same, w^{ch} yf yoⁿ doe, yoⁿ and they alsoe shall saue much Customes yoⁿ shall pay in other portes to the Gou^rno^r thereof, Itt is to be vnderstoode thatt yf noe trade be to be had att *Suratt* there shall be noe cause to settle any ffactors there, In such case wee appointe all o^r ffacto^r now sent to pceede wth yoⁿ to *Aden* or *Mocha*, or to such other place as yoⁿ shall thinke fitt to direct yo^r course for benefitt of trade And finding any such place as may be beneficiall to o^r Company aswell for vent of Cloth and other our English Marchandizes as for Commodities of those Countries fittinge for this wee referr to yo^r discreçōn the setlinge of o^r ffactorie there, and the appointem^t of any of o^r ffactors to recide there wth such stocke as in yo^r Iudgm^t may seeme

Competent to defray their chardge & make pusion of Comodities w^{ch} that Countrie may yeald against the arriuall of a second supplie: Butt findinge noe such place, & pceedinge to Bantam o^r order is thatt the ymploym^t of o^r shippes for pformance of their ladeinge bee att yo^r direc^ōn to procure sufficient ladeinge for the Hector & Thomas of such Comodities as shall be most fitt for sale in England & to speede them away thither vnder the conduct & Comand of Capt Towerson as was said before for Suratt. In the search of w^{ch} trade yo^u are to vnderstand that att Makassa an island neare *Celebes* there is greete store of Rice w^{ch} beinge carryed to Banda will yeald three for one, att w^{ch} Island there may be had 100 Tonns of Nutmegge & Mace as is informed.

23. Item the Hector and Thomas beinge fraighted & sent for England then wee wishe yo^u Capt Iohn Sairis to pceede wth the Cloue, & wthall possible speede thatt yo^u may endeavor yo^r course for Iapan, haueinge before att Bantam or ells where dilligently aduised inquired & conferred wth o^r ffactors, or any other the best meanes yo^u may attaine vnto the knowledge whereby to informe yo^r selfe for or conc^rninge o^r intended voyadge to Iapan, and to pcure in any of those pt^e (yf you may[]) some skilfull pilate experienced in those Coastes, and take him alonge wth yo^u, directinge yo^r course from thence to Iapan, neglectinge noe tyme butt takeinge the benefitt and aduantage of those Wynde and Monsons as yo^u shall most c^rteinlie & trulie informe yo^r selues, & learne that they blowe in their seasons. And in all theis yo^r passadges & traffiques o^r desire is that yo^u should informe yo^r selfe of safe harbors and places of repaire for vent of o^r English Comodities either aboute the porte of Dabull neare Suratt, or the riuer Syndus & Laree, or the Cape of Rosalgate or any Coaste of the pt^e of Arabia where yo^u may haue kinde interteynem^t of¹ freedome from Enimies, to w^{ch} places yo^u may assay to inuite Mores, Guzaratt^e or any other people tradeinge in those pt^e wth such Marchandize as may be fitt for this Countrey, and be rendred for such as wee shall send att such times as yo^u may suppose o^r shippinge may wth Conueniencie arriue there. Amongst w^{ch} port^e wee hould the post^e aforesaid in the Island of Succatora

¹ Or?

&c: to be most fittest aswell for the neernes of the place as saucing of Customes & the highe way for the Guzarattē & other tradeinge into the red Sea att their ordinarie seasons.

24. Item and being arriued att Iapan wee desier yo^a to vse the best meanes to search out the most convenient and safest harbour to trade in, where you may sell Cloth leade, Iron & such other of o^r Natiue Comodities as by yo^r obseruacon yo^a shall finde most vendible there, wherein yo^a are to be very spetially carefull both whatt Colors and sortes of Cloth, and for whatt quantitie will there be vented, as alsoe to giue greate chardge that yo^r men offer noe offence to the people there, still keepinge good watch and standinge vpon yo^r guard & that out of the danger of any Castle fforte or other Gallies or friggottē to prevent any mischeefe that may happen, & to consult and take good aduise wth the rest of the ffactors & espetiallie wth William Adams¹ an English man nowe resident there, and in greate favo^r wth the kinge as wee heare to desire his opinion whatt course should be held both for the deliu'y of his Ma'te tres nowe sent, whatt presentē are to geuen, to whome, by whome & in whatt manner the same is to be done wthall dilligence that shall be requisitt, obserueing carefully the tymes in keepinge the Monsons in all places wheare you shall trade for attayneinge to other portes as occasion shall be offered And for presenttē wee haue sent wth yo^a as appeareth in the Invoice.

25 Item and as yo^a shall receiue incourradgm^t in the progresse of yo^r affaires by the pswasion of the foresaid William Adams grounded vpon his longe experience in those partes & shall finde that ytt may be wth saffetie, as beinge ptedcted vnder the authoritie of the kinge of the Country, & may proue Comodious and beneficiall for the good of the Company. Then

¹ The story of William Adams, who lived in Japan for twenty years, and was "in such favor with two emperors of Japan as never was any Christian," has often been told, and may be found admirably summarized in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He sailed in 1598 as pilot to a Dutch fleet bound for the India, but his vessel got separated from her consorts, and with difficulty reached the coast of Japan in April, 1600. Adams was sent up to the court, where he speedily succeeded in gaining much influence over the emperor. In October 1611, he placed himself in communication with the Company's factors at Bantam, but his story was already known through the Dutch, and, as we see the Company at home had some months

wth the Counsell of Richard Cockes and such principall men as are in yo^r shipp, yo^u may aduise resolute and leaue such ffactors as yo^u in yo^r discrecion shall thinke fitt wth such a quantitie of goodē as shall be by yo^u thought convenient for the setlinge of a factorie & mainteyneing of a trade att Iapan together wth soe many and such sufficient Marriners to attend them and guard o^r said goodē as yo^u shall finde to be needfull & necessarie & to guide them a good and stronge howse for the better saffetie of such goodē as shall be lefte there in chardge wth them. Butt yf yo^u shall finde att Iapan [no] convenient meanes of ventinge o^r Comodities or the retourne of profit not to awnsweare the length and difficultie of the voyadge, or the dangers in psecuteinge this trade to exceede wth out pporcion the advantage to be hoped, then yo^u shall frame yo^r course & seeke vent for such Comodities as yo^u haue either att the Molloccoes, *Philippinas* or any other places thereaboutē, whether you may be incourradged by any pbable hopes of peaceable and pffittable tradeinge. And yf att yo^r deptime from Iapan the said William Adams shall ymportune yo^u to transporte him into his natieue Countrie to visitt his wife and Children, Wee pray yo^u then to accomodate him wth as convenient a Cabben as yo^u may and all other necessaries w^{ch} yo^r shipp may afford him.

26 Item wee ordeine that such of the ffactors as shall remaine in the shipp at the buyinge of any goodē shall be ymployed to weighe the same, pay the money & keepe due accompte thereof, & nothinge be done either in buyinge or sellinge any goodē wthout their priuitie that they may write the same into their booke, and be able to giue vs reason for what is bought or sould, and to acquainte the Capt eu^{ry} night wth what they haue done that day. That the purser be continuallie abourd the shipp

before made arrangements to open up trade with Japan. On Saris's arrival, in June, 1613, Adams accompanied him to court, and assisted in procuring the necessary privileges. He did not, however, avail himself of the opportunity of returning home in the *Clare*, but took service with the Company as second in command of the factory established by Saris at Firando. He made several voyages to Siam and other places in the Company's interests, and even after he had quitted their service in 1616, he made himself useful in many ways to his countrymen. He died on the 16th May, 1620, and was buried on one of the hills overlooking Yedo harbour, where his grave may still be seen.

& take true notice of all things whatsoeu^r are brought into the shipp^s or carried out, & to enter the same in his booke as hee will awnsweare ytt wth the losse of his wages And yo^r the Capt to giue the purser stricte chardge in this behalfe, & that the pursers booke and the ffactors shall then be compared together, soe thatt yt may appeare whether all that hath beene bought, hath beene receiued into the shipp, & there weyed aswell as on the shore, notice to be taken what is wantinge, & inquirie what is become thereof, and the same accompte for whatt hath beene then done att Iapan, the Molloccoes or ellswhere be registred in o^r booke att Bantam.

27 Item for that voyadges of this Condiçon & charge cannot admitt any priuate trade, but whatsoeu^r is atchiued by this generall and greate charge should be applied to the benefitt of the whole Companie. Therefore wee sett ytt downe as an absolute order that noe man neither Captaines, Marchaunte, Masters or Marriners or any other pson or psons whatsoeu^r in theis o^r shipp^s doe trade or deale for any Marchandize whatsoeu^r wth wee shall prouide for o^r retourne, or any other sorte of Marchandize more then will be conteyned wthin his pporcioned Chest of allowaunce for this voyadge and the same to be registred in the pursers booke to thend that yf any pson die vpon the voyadge, their freinde and Exceutors may knowe whatt they had, & take notice what is become of the same, houldinge ytt most vnreasonable that those that live by o^r ymploym^t should deale wth the Commodities wth wee labor to gett to produce meanes for paym^t of their wages, and defrayinge of the charges of this o^r greate and costlie voyadge.

28 Item wee order that noe pson whatsoeu^r wth shall succede by appointment other otherwise in any place of Comand or office either in o^r shipp^s or in any of o^r ffactories shall take or be allowed the wages of his predecessor, butt thoughte he be remoued, preferred, or come to any such place or office he shall content himselfe wth such wages as wee haue forme^rly agreed wth him for, wthout any further demand or increatchm^t vpon the Company for the same, butt the ptes to be referred to be rewarded by the Company att their retourne as they shall be found to haue deserved. Nor ffactor, Masters, Mates nor other Officers of especiall place in o^r shipp^s to be remoued wthout

consent of such of the Counsell as wee haue appointed to aduise wth yo^u the Captaine vpon all such occasions, and not to thinke vpon authoritie sett vpon yo^u that the same should serue for any yo^r pticuler respect^e, knowinge that a wise man is best tried when he is putt in authoritie, and that he is accompted of more fortitude that ou'cometh himselfe then he that preuaileth against a multitude.

29 Item wee doe expreslie chardge yo^u the Captaines & Comanders not to suffer any Cabbins to be new built or altered, nor pticions pulled downe, in o^r shipps, nor chandged from the state they nowe are in, att the settinge out of the same, except for inlardgeinge of the houlde^r or makeinge better prouision for the bringinge home of o^r good^e, and that by the aduice of the Counsell, or for the better accomodateinge of their fight^e¹ yf neede shall be.

30 Item forasmuch as the tymes are very dangerous throughe piraces w^{ch} doe dailie increase and abound in all partes vpon the Seas both att Saldania & ells where, wee doe chardge yo^u therefore to take espetiall care that dilligent & contynuall watch be kept abourd to preuent all suddaine inuasion & not to giue light Creditt to the faire speeches & pretences of any straungers either English or others.

31 Item wee forbid all vnnecessary expences of shooteinge of Ordinance att drinkinge of healthes or att the Captaines or cape Marchaunte goeing a shore or such like for that thereby much powder is wastfully consumed and o^r good^e and shipps putt in much hazard and danger, and likewise by yt way is giuen to the Gunners vnder color thereof to ymbecill the same.

32 Item for auoidinge confuſiōn in the Gou^rnm^t of o^r people & for that nothings is soe vnc^rteine as the estate of mans life Wee ordeine that yf God shall call yo^u Captaine Iohn Sairis (w^{ch} God defend) & that before the sendinge away of the Hector then that o^r loueing freind Gabriell Towerson shall succede you and exercise yo^r chardge and after his decease m^r: Rich: Cock^e whoe wee trust will soe behaue them selues therein as shall awnswere the good opinion wee haue conceiued of them. Butt yf the said Capt Gabriell Towerson and Richard Cock^e be depted out of this

¹ See page 376, note.

would or be sent away vpon any other occasion, then we comitt the gou'nm^t of o^r shippes and Marriners therein, to such as wee haue nomynated in a wryting subscribed by the gou'nor and sealed wth the seale of the Comp: putt vp in a boxe N^o: 1. sealed wth hard waxe & deliuered to Captaine John Sairis to be kept close and not opened soe longe as the said Capt John Sairis & Capt Gabriell Towerson, or either of them shall liue, or their shippes continue together. Provided alwaies that noe pson whatsoeu^r wth shall succede in the foresaid place of gou'nm^t, or any other place or office, shall demand be allowed or expect the wages of his predecessor but shall content himselfe wth his first wages promysed him by the Company or referr him selfe to be considered of accordinge to his deserty att his retourne by the Gou'nor Deputy & Comittees of the Company for the tyme beinge, whoe haue ever respected men that shall deserue well of them.

33. Item and for that in sundrie voyadges heretofore the Company haue beene much wronged by the Generalls Captaines and Masters of their shippes in takinge diu^{er}s psons into the same shippes & carrying them alonge wth them in the said voyadge to the East Indies for their p^{ar}ticular gaine and profitt & haue lefte the same pties amoung of Companies Factors in the Indies where they haue drinen and handled for them selues and their freinds a p^{ar}ticular trade to the greate charge and hindrance of o^r Company & haue practised wth o^r factors there to decoyne vs, & to convey sundry of the richest commodities of those pties to their priuate vses. It is therefore of expresse order and direction to yo^r Captaine John Sairis, Captaine Gabriell Towerson & Tempest Peacocke, and to all other the Marchante Factors Masters pilots & Marriners & eu^{er} other pson or psons interteyned and hired to serue in this said voyadge, that neither yo^r, or any of yo^r shall admit or suffer to passe on, or come into any of o^r said shippes in this now intended voyadge any pson or psons of what degree or quality soeuer other then such pson or psons as are int^{er}reaved and hired by the Gou'nor & Comittees of o^r said Company to passe th^{er}on & mentioned in the pursers booke.

34. Item and for that in the said voyadges there haue bene conuenticlie carried away by the said factors and others many rare thinge fitt

for vs to present to his Ma^{tie}: or any of the noble Lorde that are o^r honorable freinde, Wee pray and requier yo^u all to be carefull to prouide & send the same wth espetiall charge to some carefull man or men that retourne to see them carefullie kept & deliue^d to vs: And wthall yf yo^u shall knowe any Marriners or others to haue any such, that yo^u cannot pcure from them for reason then that yo^u send vs notice thereof to thend wee may take order therein accordinglie.

35 Item in respect of the dangers o^r men haue form^{lie} run into by vndertakinge their voyadges out of the Indies att vnseasonable times, therefore wee chardge yo^u all expreslie that att what places soeu^r the shippes shall be laden yo^u be carefull presentlie to take the right Monsones in eu^y place & not to beate vp & downe, but rather to attend the true seasonns: & haue yt spetially in remembrance that the portingalles make choise of the fine of Ianuarie & prime of ffebruarie to beginne their voyage from those part^e, w^{ch} tyme will bringe yo^u vpon o^r Coastes either in Maye or Iune: And att w^{ch} tyme the weather is seasonable here in theis partes whereas by former wofull experience wee haue found the could att their retourne to be the ou^rthrowe of o^r people.

36 Item whereas wee haue giuen o^r direc^{cons} in former articles for the pcuringe of trade att Suratt Bantam, the Molloccoes Iapan or els where: yett notwthstandinge wee leaue yt to the discre^{con} & best iudgm^t of our cheefe Captaine and Comander for the tyme beinge wth the rest of the Counsell appointed for that purpose, to take the oportunitie either of theis or any other places where by informa^{con} yo^u may receiue the best hopes of trade in any part^e of the Indies.

37. Item yf yo^u shall learne by true informa^{con} that yo^u may haue safe passadge vp to Goga wee suppose yt will proue as beneficiall to shape yo^r course directlie thither, as to putt ou^r the barr to Suratt for that the Comodities of Cambaia are brought downe as plentifully to Goga as to Suratt: Butt herein as before wee referr yo^u to further aduice & to the due Considera^{con} thereof as yo^u shall be incourradged att yo^r comeinge into those partes.

38. Item whereas the stores appteyneinge to eu^y pticuler office, are nowe sufficientlie furnished for this voyage & Invoices

deliuered vnto the Captaines and Comanders in eu'ry shipp of eu'ry pticular store, w^h heretofore in some of o' former voyadges haue through the remises of some of o' Comanders bene ymbecilled & appropriated to mens pticular vses: ffor the better preuentinge therefore of the like inconveniences hereafter: wee ordeine and giue ytt in charge vnto yo^e all the Captaines & Comanders of o' shippes thatt yo^e cause true notice to be taken & a iust accompt kept of the expence of the Gunners Carpenters Boatsonns Steward^e and eu'ry such store both by the purser & some others that yo^e shall appointe therevnto That att yo^r retourne wee may receiue from you a iust accompt of eu'ry pticular to be awnsweared accordinge to the Invoice nowe deliuered vnto yo^e: And howe the same haue beene spent & disposed of.

39 Item forasmuch as o' ffactors att Bantam & elsewhere haue heretofore receiued and paid them selues such wages as haue beene due vnto them for their sallarie, & ymployed there in priuate tradeinge for their owne pticular gaine w^h the greate neglect of o^r, appropriateinge all the riche and pretious thinge to their owne vse and nothinge for the Company butt pepp and grosse Commodities wee doe therefore resoluue and sett yt downe for an expresse order hereafter to be obserued That no ffactor or other ymployed in o' said service shall be pmitted to receiue, or take in those partes such wages as shall growe due vnto them, {v^t but onlie soe much as shall be necessarie for their apprell) & such vses accomptinge & alloweing after the rate of v^s for eu'ry Ryall of eight. And the rest of their wages to be paid in England to such as they shall consignee them vnto, accordinge to the agreem^t made w^h eu'ry one in pticular att the tyme of their intertynem^t.

40 Item to prevent disorders & misbehauo^r of the Marriners of theirs o' shippes, either in their passage out, or retourne home, vpon o' Coastes: wee ordeyne that yo^r suffer none of o' fore-said shippes either outwardly or homewardly to goe into any of the port^e of *Wainmouth*, *Plymouth*, or *Dartmouth* vnlesse greate necessitie compell yo^r therevnto.

And lastly, haueinge remembred whatt wee thinke needfull for yo^r direc^on in this voyage and relynge vpon yo^r diligence & care in pursuenge our busines to o^r most advantage, Wee

comitt yoⁿ to the protec^on of the Almighty God whome wee beseech to blesse yo^r endev^m & graunte yoⁿ a safe passadge & safe retourne to all o^r Comfortes.

41 Item for the better comforte and recreation of such of o^r ffactors as are recideinge in the Indies: wee haue sent the worke of that worthie seruant of Christe M^r: W^m: Perkins to enstruct their mynde & feede their soules wth thatt heauenlie foode of the knowledge of the trueth of God^e word, & the booke of Martirs in twoe voleumes, as alsoe M^r Hackluite Voyadge to recreate their spiritte wth varietie of historie: wth bookes wee desier to haue lefte wth m^r Lawrence ffemell o^r cheefe Agent or some other o^r cheefe ffactor in those partes where most of o^r people shall be resident to remaine there for the Comforte and vses before mentioned, where wee requier that they should haue espetiall care to sanctifie the Sabboth daye, & to reade vpon those devyne booke for the instruc^on and comforte of all those that shall be there remayninge.¹

42 Item whereas by wofull experience wee found a mayne error comitted by the Commanders, & all others that were in the Assention, for that seinge her in the extremitie of dangers vpon her casteinge, they did not vse such present and speedie meanes for the safeguard of such moneys as was remayneinge in her, ffor

¹ The works of the Rev. William Perkins (1558-1602), Fellow of Christ's College, Cambridge, whose name is now almost forgotten, enjoyed at this time considerable popularity both in England and abroad, and he was regarded as one of the ablest exponents of the Calvinism then so much in vogue. His collected works were four times reprinted during the ten years succeeding his death. The "Book of Martyrs" is of course John Foxe's "Actes and Monuments," of which a sixth edition had just appeared.

Had Femell survived, and succeeded in establishing a permanent factory at Surat, as the Company hoped, these books would doubtless have formed the nucleus of a library there, such as was actually established at a later date. That the Company's agents were not indifferent to literature, and especially to theological literature, is shewn by the following extract from a letter addressed to the Court by the President (Sir George Oxinden) and Council of Surat, under date 25th September, 1666:—

"Your Library here is carefullly looked after and preserved, and wee could wish it
"were better furnished with Bookes. It consists for the maine of English Treatises
"and is almost totally disfurnisht of the workes of the Ancient Writers; wee finde
"not of all the ffathers workes, any more then the Epistles of Clemens Romanus
"published by M^r Patrick Young. here are the Epistles of Ignatius. The workes
"of Epiphanius & S^t Augustine, with some few imperfect peeces of other ffathers,

prevençon therefore of the like error & maine oversight hereafter, wee aduise & expreslie giue ytt in chardge, that yf ytt should please God to send the like Crosse vpon any of theis o^r shipps w^{ch} he for his mercies sake, wthould, that then in the like extremitie The Comanders Officers & all others doe vse their best care skill and power, to conuaye away to land all such Chestes of money w^{ch} shall then be restinge or remayneinge in the said shipps by there boatē or for want of such Conveyance, to boye ytt into the seas, that afterwardē some better meanes may be pcured for recou^y and safeguard thereof.

43 Item wee requier yo^u that you send vs a pticular Invoice of eu^y shipps Cargason by the rest of the shipps, And [of] that yo^u leaue on gen^rall Cargason att Bantam to be sent by the next shipps thatt shall come from thence, that thereby the Company may be satisfied, whatt goodē you haue sent yf ought should happen to the other shipps, (then well) w^{ch} God forbid. And therefore faile yo^u not in any wise, as you respect vs & o^r loue.

John Sayris ⊕

Gabriell Towerson ⊕



"but belonging to a private Library. Our desire is, y^t you would be pleased to
"furnish y^e Library with a supply of some of the Ancient Writers, and if you shall
"thinke it good with these, or some part of them y^t follow.

" Bibliotheca veterum Patrum,

Hieronymi opera

" Justini Martyris opera

Gregorij magni opera

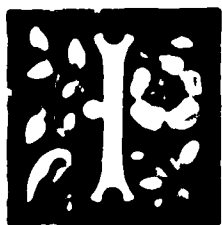
" Tertulliani opera

Clementij Alexandrini

" Ambrosij opera

opera, ex editione haastij

" And because wee have not any thing in y^e Library of the Ancient Councells, wee
"could wish for the Collection of them by Binnius; unto w^{ch}, if you please to add a
"booke entitled Pugio fidei, Authore Raymundo Martini, ordinis Cecistrensis, with
"the Corpus Juris Canonici, wee shall thankfully receive them; as being Bookes
"here very usefull. There are in your Library 6 volumes fairely bound in blew
"Turkey Leather and gilded on the Leaves, the gift of Thomas Rich, Esq^r, containing
"the holy Bible with its severall ancient versions, into the orientall Languages. Wee
"are now given to understand y^t there is a Lexicon printed in two volumes designed
"as a helpe for the easier attainment of the said Languages. Our request is y^t you
"will be pleased to send us y^t Lexicon, whereby the booke will be perfected, & that
"Bible rendered abundantly more usefull then at present it is." (O. C. 3185.)

The lres caryed by ye Dutchmē¹

JAMES by the grace of Almighty God, kinge of greate Brittaine ffrance and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith: To the To the highe and mightie kinge the kinge of Tedore &c: greetinge.

The good treatm^t w^{ch} o^r Subiecte haue from tyme to tyme receiued in their trade wthin yo^r Countreys (of
 To the kinge of Tedore w^{ch} they haue not ceast to make the best relaçon wthall due acknowledgm^t of yo^r benigne & favorable dispoition towarde them) hath incourradged them againe, to make an other voyadge thither, by occasion whereof wee hould ytt not ymptenent but to expresse o^r gracious acceptaunce of yo^r loue & Amity shewed to o^r said Subiecte, & to intreate the Contynuance thereof, towarde all others of o^r as shall from tyme to tyme resorte vnto yo^r; and more p^ticularlie to recomend vnto yo^r the bearers hereof *Peter Flores Lucas Anthemes Robert Browne* and others, whoe nowe wth o^r good likeinge and p^mission doe repaire vnto yo^r in the good shipp called the Globe, Not doubting but as the effecte of their Commerce cannot but redound to the good and aduancem^t of yo^r Countrey and people soe yo^r will afford them yo^r Royall p^tecōn wthall the respecte of Courtesie and freindshipp w^{ch} wee will be readie to affoord towarde any of yo^r yf they shall arriue into any of o^r Territories. And soe wee pray Almighty God to prosp yo^r and to make yo^r victorious against yo^r Enemies. ffrom o^r Royall Pallace att Westminster this.



JAMES by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittaine ffrance and Ireland defender of the Christian faith &c: As there is nothinge w^{ch} Increaseth more the glorie and dignitie of Sou'eigne

¹ *Flor* and *Anthemis* in the *Seventh Voyage* (see page 363. note). The ships of the *Seventh* and *Eighth Voyages* started within a few months of one another. Hence, probably the confusion in the present volume between the papers of the two expeditions.

Princes vpon earth then to extend their renowne vnto farr dis-
 sident Nations, Soe haueing vnderstoode of late
 yeares from some of o^r louinge subiecte, that haue
 traded into diu's Countries neare adioyninge
 vnto yo^r of the reputa^on & greatnes of yo^r power
 and dominion, wee haue incourradged o^r said Subiecte to vnder-
 take a voyadge into yo^r Countrey, aswell to sollicit yo^r freindshipp
 and amity wth vs, as to enterchaundge such Comodities of each
 others Countreys, as may be most of vse the one to the other,
 beinge nothinge doubtfull, but such will be yo^r Princelie magnani-
 mitie and disposition as to be ready to embrace this o^r desier, &
 not onlie to receaue o^r people wth yo^r accustomed benignitie and
 favo^r, butt for their better incourradgem^t, to afford them yo^r Ryall
 protec^on for the settlinge of a ffactory there, wth such securitie &
 libtie of Comerce as shall be most convenient for the aduancm^t of
 the mutuall profit and Comodities of each others Subiecte;
 Wherein for o^r parte wee doe willingly offer o^r selfe & the libtie
 of o^r kingdomes and Countries, whensoeu^r any of yo^r subiecte
 shall vndertake to haue co^munication wth vs. And soe wee pray
 vnto Almightye God to blesse and prosp yo^r, and make yo^r
 victorious against yo^r Enemies. ffrom o^r Pallace at Westminster
 this of Ianuary in the eight yeare of o^r Reigne of
 greate Brittainne ffrance & Ireland.¹



JAMES¹ by the grace of Almightye God kinge of greate
 Brittainne ffrance and Ireland, defendor of the
 Christian faith &c: to the highe and mightie Prince
 the Emperour of Japan &c: greetinge. Most highe
 and mightie Prince As there is nothinge w^{ch} increaseth more
 the glorie and dignitie of Soueraigne Princes vpon
 earth, then to extend their renowne vnto farr
 discident Nations; Soe haueing vnderstoode of late yeares from

¹ Printed.

² This letter seems to be wrongly placed, and is probably the one carried out by Captain Surry in the Eighth Voyage. The Royal letter to the "kinge" of Japan, commending the Spanish Voyage to his faith, is given later on (page 429).

some of o^r loueinge Subiecte that haue traded into diu's Countries neere adioyneinge vnto yo^r, of the reputacōn and greatnes of yo^r power & dominion: Wee haue incourradged o^r said subiecte to vndertake a Voyadge into yo^r Countrey, aswell to sollicit yo^r freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to enterchange such Comodities of each others Countreys as may be most of vse the one to the other, beinge nothinge doubtfull, but such will be your princelie magnanimitie and disposition as to be readie to ymbrace this o^r desier, & not onlie to receiue o^r people wth yo^r accustomed benignitie and favor, butt for their better encouradgm^t, to affourd them yo^r Royall ptecōn for the setlinge of a ffactorie there, wth such securitie and libtie of Commerce, as shall be most convenient for the aduancem^t of the mutuall proffitt and Comoditie of each others Subiecte; Wherein for o^r parte, wee doe willinglie offer o^r selues and the libtie of o^r kingdomes and Countres whensoeu^r any of yo^r Subiecte shall vndertake to haue comunicacōn wth vs. And soe wee pray Almighty God to blesse and prosp yo^u, and to make yo^u victorious against your Enemies: ffrom o^r Pallace at Westminster, this of Ianuary in the Eight yeare of o^r Reigne of Greate Brittainne ffraunce and Ireland.



JAMES by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittainne ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the Christian faith &c: To the highe and mightie Prynce the kinge of Bantam &c: Greetinge. The good treatm^t w^{ch} our Subiecte haue receiued in your Countreis, as yt
To the kinge of Bantam incourradgeth them to continue their trade and entercourse wth yo^r people, soe yt giueth vs occasion more and more to ymbrace yo^r freindshipp, and to offer the like reciprocation from vs towarde any of yo^r, that will happelie vndertake soe longe a voyadge hetherwarde. In the meane time, theis o^r subiecte resortinge vnto you in their good shipp called the Cloue,¹ We haue thought good to recomend them vnto yo^r

¹ The *Cloue*, which was Saris's ship in the *Eighth Voyage*, seems to have been mentioned here in error for the *Globe*. The letter to the King of Bantam carried out by Captain Saris has already been given on page 393.

fauorable saueguard and pteccōn, to the end they may enioye the same libtie and safetie in yo^r dominions, & receiue such incurradgm^t for the aduancem^t of their trade and traffique, as some others of o^r haue heretofore enioyed, to the good contentm^t and furtheraunce of the Comon vtilitie of each others Countries, wherein because wee hope yo^r will not be backward, wee will forbear to trouble yo^r any further, Prayinge Almightye God to blesse and prosp yo^r, & to make yo^r victorious against yo^r Enemies. ffrom o^r pallace att Westminster this of January in the eight yeare of o^r Raigne of greate Bryttaine ffraunce and Ireland.



JAMES by the grace of Almightye God kinge of greate Brittain ffraunce and Ireland, defendor of the Christian faith, To the highe and mightie kinge of Gresicke¹ &c: Greetinge. The reporte we haue heard from o^r loueing subiecte, that haue traded in the East Indies, both of yo^r power and greatnes, and of yo^r Princelie and favorable disposition to cherish and interteyne all sortes of Strangers, that doe resorte into yo^r Countries, hath incuradged the bearers hereof *Peter Flores* Lucas Anthemes Robt Browne and others wth o^r good approbaōn and likeinge, to vndertake a voyage thither, aswell to sollicit yo^r freinlshipp and Amitie wth vs, as to enterchaunge such Comodities as may be most of vse to each others Countreys, being Confident that yo^r will be readie to ymbrace this o^r desire, and not onelie receiue o^r people wth yo^r accustomed favor to others, butt for their better encouradgm^t to affourd them yo^r Royal pteccōn, for the setlinge of their trade & Commerce in those partes, wth such Condiōns of securitie and safetie as shall be most convenient for the aduancem^t of the mutuall proffitt & utilitie of each others Countries: We haue geuen in chardge to o^r people to demeane them selues wth all respecte of Courtesie

¹ Gresik or Gressee, a town in the district of the same name near Suralaja on the north east coast of Java. The Dutch for some time had a factory there.

and freindshipp toward^e o^r¹ people, not doubtinge but that there pceedinge will proue as acceptable to you as heretofore they haue beene to yo^r neighbour kinges and Countries, wth whome the haue traded to their good contentm^t & that in Conformitie thereof you will expreslie chardge and Comand yo^r Gou^rnors and Vassalls to ayde and assiste them in their neede & necessities, as wee will be ready to doe the like to yo^u, yf happilie they shall arriue into any our Dominions. And soe wee pray Almighty God to preserue and prosp yo^u, and to make yo^u victorious against yo^r Enemies. ffrom our Royall Pallace at Westminster this .



JAMES by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greate Brittain^e ffraunce and Ireland, defender of the Christian faith, To the highe & excellent Lord^e the Gou^rno^r of *Bandris*² Greetinge. The reporte wee haue heard from o^r loueinge Subiect^e, that haue traded into the East Indies both of yo^r power and greatnes, and of yo^r Princelie and favorable disposition to cherish and interteyne all sortes of Strangers that doe resorte into yo^r Countries, hath encourradged the bearers hereof *Peter Flores*, Lucas Anthemes Robt Browne and others, wth o^r good approba^on and likeinge to vndertake a Voyage thither, aswell to sollicit yo^r freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to interchange such Comodities as may be most of vse to each others Countries, being Confident that yo^u will be ready to ymbrace this o^r desier, and not onlie to receaue our people wth yo^r accustomed favo^r to others, butt for their better encourradgm^t, to afford them yo^r Royall ptec^on for the setlinge of their trade and comerce in those partes wth such Conditions of securitie and safetie as shall be most convenient for the aduancem^t of the mutuall proffitt & vtility of each others Countries. Wee haue giuen in chardge to o^r people to demeane themselves wthall respect^e of Courtesie

To the Gournor of
Bandris.

¹ A mistake for "yo^r."

² The position of this town or district is matter of conjecture only. It may possibly be Bandon, on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula, or, as Dr. Anderson suggests, Patris, in Queddah, on the western coast.

and freindshipp towardē yoʳ people, not doubtinge butt that there pcedinge will proue as acceptable to yoʳ, as they haue beene to yoʳ neighbor kinges and Countries wth whome they haue traded to their good Contentm^t, and that in conformity thereof yoʳ will expreslie Comand yoʳ Gouʳnors & Vassells to ayde & assist them in their neede and necessities as wee will be readie to doe the like to yoʳ, yf happilie they shall arriue into any oʳ dominions. And soe wee pray Almighty God to preserue and psp yoʳ, and to make yoʳ victorious against yoʳ Enemies. From oʳ Royall Pallace att Westminster this .



JAMES¹ by the grace of Almighty God kinge of greete Brittainē ffrance & Ireland defendor of the Christian faith: To the highe & mightie Prince the greate kinge of Iapan &c: Greetinge.

The reporte wee heard from oʳ loueingē subiecte, that haue
To the kinge of Iapan
traded into the East Indies, both of yoʳ power and greatnes, and of yoʳ princelie and favorable disposition to cherish and enterteyne all sortes of straungers, that doe resorte into yoʳ Countreys, hath incourradged the bearers hereof Peter Flores, Lucas Anthemes, Robt Browne & others wth oʳ good approbation and likeinge to vndertake a voyadge thither; aswell to solicit yoʳ freindshipp and Amity wth vs, as to enterchange such Comodities, as may be of most vse to each others Countreys, beinge Confident, that yoʳ wilbe readie to ymbrace this oʳ desier, and not onlie to receaue oʳ people wth yoʳ accustomed favor to others, but for their better incourradgem^t, to afford them yoʳ Royall protecōn for the settinge of their trade and Commerce in those partes, wth such Conditions of securitie and safetie, as shall be most convenient for the aduancem^t of the mutuall profit & vtility of each others Countreys. Wee haue giuen in chardge to oʳ people to demeanē them selues wth all respects of courtesie & freindshipp towardē yoʳ people, not

¹ See note, page 422

doubtinge butt that their pceedinge will proue as acceptable to yo^u, as heeretofore they haue beene to yo^r neighbour kinge & Countreis wth whome they haue traded to their good contentm^t, and that in conformitie thereof, yo^u will expreslie chardge and comaunde yo^r Gou^rnors and vassalls to aide and assist them in their neede and necessities, as wee will be readie to doe the like to yo^u, yf happily they shall arriue into any o^r domynions. And soe wee pray Almighty God to preserue & prosp yo^u, and to make yo^u victorious against yo^r Enemies. ffrom o^r Royall Pallace att Westm this .



*A discourse delyuered to M^r Gouvern^r,
by Peter Floris & Lucas Anthemes of ther p^rtended voiage.¹*



SETTING sayle from hence in Nouemb^r 1610, we hope to arryue at *Mesolopatane*² and *Port Polmone*³ vppō y^e Coast of *Coromandell* in Iuly or August, or at the longest in Septemb^r. 1611. And ther to employe our Capitall in dyu's sorte of Cotten linnen, to wete, one third part for y^e Island of *Iaua* and *Bantā*, the oth^r two third parte for *Patane*, and *Siam*. The said capitall being employed as aforesaid, we purpose to set saile frō the Coast of *Coromandell* in Ianuarye 1612 towardē *Bantā*, (the monsone seruing o^r turne) so as we may be at *Bantā* in March) and ther employe o^r foresaid third pt of o^r capitall, eith^r in Rials of 8, Gould, China ware, Sandalū, or otherwise as the time shall affourd, for then wilbe the time for y^e *China* Iunckes to be ther. And after that we shall haue pfourmed o^r trade ther, we purpose to set sayle the last of May, or beginning of Iune, in the foresaid yeare towardē *Pahan*, *Patane*, and *Siam*, and ther along the Coast, employe o^r oth^r two third pte of o^r Capitall in *China ware*, *Beniamyn*, *Lignū Aloes*,

A discourse of y^e
Glohes voiage, in-
tended to the Bay of
Bengala.

¹ See page 363. note.

² See page 73. note 10.

³ This may possibly be the copyist's corruption of "Pulicat," which was the first port the ship visited on the coast of Coromandel.

Calumback,¹ *Muske*, *Gum Lac*, and oth^r drugge, wth we may come by. And if we should not sell all o^r cõmodities, by the moneth of Nouem̃br, then we purpose to settle a factorye in *Patane* or *Siā*, wth the rest of the goodē, ther to trade wth the *China* Iunckes, in March next following, and the shippe wth the rest of the aduaunced Capitall, shall in the moneth of Nouem̃br, take her voyage, thorough the Straicte of *Sincapura*, by *Malacca*, and so againe towarde the Coast of *Coromandell*, and ther wyll sell o^r Comodities, as gould, mony, and oth^r thinges, for Cottō lynnē whight and paynted, both to trade againe wthall, at *Patane* and *Siam*, as also to bring homewardē for *England*; as also a good pcell of Cottō yarne. And then in the moneth of May A° 1613, we meane to set sayle againe from y^r Coastē of *Coromandell*, to the Straicte of *Sincapura*, and so againe to *Patane* and *Syam*, and ther traffique vntill the moneth of Nouem̃br, and then take o^r course towarde *Bantū*; and from thence in *December* 1613, or in *Januarye* 1614, take o^r course towarde *England*, wher we hope to arryue in *August* 1614. hauing laden into o^r shippe so much *China* silke, *Taffataes*, *Damaskes*, and *Pursalyne*, as we may attayne vnto, or as o^r Capitall will pmytte, and we thinke may be here vented in *England*. Also a good pcell of *Beniamyn*, a pcell of *Lignū Aloes*, a lyttle *Calumback*, *Muske* frō *Syam*, *Gum Lack*, Also 150 bales of Cottō lynnē, whight and paynted, the wth will serue to vent in *Europe*, but e^{sp}iallye for the Coast of *Barbarye*, and some for the Coast of *Ginnye*, *Angola*, and oth^r place, and about 200 bales of Cottō yarne; and for a prooffe a pcell of *Indico* frō the coast of *Coromandell*, and some other drugges and wares, the wth we may light vppō, and as o^r capitall shall pmitte vs to deale in; This is o^r p^rsent resoluōn for y^r p^rtended voyage, yet forasmuch as allthingē are mutable, so must we rule and gou^rne ourselves (being in those pt^s) as y^r time, & occasiō shall pmitte.²



¹ Calamitac is the finer sort of *Agarum* (Horn of Eagle wood) — *Agarum Agalloch*.

² For an interesting account of this voyage, shewing how far *Hutus* and *Antheumus* succeeded in carrying out their plans, the reader may be referred to Dr. Anderson's *Early English Voyages with Summaries*.

To the right hon ¹ y^e Earle of Salisbuirye
 Lord high Threr of England
 The humble peticon of y^e M^cchants of London, trading
 the East Indyces.¹



HEWETH,

That yo^r supp^{le}, hauing long and patientlye endured, sundry notorious wronge & iniuryous Courses at the hande of the *Hollanders* (in ther trade to the *East Indyces*) are enforced at last to breake sylence, and complayne their greifes; That the *Hollanders* hauing gottō into ther possessiō, dyuers of the cheif place of traffique in those pt^e, and forciblye appropriating some, w^{ch} do of right belong vnto the *English*, to trade ther before any oth^r Natiō whatsoeu^r, next vnto the *Portugall*, do seeke wholye to debarre yo^r said supp^{le}, from the said trade, or to drawe sundrye inconuenienc^e vppō them, no way hon^{ble} nor pfitable for this Land. ffor S^r ffrancys Drake, (vppō a contract wth the king of *Teronata*, for the trade of the Cloues in y^e Island, and the rest of the Islande vnder his dominiō) assisted him in his warres, against the king of *Tedore*, and confirm'd that agrem^t, by delyu^ring him a Ring,² wth a faire *Emerald* stone in y^e same, (as is well knowne to Yo^r Lo^{pp}.). M^r Cauendishe afterward^e folowing him, had y^e like promise at *Balemboa*, in the south pt of the Island of *Iaua*, wher he refreshed, conferd wth the king or cheif in that place, and had promise of all the pepp ther. Vppō w^{ch} assuraunc^e, the m^cchant^e of Londō, and others, sett out two shippes in trade for that place, vnder the co^maund of Cap^{nc} *Rayman* and Cap^{nc} *Lancaster*; In w^{ch} accōn *Rayman* was cast away about the Cape *Bonæ spei*, and *Lancaster* pfourm'd his voyage, beating along the Coast of *India*, vntill he came to *Sumatra*, wher his men falling sicke, and victualls scanting, durst not aduenture for y^e *Moluccaes*, but retourn'd wth his lading of pepp, and was wrackt in the *West Indyces*.³

After them folowed the *Hollanders* wth *English* pylott^e, who pfourming a succesfull voiage to *Bantā* haue euer since psecuted a most ample trade. And p^rsentlye vppō ther retourne, yo^r

¹ There is a copy of this petition at the Record Office, endorsed with the date "November, 1611" (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, page 231).

² Cp. page 68.

³ See *Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (Hakluyt Society).

supp'le as well to weaken the *Spanyard*, (then the common enemye) as otherwise, ioyned in a Comp^{re}, and man'd forth, 4 of the best m'chant shippes of the kingdome, the *Dragon*, *Hector*, *Susan* and *Ascension*, w^{ch} went to *Sumatra* and *Iaua*, and finding peacable trade, settled a factorye at *Bantū*, wher ther men being weake, the Cap^{ns} thought fitt not to attempt the *Moluccaes*, (the Monsoune being then past) but hauing fought wth the Enemye in the *Straight of Sincapura*, and take a Carrycke, they laded ther shippes wth spice, and retourn'd well home, all full laden, (the *Hollander* then being very glad of yo^r supp'le companye.) At the retourne of w^{ch} shippes, yo^r supp'le furnisht them forth againe, (vnder the commaund of S^r *Henry Middleton* Generall) who according to his Commission, attempted the *Moluccaes*, and comyng theth^r, saued the king of *Teranataes* life, wth 6 *Hollanders*, w^{ch} were in daung^r and had bene taken by the king of *Tedore*, wth 80 men more, and cut in peece, (if he had not bene) as the rest of ther companye were, for which fauo^r both the king and *Hollanders*, promised to lade ther shippe wth Cloues, and to do them any other kindnes that possiblye they could. But vpp^o newes of the comyng of certaine *Holland* shippes, they neith^r pmitted them trade, according to promise, nor to staie ther, but were absolutelye banisht the *Island* by the *Hollanders* meanes. (as the king himself tould y^r *English* the *Hollander* threatning, that if he did not, they would ioyne wth the king of *Tedore* his enemye, to driue him out of his Countrey.) S^r *Henry* ther vpp^o was enforced to p^ure his whole lading from the *Portugall*, who vsed him very kindly & respectiueleye, giuing him all the Cloues they had at reasonable prices; And resigned vpp vnto him, a Towne, called *Taffavole*, wth a ffort, to the king of *England*'s vse (by y^r consent of the king of *Tedore* right owner therof) w^{ch} now the *Hollanders* kepe, (hauing fortified the same) besides many oth^r place in the Countrey; appropriating to themselves the whole trade of the *Islande*; keping Men of warre vpp^o the Coast, and phibytng all oth^r Nations (as farre as in them lyeth) from any trade ther (maintayning now for Lawe, by strong hand, that w^{ch} latelye they esteemed vnrasonable: for the *Portugall* to challenge a more spall p^ortie in any of those p^ots. then themselves or any oth^r Nation whatsoeu^r.) And from thence haue pceded to the *Islande of Banda*, (the place wher Nutmegge and Mace do growe,) wher at ther comyng wth 14 sayle of

shippes, they found yo^r supp^e shippe the *Hector* trading ther, (wherin was Capⁿ W^m Keeling,) hauing a house and factorye on shore, and many debte in the *Islande*) whome they vsed most vnkindlye, searching his boate disgracefullye both going for fresh water and retourning, and not suffering him to haue any furth^r trade, nor to gather in his debte but wth a pemptory comāund, to be gone, wherunto (thorough necessitye) he submytting himself, was enforced to dept, wthout his lading, or any furth^r trade.

Since that tyme, Capⁿ *Dauyd Middletō* in the *Expedicō*, seking trade at *Banda*, and vsing his best endeuo^r, both by guifte, psuasions, and Comodityes, could not be pmitted by them for any comēce, eith^r wth themselues, or the Islandⁿ, but wth many reprochfull, insolent speches, was forciblye put from all trading in those pt^e, but what he gott wth strong hand against ther wylles, from oth^r broken Island^e neare adioyning, wth extreame hazard and daung^r, (they deuising and oftentimes attempting, to surprize consume by fire, and cut off by any indirect meanes, both shippe, Men, and good^e.)

To coulo^r all w^{ch} ther doing^e, they do most slaunderouslye report, That yo^r supp^e haue furnisht the *Spanyard* (as the comō enemye,) wth great store of Ordinance, and a great quantitie of powder, besides oth^r implem^t_e of warre, And would haue compeld a *Portugall*, (whome they tooke), to haue iustified, That *S^r Hen : Middletō* delyu^red y^e *Portugalls* 40 bar of powder, and 4 whole Culueringe, wth the lending of two of his cheif gunners to do them seruice against the *Hollanders*; w^{ch} by the *Portugall* was more conscionablye refusd, then¹ by them vrg'd, and submytted himself rath^r to haue vndergone death, then father such a vntruth uppō yo^r supp^e.

All w^{ch} vncyuell and inhumaine wrong^e abroad against yo^r supp^e, are done by Comission from the m^rch^t_e and Owners, at home, (as they cannott denye and othⁿ haue
Capⁿ Wolfard Harman to Mr Ro: Middletō. acknowledgd, and hath bene latelye confessed by *some of them*²) wherby yo^r supp^e hauing the *Spanyard* and

¹ Than.

² These three words are underlined, no doubt with reference to the note in the margin.

Holland^r enemyes in the *Indyes*, must of necessitye be enforced to giue ou^r ther trade ther, (w^{ch} is the cheif end the *Hollander* aymeth at).

Yo^r supp^e therefore forced by these extremities, & knowing ther greifes, but hauing no meanes of remedye, do humblye implore yo^r Lo. hon^{ble} assistaunce & mediatioⁿ to the *States* for redresse in these iniurious courses, and that a reciprocall kindnes may be receyued from ther men, that as yo^r supp^e are tyed by a bond of duitye to submytte themselves by commaund, not to be offensive to any whatsoeu^r; so they might not be iniuriously rewarded, but enioye the benefitte and fredome of trade, wher the p^rogative rather apptaynes to thē then any oth^r. And yo^r supp^e shall (as they haue bene alwayes bound) praie for yo^r Lo. encrease in all hono^r and true happynes.



MOST worthie S^r. Vppō some speeches had at my being at *Amsterdam*, in opening the wronge, w^{ch} I conceyued the *East India Comp^y* of *London* had sustayned by yo^r people, in those pte, I found yo^r inclynatioⁿ and readynes to ioyne in conference by some Comis-
M^r Robert Malletton, a London citizen, long lived at Amsterdam, and was a member of the East India Company. sioners to be nōiated for eith^r pt. Wheruppō at my retourne, into *England*, I acquainted o^r Govern^r, Deputye and Comyttees wth that motioⁿ. But before my comyng, they had exhibyted a petiōn to my Lo. Therr^e to acquaint the State wth ther wronge, and to craue redresse for the same. Notwthstanding vppō my relacōn, I found them wylling to stae any furth^r pceding, as yet, but to ioyne in any good course, to haue all wronge righted, and all iust cause of offence remou^d betwixt thē and y^e. That as o^r Nations haue

¹ Robert Malletton, who seems to have been related in some way to Sir Henry Malletton, was a prominent and active member of the Company from its formation, and was a commissioner for a long period. He was one of the commissioners sent to Holland in 1613 (see note page 434).

² See the preceding document.

long continued, in firme bond^e and league of amytye, so we might peacablye pcede to trade ioyntlye togeth^r (wthout troubling of eith^r *States* (to right conceyued iniuries) or giuing such an aduantage to others (who would willinglye take the opportunitye of fishing in the troubled streames of o^r diuision and dissencōns). So that (vppon conference) they are wylling to ioyne Co^mmission's, wth such as y^u shall substitute here, to salue and put a remedie to all greifes past, and consid^r of some indifferent course to be continued betwixt vs heraft^r, for the good and benefitte of eith^r pt. Wherin I could not retourne a more spedie resolu^cōn, because of some extraordinarye occasions of launching certaine shippes, and oth^r buysines of great import, w^{ch} then hindred them; but haue now wth the first opportunitye, acquainted y^u therwth, that if y^u shall determyne of psecuting the form^r pposi^cōn, and appoint some Co^mmission's frō y^u, it might be done spedilye (for the good I hope of both the Nations) and that I might receiue yo^r resolu^cōns herin, wth all expedi^cōn. And so reco^mending the care herof to yo^r graue considera^cōns, and the successe to gode puidence, whome we beseech to direct all o^r pceding^e to his glorie, (my self being diuoted in all true affec^cōn to do all acceptable offic^e I may for the good of both) I take my leaue, and rest,

Yoⁿ to be co^maunded

Directed To the right Word, my most respected friend^e, Burgom^r Oatgens, Burgom^r Pavij, Skepen Hasselare, Skepen Iacop gerson heind, Pentionalis Pavij, Dericke van Os, and Iohn van Harell, at *Amsterdā*, hast yēs.

London, 5^o Octob : 1611.

ffor aunswer of w^{ch} tre, an ord^r of Court was retourned from thence, w^{ch} is recorded in the *Court booke*.¹ pag. 271.

¹ Now lost, as already mentioned.

Laus deo. 20 Decēb: 1611. In Amsterdam.



YOUR friend M^r Middletō &c. About 2 daies since, I had some speech wth Burgom^r Pavij about the *E. India* matt^r; and he wyll'd me to certifye yo^u, that they were not vnmyn'dfull of that matt^r, y^u wrote to thē about, though as yet by reason of oth^r buysines, nothing effected.

Mr Payfyld to Mr R^o Middletō about the same buysines.

Yet ther were certaine appointed, (wherof he was one) to moue the States about it, because they could do nothing therin wthout ther aduise and consent: and said moreou^r that they were to go wthin 8 or 10 daies to the *Hagh* about it: and that they had giuen exp^{sse} charge to the shippes, y^t are gone out, y^t they should carye themselves, in all friendlye manner y^t was possible, towardē the *English* in the *Indies*, wthout offring them the least iniurye that might be; And y^t he doubted not, but ere long, ther should so good order be taken, that both Nations should contynue good friende. Thus much he wyll'd me to certifye y^u. And so not hauing else at instant to enlarge &c.

Your louing friend *Samuell Payfyld*.¹



LET^r that are my most laudable, fortunate, welthy and great Vizroies and *Beglerbeyes*,² y^t are on the way frō my most happie and Imperiall Throne, both by sea and land vntill the continēs and lynette of the *East*

¹ This well meant attempt at conciliation seems to have met with scant success. After some delay, the Dutch Company appointed commissioners to treat of the subjects in dispute, who reached London in the spring of 1613. A month was spent in negotiations, but without result. The delegates returned to Holland, and the matter was left to be decided by a future treaty. In 1615, English Commissioners, including Middletown and Ash, the representatives of the Company, proceeded to the Hague, but their efforts to effect a satisfactory settlement proved equally fruitless.

² This passage was corrected by Capt. Smith and I stored him in good stead in his efforts to obtain trade in the Red Sea. Pearch prints a slightly different version of the title, which is also slightly different in the scale. The principal variations are as follows:

1. Pearch: "The most noble Turkish Emperour our both knight with vs. Beglarbey" (The Turkish Emperour, both Lord of Africa and Saracens, our both knight with vs. the Indies, that is, our both prince of the Indies). As to the account of the coming of the English to the *East*, Pearch: "The most noble Turkish Emperour our both knight with vs. Beglarbey" (The Turkish Emperour, both Lord of Africa and Saracens, our both knight with vs. the Indies, that is, our both prince of the Indies). As to the account of the coming of the English to the *East*, Pearch: "The most noble Turkish Emperour our both knight with vs. Beglarbey" (The Turkish Emperour, both Lord of Africa and Saracens, our both knight with vs. the Indies, that is, our both prince of the Indies).

Indyes; Owners of some part of dignitie, and those vnto whome
 Translation of yo^r Grand Sign^r Passe granted to yo^r East India Merch^{ts}.
 belongeth to giue ayd, helpe and succo^r in gode
 cause and Musulmanicall religion, vppō their
 Empero^r beck: the wealth and greatnes of
 whome, let it contynue for euer. Likewise vnto y^e my most
 laudable and valiant *Sangrack-bey*s,¹ (that are vnder the aboue-
 nam'd *Beglerbey*s) Owners, and hope, of future great^r dignities;
 and those vnto whome belongeth duityfull ayd and helpe in gode
 cause and religion, vppō their Empero^r aduise, the hono^r and
 dignitie of whome, be eu^r contynuing. And vnto yee my most
 laudable, wise and prudent Iustice of peace, and Iudge,² (that are
 in the p^rscincte of the said *Sangrack-bey*s) whose iudgmente,
 iustice, & wordē do flowe, as from a myne³ of all wisdom and
 prudence; the worthines and greatnes of whose dignitie and
 functiō, let it contynue for euer. Also to y^e my laudable, great
 and most worthie Cap^{tn}s, and *Reyses*⁴ of all o^r Nauyes, and
 shippinge, that swyme on the face of the sea. Vnto yee my
 laudable Cap^{tn}s of the Castles, Cityes and Townes; And vnto y^e
 worthie and laudable *Customers*, dwelling vppō the *Sea*,⁵ *Ryuers*,
Bridges, and all oth^r ptē of o^r Domynions ther adiacent, Vppō
 the sight of this my most high and Imperiall comaundm^t, in
 conformitye of yo^r most bounden duities, yee shall arise and do
 obeysaunce therunto.

And herby yee shall vnderstand that the *English Embassad^r*,
 that here resydeth, in o^r happye and most high *Port*, hath giuē vs
 to vnderstand, by his supplicatiō, That forasmuch, as some of
 his *Maj^{ty}*, the *King of England* his subiecte, haue wth great charge
 and labo^r, found out a Trade in the *East Indyes*; and hearing of
 the fame, and wealth⁶ of some partē of our Countrye, in their
 passage to the *Indyes*, are desirous to visite those place, for y^e
 enlarging of the said Trade; and⁷ that such men in so good and
 profitable⁸ an enterprize, hauing deserued⁹ all fauo^r ayd and

¹ "Saniacq-bey" in *Purchas*. (See previous note)

² *Purchas* adds "and Ministers of Iustice."

⁴ *Rais*, a naval "commandant."

³ Fountaine (*Purchas*).

⁵ Sea coast (*Purchas*).

⁶ *Purchas's* version runs: "and withall vnderstand of Wealth & likelihood of Trade"

⁷ To the end (*Purchas*).

⁸ Laudable (*Purchas*).

⁹ In so good and laudable enterprizes haue (*Purchas*).

helpe, so farre as may be lawfullye and conuenientlye yeilded, hath requested vs in the name of his Ma^m the *King of England*, to vouchsaufe them o^r saufe conduct & comendacons. In conformitye of whose request, as also in regard wee and o^r p^rdecesso^rs, are and haue bene for the space of many yeares, in strict league and amitye, wth the meconed *King of England* and the Subiecte of that *Kingdome*, that haue long had, and now haue free traffique and trade in merchandizing in o^r dominions and Countreyes, thorough the *Mediterranean* seas. Wee do comaund and exp^rslye charge y^e all, and eu^erye one of y^e our abouenamed subiecte & officers, that y^e will not onelye kindlye and louinglye entertayne and receyue the said merchante subiecte of *England*, comyng or passing through, or by any of o^r Dominions, espiallye intending to trade to the Dominions of *Yemen*, *Aden*, and *Mocha*, and the pte adioyning therunto; assisting and releyuing them wth all thinge nedefull for themselves, their men and their Shippes, but also freelye to pmitte them, by land or by Sea, to go or sayle, to go forward or retourne, euen as their occasion shall require, to remaine in any of o^r Dominions, Countreyes or Cityes, graunting them such libertye of Trafficke and priuiledge, as shalbe reasonable, wthout giuing, or suffring any let or hinderaunce, iniurye or molestacon to be offered or done vnto the; yea, y^e shall yeild vnto the, such offyce of beneuolence and humanitye, as shalbe meete and conuenient to be yeilded vnto honest men, and straung^rs, vndertaking so long and laborious a iorneye. And if it be so, that wee shall vnderstand that contrarye to the Capitulacon the Amitye and the League wth is betwene vs and the *King of England*, y^e do offer them the least wrong, and any way molest and trouble the said m^rchant in their traffique, or ought els, Knowe yee for certaine that y^e shall not onelye incurre our high displeasure, but y^e shalbe punished for example vnto oth^rs: And therefore in conformitye of this my espiall Imperiall comaundm^t, y^e shall gouerne yo^r selues, and gyue creditte to this my Imperiall insigne. Wrytten at o^r mansion guard *Constantinople*, on the fiftenth day of the Moone, *Zadigir* 1019.¹



JAMES¹ by the grace of God king of England Scotland
ffraunce and Ireland, Defendor of the Faith &c
To our trustie and welbeloved Subiecte Thomas
Best² and Thomas Aldworth³ greeting, Whereas
diuerse of our loving subiecte, by the name of the Gouvernor and
company of Merchante of London, trading into
the *East Indies*, at their owne aduentures Coste
and chardges for the honor of this our realme of England, and
for the increase and advancement of trade and merchandize wthin
the same haue sett foorth sundry voyages to the *East Indies*, and
allreadie discour'd and begun to settle a trade into those parte,
and intending the continewing thereof, aswell by frequenting
those places already settled as by further discour'y of other ptes,
w^{ch} may be fitt for the enterchanging, of the Comodities of our
kingdomes wth the Commodities of those places, such as may bee
of speciall vse and benefitt, to vs and our Subiecte, having to this
purpose nowe prepared and sett foorth thone called the Dragon
and the other the Hosiander to the said *East Indies*, and the
places adioyning therevnto, And whereas our said Subiecte the
aduenturers of those voyages, haue chosen our trusty and wel-

¹ The Royal Commission for the *Tenth Voyage* (1612-14), consisting of two ships, the *Dragon* and the *Hosiander*, under the command of Thomas Best. There is a docket of this commission at the Public Record Office, under date 30th December, 1611.

² Thomas Best was a seaman of considerable experience, though he had not been previously in the service of the Company. In this *Tenth Voyage* he particularly distinguished himself by defeating a superior force of Portuguese war vessels, which attacked him off Surat, a victory which made a great impression on the natives, and procured a firman which was practically the foundation of English trade in Western India. On his return in 1614, he was well received by the Company; and for several years his name was brought forward from time to time as that of a fit person to command further expeditions. In November, 1617, all arrangements had been made for his taking command of the fleet then preparing for the Indies, but a quarrel occurred, and Best was dismissed the Company's service. He contrived to make his peace with them, but was not again employed. In 1623, he was in command of a vessel in the Royal Navy, and for the rest of his life was an active servant of the Crown (see *Dict. Nat. Biography*). He is supposed to have died about 1638.

³ Thomas Aldworth appears to have been a man of some standing before his entry into the Company's service, and was at one time sheriff of Bristol. He was left at Surat as head of the factory there, and held that post until his death in the autumn of 1615.

beloved subiect *Thomas Best* to be the Captaine and cheife Comaunder of all the Merchantē Mariners, and other Subiectē w^{ch} are or shalbe shipped in the said Twoe shippē Wee graciously favouring theire intended voyage and approving and allowing of theire choise of yo^r to the same imployment being willing to furnish yo^r with all fitt and convenient power, and aucthority to rule and governe all and every our Subiectē imployed in this voyadge, by a due obedience to be by them yeilded vnto yo^r in the observing and executing, of all such good orders and constitucōns as yo^r shall thinke convenyent to ordeine and make, for the furtherance of the said voyage according to such p^{ar}ticular direcōns and enstrucōns as yo^r shall receive from the Gouvernor and companie of merchantē the aduenturers in this voyage, w^{ch} direccōns & instruccōns. Our intencon is, and soe wee doe hereby will and comaund, that you doe punctually observe in eu^{er}y p^{ar}ticular, straightly chardging and comaunding, all and euery person or psons imployed in this voyadge and shipped in the said Twoe Shippes, to giue all due obedience, and respect vnto yo^r, during the said voyadge, and to beare themselves one towardē another, in good order and quietnes, for avoyding any occasiō that might bread Mutiny, quarrell or dissensions amongst them, to the hinderance of the good sucresse w^{ch} is to be hoped for by Gods providence of this said voyage. And in Default of such duty and obedience to be p^{er}formed towardē yo^r, for the correcting and quenching of all such Mutinyes quarrells or Dissencōns that may arise by the euill disposiōn of any pson whatsoever Wee do hereby authorize the said *Thomas Best*, During the said voyage, or during soe longe time as yo^r shall lue in the said voyage, to chastice correct and punish all offendo^r and transgresso^r in that behalfe according to the qualitie, of theire offences, w^{ch} such punishment as are commonly used in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Cappelall. And for Cappelall offences, as Wilfull murder w^{ch} is hateful in the sight of God, or Mutiny, w^{ch} is an offence w^{ch} may tend to the overthrowe of the said voyage, the same being daily iustly approved against any of the pson or psons aforesaid, wee doe hereby giue vnto you the said *Thomas Best*, during all the time of the said voyadge, or during soe longe time as yo^r shall lue in the said voyage, full power and

authority, to vse and put in execu^{cion}, our Lawe, called Lawe
 Martiall in that behalfe. And theis our Lres, shall be your
 sufficient warrant & dischardge for the dooinge and executing of
 all and singuler the premisses, And forasmuch as at this present
 time, wee are in amytie, wth all Christian princes, and are
 vnwilling that any of our Subiecte, should giue occa^{cion} of breach
 or hinderance thereof towarde any our our Confederates, frinde
 or Allyes. And because wee are not ignorant, of the emula^{cion}
 and envie. w^{ch} doth accompany the discouery of Countries and
 trades, And of the quarrells and conten^{cion}s, w^{ch} doe many times
 fall out, betweene the subiecte of diuerse Princes when they
 meete the one wth the other, in forraigne and farr remote Coun-
 tryes, in prosecuting the course of their Discoveries, And being
 desirous that our subiecte should forbear to move or beginn any
 quarrell or conten^{cion} vpon the subiecte of our Confederates
 frinde or Allies either in their gooing foorth or retorning from
 any of their voyages, Wee therefore doe hereby straightly charge
 and comaund yo^u the said *Thomas Best*, and all other vnder your
 Comaund, That neither in your voyage outward or homeward,
 or in any Country Island Port or Place, where yo^u shall abide or
 come, during the time of your being abraide, out of our king-
 domes or dominions where yo^u meete wth any the subiecte, of
 the king of *Spaine* or of any other our confederates frindes or
 Allies, or of any other na^{cion} or people, their Shippe vessell
 goodes or merchandizes yo^u doe not attempt or goe about, to sett
 vpon take or surprise, their psons Shippes vessell goodes or
 merchandizes, or offer any iniury or discourtesie vnto them, as
 yo^u will answere the contrary at your vttermost pille. Except
 you shalbe by them first therevnto iustly provoked or driven
 either in the iust defence of your owne persons, shippes vessell
 goodes or merchandizes by any there disturbance or hinderance,
 whatsoever in your quiet course of Trade or for recompence and
 recovery of the psons shippes goodes or merchandizes, of any our
 Subiecte that are already in or neere the *East Indies* or for any
 other iust cause of your defence. In w^{ch} cases soe excepted yf
 yo^u attēpte surprize and take the persons Shippe or good of any
 Prince or State by whose Subiecte you shall susteine any wrong
 or losse in manner as aforesaid you shall not for any such act or

act^e grounded vpon the occaſions aboue men^tioned, be in danger or ſubiect to the pill and penalties of our lawes, allwayes p^rſuppoſing, and ſoe requiring yoⁿ to vse, all poſſible endeavo^r, by all meanes whatſoever to ſuffer noe ſpoyle to be made of any goodes or merchandizes, nor imbezilling any thing whatſoever, that ſhalbe recou^red by you, but to ſee them ſafely brought home, wth the Bill^e of lading and charter pties to the intent that there maie be reſtitu^tion made by us, ſoe ſoone as yoⁿ ſhall receiue ſatisfa^tion from that State or people by whome yoⁿ are dampnified, of what Na^tion ſoeuer, And forasmuch as our ſaid Subiect^e, the merchant^e and others the aduenturers of this voyadge out of preiudice¹ and forſight of any Mortallity or otherwiſe (wth God forbid) ſhould befall vnto our Subiect *Thomas Beſt*, haue made choiſe of our Truſtie and loving Subiect *Thomas Aldworth*; to ſuccede the ſaid Thomas Beſt, in the chardge and Comaund of Captaine and cheife Comaunder, of all the pſons imployed in this voyadge as aforeſaid, wee doe alſoe in caſe ſuch an accident ſhould happen, allowe and approve of their choiſe in that behalfe, And doe hereby giue full power and auctoritie to you the ſaid Thomas Aldworth, to doe and execute . all and every thing incident to the chardge of Captaine and cheife Comaunder of all the pſons employed, as is before comitted and impoſed vpon the ſaid *Thomas Beſt*; And theis our Lres ſhalbe, ſhalbe alſoe ſufficient warrant and diſchardg to the ſaid *Thomas Aldworth* for the dooing and executing of all and ſinguler the premiſſ^s as aforeſaid. In witneſſe whereof wee haue cauſed theis our Lres to be made Patent^e. Witnes our ſelfe at Weſtm^r the Sixt day of Ianuary in the Ninthe yere of our Raigne of England Fraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the ſine and fortieth.²

p bre de privato Sigillo

Co^{mm}in.



¹ A mistake for preiudice (see previous comment)

² 6th January, 1611-12



JAMES¹ by the grace of God king of England, Scotland
ffraunce and Ireland Defendor of the faith &c To our
trustie and welbeloved Subiect Thomas Best sendeth
greeting signifying vnto all people, that whereas
Certaine Shippe of our kingdome of England, at the Aduenture of
the Gouvernor and company of *East India* merchant, are to take
theire voyadge to diuerse parte and porte of the *East Indies*
especially to such as are in the kingdome of *Cambaia* or in any
other pt of the greate *Kinge* of the *Magolles* Dominion, there to
mannage a trade and peaceable cõmerce: wth the subiecte of the
king, wee doe by vertue and aucthority, of theis our present Lres
giue and graunt vnto our said Loving Subiecte *Thomas Best* full
power & Aucthoritie aswell to entertaine and prosecute, the said
Trade and Cõmerce, as alsoe in our name and in the behalfe of
our pson, to treate of conclude and ratifie, wth the said greate
king of the *Magolle* or any his Deputies, to that purpose sent and
lawfully aucthorized a firme and inviolable peace w^{ch} (the Con-
diçõs by our said Loving subiecte vnto them pposed being duly
by them kept and observed) shall alsoe remaine on the part of
our loving subiecte wthout breach.

And if any pson or psons whatsoever, shall in contempt of vs
our Royall Crowne and Dignity p'sume to attempt the Contrary
to theis present Articles concluded, They shalbe assured to
incurr our heaue displeasure and wrathfull Indignaçõn, wth all
greevous and severe punishment: in bodies, liues, and good, &c,
Witnes our greate Seale of England to the originall annexed.



¹ A special authorisation to Captain Best to negotiate, on the king's behalf, a treaty with the Great Mogul.



JAMES by the grace of God king of *England Scotland*
France and Ireland Defend' of the faith &c To our
 trustie and welbeloued Subiecte *Captaine Christopher*
*Newport*¹ and *Ioseph Saulbanke*² Greeting, Whereas
 Diuerse of our loving subiecte, by the name of *Gouern'* and
 his *Managers* the *Company of Merchante* of London, trading into
 the *East Indies*, at their owne aduentures coste
 and charges for the honour of this our Realme of
 England, and for the increase and aduancement of Trade and
 merchandize w^{thin} the same, have sett forth sundry voyages to
 the *East Indies*, and allready discour'd and begunn to settle a
 trade into those parte, and intending the contynewing thereof
 aswell by frequenting those places, allready settled, as by further
 discouryes of other pte w^{ch} maie be fitt for the interchangeing of
 the Comodities of those places such as may be of spetiall vse and
 benefitt to vs and our Subiecte: having to this purpose, nowe
 prepared and sett forth the good shipp called the *Expedition* of
 nigh Three hundred tons. And whereas, our said subiecte the
 aduenturers of those voyages, have chosen, you our said subiect
Captaine Christofer Newport, to be the principall Comaunder of
 Merchante Mariners, and other our subiecte, w^{ch} are or shalbe
 shipped in the said shipp Wee gratusly favouring their
 intended voyage, and approving and allowing, of their choise of
 you to the same Comaund, being willing to furnish you w^{ch} all fitt
 and conuenient power and authoritie to rule and governe all and
 onely our Subiecte employed in this voyage, aswell such as belong
 to the said shipp, as all others that are followers of the *Persian*
Ambassador,³ whome wee haue directed to be transported by you

¹ Christopher Newport had already made several voyages to Virginia, and was well known as an experienced navigator when he was chosen by the East India Company to command the *Expeditio* on the *First Voyage*. Upon his return, he was rewarded for his services by the King, and the King was subsequently pleased to appoint him, with Newport as his second, to command the *First*. This was his last voyage, for he died at Dartmouth in August 1606.

² See p. 10, p. 11.

³ The *Persian Ambassador* was a man of the name of *Abbas*, who was of that name, and was a man of the name of *Abbas*, who was of that name. He was presented to the King by the *Shah Abbas*, and was a man of the name of *Abbas*. He was presented to the King by the *Shah Abbas*, and was a man of the name of *Abbas*. He was presented to the King by the *Shah Abbas*, and was a man of the name of *Abbas*.

vnto the *Port of Surat*) by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto yo^u, in the observing and executing of all such good orders and constituōns as you shall thinke convenyent to ordeine and make, for the furtherance of the said voyage, according to such pticuler direcōns and enstrucōns as yo^u shall receiue from the said Gouvern^r. and Companye of Merchant^e the aduenturers in this voyadge, w^{ch} direcons our intenōn is, and soe we doe will and require you, that you doe punctually observe in all thinge, Straightly chargeing and comaunding, all and eu^y person or psons, imployed in this voyage, and shipped in the said shippe to giue all due obedyence, and respect vnto yo^u during the said voyage, and to beare themselves one toward^e another in good order and quietnes, for avoyding any occaōn that might bread Mutiny quarrelle or dissenōn amongst them, to the hinderance of the good successe w^{ch} is to be hoped for by god^e providence, of this said voyadge, And in defallt of such Duty and obediencie to be pformed toward^e you for the correcting and quenching of all such mutynies quarrelle or dissensions, that maie arise by the evill and disorderly disposiōn, of any pson whatsoever, wee do hereby aucthorise, the said Captaine Christopher Newport during the said voyadge, or during soe long time as you shall liue in the said voyage to chastice correct and punish all offendo^r and transgresso^r, in that behalfe, according to the quallity of their offences, wth such punishment^e as are co^monly vsed in all armyes at Sea, when they are not cappitall, And for Cappitall offences, as wilfull murther w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of God, or Mutiny w^{ch} is an offence w^{ch} may tend to the overthrowe of the said voyage the same being duly and iustly approved, against any of the pson or psons aforesaid, we doe hereby giue vnto our said subiect Captaine Christofer Newport, during all the time of the said voyadge, or during soe longe time as yo^u shall Liue, in the said voyadge, full power and aucthority to vse and put in execuōn our

was now (1612) returning to Persia. He came again to England in a similar capacity in 1623, but suffered some disgrace through the unexpected appearance of a native ambassador, who roundly declared Sir Robert's credentials to be forged. King James sent them both back to Persia, together with Sir Dodmore Cotton, accredited as English ambassador to the Shah. Sir Robert reached in safety the country of his adoption, but was badly received by his master, and died soon after in disgrace.

Lawe called lawe Martiall in that behalfe, And theis our Lres shalbe your sufficient warrant and dischardge for the dooing and executing of all and singuler the premiss^s, And forasmuch as at this present time, wee are in amytie wth all Christian Princes, And are vnwilling that any of our subiecte, should giue occasiō of breach or hinderance thereof, towardē any our confederates frinde or allyes, And because wee are not ignorant of the Emulacon and envy w^{ch} doth accompany the discouery of Countrys, and Trades and of the quarrellē and contencons w^{ch} do many tymes fall out, betweene the Subiecte of diuerse Princes, when they meete the one wth the other in forraigne are¹ farr remote Countrys in psecuting the course of their discoveries, and being desirous that our Subiecte should forbear to move or beginn any quarrell or contencon, betwene² the Subiecte of our Confederates frinde or Allies either in their goeing forth or retorning from any of their voyages Wee therefore doe hereby straightly charge and comaund you the said Captaine Christofer Newport, and all other vnder your Comaund, that neither in your voyage outward or homeward, or in any Country Iland Port or place, where you shall abide, or come, during your time of being abroad, out of our kingdomes or Dominions, where you meete, wth any the subiecte of the king of Spaine, or of any other our Confederate frinde or Allyes, or of any other Naciō or people their shippes vesselle goodē, or merchandizes, you doe not attempt or goe about to sett vpon take or surprize, their psons Shippe vesselle goodē or merchandizes or offer any iniury or discourtesie vnto them; as you will answere the contrary, at your vttermost pille Except yo^e shalbe by them first therevnto iustly provoked, or driven either in the iust defence of your owne psons, Shippe vesselle goodē or m'chandizes by any their disturbance or hinderance whatsoever in yo^r quiett course of Trade, or for recompence and recovery of the persons shipe goodē or merchandizes of any our Subiecte, that are already in or neare the *East Indies*, or for any other iust cause of your defence, In w^{ch} cases soe excepted, yf you attempt surprize and take, the psons shipe or goodē of any Prince or State, by whose Subiecte yo^e

¹ An excellent mistake: it should

² This should be upon

shall susteyne any wronge, or Losse in manner as aforesaid, you shall not for any such act or acte grounded vpon the occacons aboue menconed, be in danger or subiect to the pill and penaltyes of our Lawes, Alwayes p'supposing and soe requiring you to vse all possible endeavoⁿ, by all meanes whatsoever, to suffer noe spoyle to be made of any goodes or merchandizes, nor imbeazaling of any thing whatsoever, that shalbe recouered by yoⁿ. but to se them safely brought home, with the bille of lading and charter pties to thintent that there may be restitucon made by vs, soe soone as you shall receive satisfacon from that State or people, by whome you are dampnified of what Nacon soever, And forasmuch as our said Subiecte the merchante and other the aduenturers of this voyadge out of providence and foresight of any mortallitie either by sicknes or otherwise w^{ch} God forbidd should befall vnto our Subiect the said Captaine Christofer Newport, haue made choise of yoⁿ our trustie and loving subiect, Ioseph Saulbanck to succede the said Captaine Christofer Newport, in the charge of principall Comaunder of all the persons imployed in this voyadge as aforesaid, wee doe alsoe in case such an accident should happen, allowe and approve of their choise in that behalfe, And doe hereby giue full power and auctoritie to you the said Ioseph Saulbancke, to doe [and] execute, and¹ and eu'y thinge incident to the charge of Principall Comaunder of all the psons imployed in that voyadge as aforesaid in as ample mann^r and forme, and to all intente and purposes as is before Comitted and imposed vpon our subiect Captaine Christofer Newport And theis our L^{res} shalbe allsoe sufficient warrant and discharge to the said Ioseph Saulbanck for the dooing and executing of all and singuler of all and singuler the p'miss^s *In witnes* whereof wee haue caused theis our L^{res} to be made Pattente Witnes our selfe at Westm^r the Sixt day of Ianuary in the Ninthe yeare of the raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the ffue and ffortith²

p bre de privato Sigillo

Coppin.

¹ This should be "all."

² 6th January, 1611/12.

ARTICLES OF Agreement made and concluded the Sixteenth daie of November 1614 betwixt the **Gou'n'r** and Company of merchant^e of London trading into the East Indies on the one pte : And **S^r Thomas Roe** knight on thoth^{er} parte as followeth.¹



WHEREAS the **Gouernor** and Company haue nomy-nated the foresaid *S^r Thomas Roe* and procured his ma^{ty} : to employ him as his Embas-ador to the **Grand Mogore**, for the better establishing and setlinge an absolute trade in any parte, w^hin the Dominions of the greate *Mogore* aforesaid

THE said **Gou'ner** and company, finding that they cannot conveniently proporcion any certenty for the expenc^e of **Diett**, both for **S^r Thomas Roe** and his retinewe, doe leaue the managing thereof, to his Discrecon care and wisdome, relying vpon his frugallity, wherein he promiseth his vttermost endeavors. And to cause a iust accompt, to be kept of all expences, from the beginning to the End, as alsoe to deliuer vpp a p^ticuler, of what-soever shalbe allowed vnto him by the grand *Mogore*. And if it shail soe happen that the **Grand Mogore**, shall graunt a daylie or yearly allowance, vnto him for his diett and followers, during his abode there to countervaille those expences, That then he shall free the Company from the said charge

THE said **S^r Thomas Roe** doth promise to forbear all private Trade, for himselfe or any other either directly or indirectly and

¹ The copy in manuscript which I use for the drawing up of this agreement will be found in the Court Minutes of the same date. The entry concludes "The Covenantes as followe by this concluded and entered and put betwixt the Company and him, taken and sealed the 16th of November 1614."

The story of Sir Thomas Roe's embassy to the Great Mogul (1615-16) is well known from his own story, which has been several times reprinted. Sir Thomas, a scion of a family of London merchants, had been knighted by James I in 1604, and was already abroad on the first voyage to North America under the patronage of Henry IV. After his return from France he was in 1607 sent as ambassador to Constantinople, where he remained for seven years. In 1612 he was despatched on a special mission to the Sultan, and afterwards to Copenhagen and various German courts. In 1613 he was appointed ambassador to the Elect of Ratisbon, and in 1614 he returned to London, where he was elected a member of the Charter and a member of the Privy Council. He died in 1644, and is buried in the church of St. Dunstons.

doth assure the Company by a faithfull promise to hinder it in others (All that he can[]), and to giue intelligence vnto them, of any that he shall take notice of to offend in that nature or shall by any meanes come to the knowledge of and wilbe ready to giue his best assistance vnto their cheife ffactor, (vpon any occaſion) to punish all offenders that shall deserue punishment, according to the quality of their offences

AND lastly to free himselfe from all iust cause of doubt, concerning their stock in the Country. Hee is willing not to intermeddle, wth any of their moneyes there, as he doth voluntarily offer, And will not desir[e] aboue the value of One hundred pounde vpon any spetiall occaſions, to haue it repaid back againe out of his meanes, when they shall growe due. Promising not to haue to doe wth any parte of there m^cchandize, but to Leauē it wholly to the Managing of their factoⁿ, whome they shall appoint for their purposes

IN CONSIDERACON of the premiss^s the said Gouvern^r and Company doe for themselves and y^r Successors promise to allowe vnto the said *S^r Thomas Roe* yerely (for soe long time as he shalbe employed in this service[]) the some of Six hundred pounde, Three hundred thereof to be paid in the *Country* at lower shillinge sixpence the Riall, for his maintenance of Apparrell and other expences, And thother Three hundred pounde shall yerely be put into the Ioinct stocke, to be ymployed for his benifitt pporcionably wth all other aduentures. ffor his better encouragem^t, whereby to tye his uttermost endeavo^r to be ymployed for the good of the Company, They were willing to giue him a true Testimony of their affecſions. And therefore bestowed on him freely the some of ffive hundred markes ymprested vpon his Salarie to dispose of as he should thinke fitting

THE said Gouverno^r and Company desiring to be at a certenty concerning the wages of all such servant^e as shall attend him are contented to allowe him a hundred poundes p Annū for him to giue them satisfacſion, besides a preacher and Chirurgion whose shall haue wages at the Companyes charge, the Preacher 50^{li} p Annū, and the Chirurgion Twenty and ffower pounde And did freely bestowe the some of Thirty pounde to be disposed by him

for the Lineryes of his said followers, In considera^{ti}on whereof, he promiseth to entertayne none to attend him, but such as the Company shall approve of.

THE said Gouverner and Company are likewise contented to deliuer vnto *S^r Thomas Roe* the some of ffifteene¹ poundes in hand, being the one halfe of the yerely allowaⁿce, giuen by the Compⁿ toward^e the entertainem^t of his followers, and alsoe ffive and Twenty poundes, for the halfe of the yearely allowance given by them vnto the Preacher, and Twelue pound^e for the like halfe yeares allowance vnto the Chirurgion, And for the time ensewing, it is agreed to haue them² halfe of their said yearely allowance to be paid vnto *S^r Thomas Roe* in the Country for their discharge

AND lastly the said Gouvernor and company are contented to lend vnto the said *S^r Thomas Roe*, the some of one hundred poundes to buy plate for his Table, w^{ch} some he promiseth to repaie back againe, at his retorne or deliu^r the value thereof in *Plate* Or to haue it answered out of his Aduenture if he die

MEMORANDUM whereis *S^r Thomas Roe K^t*. hath receyved the some of Three hundred thirtie and three poundes six shillinge and Eight pence³ pte of the Salary w^{ch} is to bee allowed him for the ymployment according to former agreement whereby there cannot be soe much put into the Iointe stock, the first yeare as is formerly men^{ti}oned, The said *S^r Thomas Roe* doth therefore Covenant to haue one hundred markes more of his salarie to make vpp the full of fflower hundred poundes to be paid heare to such as he shall consigne it vnto, and onely Twoe hundred pound^e put into the ioynt stock, for his vse in this his first yeare, of ymployment, The second yeare Three hundred poundes as was formerly resoul^d of and the like for the Third, w^{ch} in their Three yeares will arise to the some of Eight hundred poundes to be disposed for his benefit in the Ioint stock accordinge to former Covenant and agreement

IN WITNES of w^{ch} agreement and Covenant concluded the

¹ This is the sum approved by the Company in the preceding paragraph.

² As recorded in the preceding paragraph.

³ This is the sum for the 100 marks already mentioned.

⁴ This should be "resolved."

said Gou'nor and Company haue for themselues and there Successorⁿ caused theire Common Seale to be fixed to one pte thereof, And the said S^r Thomas Roe, hath to the other pte put his hand and Seale the day and yeare first aboue written



JAMES¹ by the grace of god king of England Scotland
ffraunce and Ireland, defendo^r of the ffaith &c: TO
our trusty and welbeloued Subiect, Cap^m Nicholas
Downton, WHEREAS diuers of o^r lovinge Subiecte
by the name of the Gou'ner and Companye of M^rchant^e of
London tradinge into the East Indies at their owne adventures
coste and charge for the honor of this o^r Relme of England, and
for the encrease and aduancement of trade and M^rchandize
wthin the same, haue sett fourth sundrye voyage to the said East
Indyes and haue already discou^red, and beginne to settle a trade
in those pte, And intending the continuinge therof, aswell by
frequenting those place already settled, as by further discou^ryes of
oth^r pte w^{ch} may be fit for interchanging of the Comodities of o^r
kingdomes wth the Comodities of those place, such as may be of
spetiall vse and benefitt to vs and o^r subiecte, Having to this
purpose now p^rpared and sett fourth ffoure good shippes called the
Newycares guift. Hector Hope & Solomon, to the said East Indyes,
and the place adioyninge thervnto. And wheras o^r said
subiecte the adventurers of those voyage haue chosen the said
Cap^m Nicholas Downto to be the principall Commander or
Gen^lall of all the m^rchant^e Maryn's and other o^r Subiecte w^{ch} are
or shalbe shipped in the said ffoure shippes We graciously
favouring their intended voyage, and approuing and allowing of

¹ A Royal Commission to Captain Downton (see note, page 318) for a voyage in 1614, on account of the *First Joint Stock*. This document has been copied in a very careless manner, and it appears to be unfinished, nothing being said as to the person on whom the direction of the voyage is to devolve in the event of Downton's death. There is a minute of this grant at the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1513-1616, p. 277), under date 16th February, 1613'4, from which we learn that William Edwardes was the person nominated to succeed to the command.

their choise of y^e [to] the same place of Commaund, being willing
 to furnish y^e wth all fitt and convenient pow^r and authoritie to rule
 & gou^rne all and euerye of o^r Subiect^e imployed in this voyage,
 by a due obedience to be by them yeilded vnto yo^e in the
 observing and executing of all such good^e orders and constitu^{ti}ons
 as yo^e shall thinke convenient to ordayne or make for the
 furtheraunce of the said voyage accordinge to such p^{ar}ticular
 direc^{ti}ons and instruc^{ti}ons as yo^e shall receive from the said
 Gou^rner and Company of M^echaunt^e the adventurers in this
 voyage wth direcc^{ti}ons and instruc^{ti}ons o^r intention is, And soe
 we will and require yo^e that yo^e punctuallye observe in all thing^e.
 WEE do therfore stracklye charge and command all and eu^{er}y
 p^{er}son or p^{er}sons ymployed in this voyage and shipped in those said
 ffoure shippes to give all due obedience and respect vnto yo^e,
 during the said voyage, and to beare themselves one toward^e an
 oth^{er} in good orde^r and quietnes, for the avoyding any occacion,
 that might breede mutynie quarrell^e or dessentions amongst them
 to the hinderaunce or good successe wth is to be hoped for, by
 God^e prouidence of the said voyage, And in default of such
 dutye and obedience to be p^{er}formed toward^e yo^e for the correcting
 and quenching of all such mutynies quarrell^e or dessentions that
 may arise by the euill and disorderly disposi^{ti}ons of any p^{er}sons
 whatsoe^{er}. WEE do hereby authorize yo^e the said Cap^{te}
 Nicholas Downton during the said voyadge or during so longe
 tyme as you shall lye in the said voyage. To chastice correct
 and punish all offendo^r transgresso^r in that behalfe, according to
 the qualitie of their offence wth such punishment^e as are
 commonly vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall.
 And for capitall offence as wilfull murthe^r wth is hatfull in the
 sight of god, or Mutynie wth is an offence that may tend to the
 overthrow of the said voyage, the same being duly and iustly proued,
 against any of the p^{er}son or p^{er}sons aforesaid WEE do hereby
 giue vnto you the said Cap^{te} Nicholas Downton during all the tyme
 of the said voyage or during so long as you shall lye in the said
 voyage, full power and authoritie to vse and put in execution our
 law called Marttall lawe in that behalfe. But that therein you doe
 exp^{re}sly vse the advise and counsell of the two principall Masters
 and of the two principall M^echaunt^e appointed for the tyme

being, or of any two of them. And theis o' letters shalbe vnto you sufficient warrant and discharge for the doing and executing of all and singuler the p'misses. AND forasmuch as at this p'sent tyme wee are in amitye wth all Christian Princes, And are vnwilling that any o' Subiecte should giue occacion of breach or hinderance therof towarde any o' Confederatē freinde or Allyes And because we are not ignorant of the emulation and envye, w^{ch} doth accompanye the discourye of Countreyes and trade and of the quarrellē and contençons w^{ch} doe many tymes fall out betweene the Subiecte of diuers Princes, when they meete the one wth the other in forreyne and farre remote Countreyes in prosecuting the course of their discourings; And being desirous that our Subiecte should forbear to moue or beginne any quarrell or contençons vppon the subiecte of o' Confederatē friende or Allyes eyther in their going fourth or retouring from any of their voyage WE therefore doe hereby straicly charge and commaund yo^u the said Cap^m Nicholas Downton, and all other vnder yo^r gou^ment, that neyther in yo^r voyage outwardē or homewardē or in any Countrey Island Port or place wher yo^u shall abide or come during the tyme of yo^r being abroadē out of o' kingdomes or dominions wher you meete wth any the Subiecte of the king of *Spayne* or of any other o' confederatē, friende or Allyes or of any other nation, or people, their shippes vessellē goodē or M'chandize yo^u doe not attempt or goe about to sett vpon take or surprize, their psons, shippes, vessellē goodē or M'chandizes Or offer any iniurye or discourtesie vnto them (except y^a shalbe by them, first therunto iustlye prouoked or driuē, eyther in the iust defence of yo^r owne psons, shippes vessells goodē or M'chandizes by any their disturbances or hinderance whatsoeu^r in yo^r quiet course of Trade Or for recompence and recou^{ye} of the psons, Shippes goodē or M'chandizes of any o' Subiecte that are already in or neare the *East India* or for any other iust cause of yo^r defence In w^{ch} causes so excepted, of y^a attempt surprize and take the psons Shippes and goodē of any Princes or State, by whose Subiecte y^a shall sustayne any wronge or losse in mann^r as aforesaid y^a shall not for any such act or actē grounded vppon the occasions aboue menconed be in daunger or subiect to the pill and penalties of our lawes Alwayes p'sup-

posing and soe requiring yo^u to vse all possible indeavo^r by all meanes whatsoeu^r to suffer noe spoyle to be made of any goode or M^chadize nor imbezilling of any thinge whatsoeu^r that shalbe recou^red by you, But to see them sauflie brought home wth their Billes of lading and Chart^r pties, to the intent that their may be restitu^{ti}on made by vs so soone as y^e shall receive satisfac^{ti}on from that State or people by home you are dampnified of what nation soeu^r.



JAMES^I by the grace of God king of England, Scotland, ffraunce and Ireland defend^r of the faith &c. TO our trustye and welbeloued Subiect Cap^m David Middleton. WHEREAS dyuers of o^r louing Subiecte, by the name of the Gouvern^r and Companie of M^chante of Londō, trading into the East Indyas at ther owne aduentures coste and charges for the hono^r of this o^r Realme of England and for the encrease and aduauncem^t of trade and merchandize wthin the same, haue set forth sundrye voiage to the said East Indyas, and haue alreadye discovered and begunne to settle a trade into those pte, And intending the contynuinge therof, aswell by frequenting those place alreadye settled, as by furth^r discoveryes of oth^r pte w^{ch} may be fit for interchanging of the Comodities of o^r kingdomes wth the Comodities of those place, such as may be of speciall vse and benefitt to vs and o^r subiecte. Having to this purpose now p^rpared and set forth thre good Shippes, called the Samaritane, the Thomas and the Tomazn, to the said East Indyas, and the place adioyning therunto, And whereas o^r said subiecte the Adventure^r of those voiage, haue chosen y^e the said Cap^m David Middleton, to be the principall Comaund^r or Generall of all the M^chic Mayners and other o^r Subiecte w^{ch} are or shalbe shipped in the said thre shippes, Wee graciouslye fauouring their intended voiage, and approving and allowing of their chouse of y^e to the same place of comaund,

being wylling to furnishe y^e wth all fitt and conuenient power, and aucthoritye, to rule & gouerne all and eu^{er}ye o^r Subiecte employed in this voiage, by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto y^e in the obseruing and executing of all such good orders and constitucons as y^e shall thinke conuenient to ordeyne and make, for the furtherance of the said voiage according to such p^{re}dicted direccons and enstruccons as y^e shall receiue from the said Gouern^r and Companie of M^{er}chant^e the Aduenturers in this voiage. W^{ch} direccons and enstruccons our intentioⁿ is, And so wee wyll and require y^e that y^e punctuallye obserue in all thinge. WEE do therfore straictlye charge and comaund all and euerye pson or psons employed in this voiage, and shipped in those said three shippes, to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^e, during the said voiage, And to beare themselves one toward^e anoth^r in good ord^r and quietnes, for the auoyding any occasioⁿ, that might breede mutinye quarrells, or dissensions amongst the^m, to the hinderance of the good successe w^{ch} is to be hoped for by God^e prouidence of the said voiage. And in default of such duitye and obediencce to be p^{er}fourmed toward^e y^e for the correcting & quenching of all such mutinyes quarrells or dissenccons that may arise by the euill and disorderlye disposicons of any psons whatsoeu^r, WEE do hereby authorize y^e the said Cap^{tn} Dauid Middletō, during the said voiage, or during so long time as y^e shall liue in the said voiage, To chastice, correct and punishe all offend^{rs} and transgresso^{rs} in that behalf, according to the qualitye of their offence, wth such punishm^{ts} as are co^mmonlye vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall, And for capitall offence, as wilfull murthe^r, w^{ch} is hateful in the sight of God, or Mutinye w^{ch} is an offence that may tend to the ou^{er}throwe of the said voiage, the same being dulye and iustlye proued against any of the pson or psonnes aforesaid. WEE do hereby giue vnto y^e the said Cap^{tn} Dauid Middletō during all the tyme of the said voiage, or during so long as y^e shall liue in the said voiage, full power and aucthoritye, to vse and put in execucon our lawe called Martiall lawe in that behalf: But that therein y^e do exp^{re}slye vse the aduise and counsell of the two principall Maisters, and of the two principall m^{er}chant^e appointed for the time being, or of any two of them.

And theis our tres shalbe vnto y^e sufficient warrant and discharge, for the doing and executing of all and singler the p^rmisses. AND forasmuch as at this p^rsent tyme, wee are in amitye wth all Christian Prince, And are vnwylling that any o^r Subiecte should giue occasiō of breach or hinderance therof towardē any o^r Confederates friende or Allyes; And because wee are not ignorant of the emulatiō and enuye, w^{ch} doth accompanie the discouerye of Countreyes and Trades, and of the quarrells and conten^tions, w^{ch} do many times fall out, betwene the Subiecte of dyu's Prince, when they meete the one wth the oth^r in forreyne and farre remote Countreyes, in prosecuting the course of their discou^ryes; And being desirous that our Subiecte should forbear to moue or beginne any quarrell or conten^tion vppō the subiecte of our Confederates, friende or Allyes, eith^r in their going forth, or retourning frō any of their voia^g[e] WEE therefore do hereby straitlye charge and cōmaund y^e the said Cap^m Dauid Middletō, and all ot[hers] vnd^r yo^r gouernm^t, that neith^r in yo^r voiage outwardē or homewardē, or in any Countrey, Island Port or place, wher y^e shall abide or come, during the time of yo^r being abroad out of o^r kingdomes or dominions, wher y^e meete wth any the Subiecte of the king of *Spaine*, or of any oth^r our Confederates friende or Allyes, or of any oth^r Natiō or people, ther shippes vessells goodē, or m^cchandizes, y^e do not attempt, or go about to set vppō take or surprize, their p^{er}sons, shippes, vessells, goodē, or M^cchandizes, Or offer any iniurye or discourtesie vnto thē, (except y^e shalbe by thē first therunto iustlye promoked or driue, eith^r in the iust defence of yo^r owne persons, Shippes, vessells good or M^cchandizes by any their disturbance or hinderance whatsoe^r, in yo^r quiet course of Trade, Or for recompence and recou^rye of the persons, Shippes goodē or m^cchandizes of any our Subiecte, that are alreadye in or neare the *East Indies*, or for any oth^r iust cause of yo^r defence[]). In w^{ch} cases so excepted, if y^e attempt surprize and take the p^{er}sons Shippes and goodē of any Princes or State, by whose Subiecte y^e shall sustayne any wrong or losse in mann^r as afore-said, y^e shall not for any such act or acte grounded vppon the occasions aboue mentiōed, be in daung^r or subiect to the pill and penalties of our lawes. Alwayses p^rsupposing, and so requiring

y^u to vse all possible endeuo^r, by all meanes w^hsoeu^r, to suffer no spoile to be made of any goodē or M^rchandizes, Nor imbezilling of any thingē whatsoeu^r, that shalbe recou^red by y^u, But to see them saufl̄ye brought home w^h their Billes of lading & Chart^r pties; to the intent that ther may be restitu^ōn made by vs, so soone as y^u shall receiue satisfac^ōn from that State or people by whome y^u are dampnified of what Nacion soeu^r. In wytnes wherof wee haue caused theis o^r tres to be made Pattentē. Witnes o^r self at Westm^r the one and twentieth day of Aprill, in the Twelfth yeare of o^r raigne of *England France and Ireland*, and of *Scotland* the seuen and fortith.

Coppin.

Per bre de priuato Sigillo.



A declaration of the opinions of vs the Gouern^r and Company of M^rch^le of Londond trading into the East Indies, what we thinke fitt to set downe as Enstruc^ōns for the right Hon^{ble} S^r Tho: Roe,¹ his Ma^{ties} Embassador residing w^h the great Mogoll. concerning the setting of a Trade in Persia.



First THAT yo^r Lo^{pp} receiue due informa^ōn from *Armenians Moores* and such oth^r M^rch^le, as trade out of *Persia* into the *Mogores* dominions, of the distance of place, wher the Silke is principall̄ye to be had, vnto the Port, that may be most co^modious for our Shippes to repaire vnto.

2. ALSO to take good knowledge of a suffic^t Port, both for fitnes (in regard of repaire, and entrance therunto) as also for the saufetye of o^r people and goodē.

3. LIKEWISE of the quantitye of Silke that is yearlye bought by m^rch^le and exported out of *Persia*. As also of the currant price, that it beareth in those partē ordinarily, And what the charge therof may be, by cariage from that place vnto the Port wher wee ar to lade it To the end that the principall cost and chargē, may plainlye appeare vnto vs.

¹ See page 446, note.

4. WHICH pointē being duly examined and informa^{ti}on taken accordinglye then to consid^r of some fitting pson or persons (two or three at the most) whome yo^u may send to treatē wth the *King of Persia*, on our Kingē behalf, for the establishment of such a Trade wth vs as will aunswer wth o^r meanes and ventē of our Comodities . well enstructed by yo^r Lo^{ps} in the Articles following, and such oth^r thingē as to yo^u shall seme most convenient, And therin to lymit the chargē, according to yo^r Lo^{ps} discre^{ti}on, for that wee haue fownd the expencē of Richard Steele,¹ to be verie extraordinarye and much distastfull to the Company

5. AND the better to enhable them to treatē wth the *Kings of Persia* or his officers, wee haue sent yo^u a Coppie of the Capitula^{ti}ons, agreed vppon betwixt the *Kings Ma^{ty}* and the *Grand Sig^r*. for our free Trade into *Turkey*, wherby (wth yo^r Lo^{ps} good helpe) such Articles may be framed ther to be sent wth them, as may be fit to be pnted to the *King of Persia* for the establishm^t of what wee desire: least being referred to their setting downe somewhat may be mistaken to o^r disadvantage And for the better enhabling of yo^r Lo: therin, wee haue set downe such other notes, as wee thinke fit to be incerted.

To say.

1. THAT there may be a certaine rate agreed vppon for Customes or Tolles (yf any be ther payable) and that wth as much fauo^r as may be.

2. THAT ther may be assigned vs a saufe and secure Port, wher o^r shippes may ride, wthout pill of the Seas, and daunger of the Enemyes, And wher our Mart for the selling of ours, and buying of their comodities may be settled, wthout ou^r farre cariage into the Countrey.

3. THAT wee may haue some good assurance, That for their Silke they will accept at the least th^eone half of *English* comodities at reasonable rates, especiallye Cloath at 20^h str p Cloath or 80 Ryalls of 8.

Blewe Kersyes of 20 yarde p peece at 25 R^t of 8 p peece

Northerne Kersyes in coulo^r of 17 yarde the Kersye, at 16 R^t of 8.

¹ See note on next page

Tynne in barres, at 30 R^ē of 8, the 100 w^t English
Batterye¹ als Brasse kettles, at 40 R^ē of 8 the 100 w^t

The other half to be paid in ready mony, Spice and oth^r
Indian comodities.

6. AND the better to explaine o^r selues, what wee desire,
That the price of Silke may be contracted for more certaintie,
and some good assurance giuen that it may be laden cleare of all
charge, abourd our shipps, at a Kiall & a half of 8 the pound of
16 ounce, w^{ch} is the greatest price that we can resolute to giue,
and is more then the whight *China* silke doth cost in the *Indies*,
that is sould here for aboute 20^u the pound of 16 ounce. And
this *Persian* silke sould here (according to ordinarie price) not for
aboute 16^u the pound of 16 ounce.

At w^{ch} price, and good condiçions as aforesaid wee shalbe able
to take from the *Persian* yearlie 8000 Bales of his silke, of 180^u
English ech Bale or ther aboute Yo^r Lo: may pceiue what o^r
desire is by the p^rmisses, But if yo^u cannot effect it in the same
mann^r & condiçions, Then to trye howe neare yo^u may bring it
thervnto. And therof to certifie vs wth all possible expediçion,
That according as wee find cause wee may procede.



Honor^{ble}, and right worth Sirs²



HAUE since my coming home ouerland proposed the
Trade of Rawsilkes from *Persia*, the rath^r because
the kinge of *Persia* haue giuen way to yt by *Cape*
Iasqus found out the tyme I spent in *Persia*,
being a *Cape* of the mayne 30 leagues lowe of Ormus toward
Sinday, S^r Robert Shirley heard not of this *Cape*, vntill he had
yt from my self, for at his being in Embassadg from his Maister

¹ Metal articles, especially of brass or copper, wrought by hammering; hence apparatus for preparing or serving meals (cp. the French *batterie de cuisine*).

² A letter from Richard Steel, undated, but probably written at the latter end of 1616 or the beginning of 1617. Steel, "a young man of Bristol," had crossed Persia in the summer of 1614 in pursuit of a fraudulent debtor, and, making his way to Surat, had given so glowing an account of opportunities for trade in Persia that he was despatched with another factor to Ispahan to obtain the necessary firman. Having effected his object, Steel, in accordance with his instructions, made his way

the *Sophy* he proposed onely oth^r 4 Port^e in the *Persian* Countrie, to say, *Damon*, *Batan*, *Barin*, and *Rochell*,¹ w^{ch} are Port^e that a shippe of aboue one hundred Tonnes can hardly

overland to England, where he arrived in May, 1616. He was well received by the Company, and went out again in Captain Pring's fleet in February, 1617, reaching Surat in October of that year; and for some time after, Steel, and his wife, and his waterworks project (which seems never to have come to anything) were a sore trouble to Sir Thomas Roe. Steel returned with Roe in 1619, and received a very cold welcome at the hands of the Company. His offers of service in October, 1623, were declined; but a few years later, having secured some powerful influence to back him, he was more successful, and in January, 1626, was once more in the Company's employment. He was sent "to the southwards," i. e. to Java, though not without opposition on his part, as he desired to return to the scene of his former employment. His private trading soon gave cause for complaint, and in 1627 the Court determined to peremptorily recall him; and here his history closes.

¹ It may be of interest to quote in this connection the account given of these ports in "a noate of the portes in *persia*: obserued from S^r Robertt Sherley:", which was enclosed in a letter to the Company from Thomas Keridge, dated from Ajmere, 20th March, 1614/5 (O. C. 270) —

"*Damene* is the seconde porte within Iasques and is the best and strongest in the kinge of *persia* Domynyons, itt lyeth 3 lea of Ormus right opoosite thereto, where Rydeyth all mann^r of Shippes, without feare or Danger exceptt itt be of att Sea

"*Batan* lyeth 35 lea within Ormus a very good Roade, itt hathe a smale Island lyinge in the mouthe thereof, by w^{ch} itt is defended from the wynde w^{ch} Cometh of the Sea, and is nott muche vnylike the *Baye of Saldania* att *Cape isparanza*, save that itt is nott so big, itt is nott fortified, butt hathe a smale Cyttye where is grante trade of the pearle w^{ch} is brought from *Bareyne*

"*Bareyne* is an Island vpon the Coaste of Arabia 40 lea of the Coaste of *persia*, itt yeables no profit for Com-odyte, exceptt only the fishnge of pearle w^{ch} are esteemed to be y^e richest and best in the worlde, this Island the kinge of *persia* tooke from the porting and keepeth a Garison of 800 horse thereon this place is Invyned wth shoales in suche sorte, thatt smale *fustes* very often runne agrounde and is nott nauygalde wth vesselles of Burthen

"*Rasid* lyeth 80 lea from Ormus within the Gulfe of *persia*, itt is well fortified and hathe 5 fad water on the one syde and 7 fad on the other syde thereof the kinge keepeth there Continually 100 *fustes* and Galleys wth them to Cust of all passengers thatt Offer to goe from Ormus to *Babera*, w^{ch} is the Turkes Domynyon, and no porting vessel approche in sight butt they Chase them, and some 5 yeares since they tooke a porting shippe of 1400 tonn for breache of the premises this *Rasid* is a fyne towne, and hath a nauygalde Ryue for Boates of Burthen in 8 dayes to goe vp to *Sheraz* w^{ch} is the send Cyttye in *persia* and 10 dayes journey wth Camels from *Isphahane* the kinges Chiefe State"

Damene appears from this description to be Gombroon; *Batan* is perhaps Bostanah, near Tangleh; *Bareyne* will at once be recognized as Bahrein and *Rasid* (otherwise Rasch) is Kish (near Bushire), now an insignificant village, but once a well known port

Anker ther, and yet nearer *Ormus*, then *Cape Iasqus* w^{ch} I haue bene credibly enformed of that shipping of 5 or 6 hundred Tonnes may Ancho^r wthin Sacar¹ shott of the shore, w^{ch} great shipping as I iudge is fitter to deffend the assault of the *Portugalls* then those of smaler burthen.

Secondly, I proposed the trade w^{ch} the *Portugalls* had from *Sinday* to *Ormus* in transportations of *Persians*, *Turkes*, *Indians* and *Armenians* goodē, w^{ch} amounteth yearly to aboue 60 thousand poundē at 14 p Cent as haue bene paid; and that I haue found the M^cchantē willing to embrace being weary of their long trauaile ouer land from *Lahoare* vnto *Spahan* in *Persia*, w^{ch} is 5 monthes Iourney besides the toyles and Customes wth losse of many Camells by reason of their heauy comodities, as *Indicoes*, *Drugs*, *Carpets Cheetes*,² *Pintadoes*, all sortē of *Lyñin*, *Sugers*, *Rise*, and the like, for of my knowledg ther passeth yearlye from *Lahoare* to *Persia* 12 or 14000 Camells loadē of these Comodities for the vse of *Persia*, and *Turkey*, and before the peace broken twixt the *Persian* and *Portugall*, ther passed not ou^r land yearly 5 or 6 hundred Camells, But the *Portugalls* through their pride, doth make the *Persian* M^cchantē seeke to them for their sea passage, w^{ch} is not aboue 12 daies sayle, and hauing the comoditie of the *Riuer Indus*, w^{ch} passeth through the famous Cittye of *Lahoare*, for the desent of their comodities to *Sinday*.

Thirdly, I proposed furnishing both the *Mogores*, & the *Persians* Countrey wth spices, and *Cheiny* Comodities, wherof pepper is the chief, in w^{ch} I dare spend my iudgment those 2 Countreyes ventē more then all *Europe*, and althoughe it groweth nearer to either of those Countreyes then ours, as along the Coast of *Malabars* and oth^r partē in the *Portugalls* handē, yet I find it not sould much cheaper then in *England*, as p a brieft Tareg sheweth³ the reason that neith^r the *Persians* nor *Mogores* people dares bring it by sea, in feare of Confiscation of life and goodē to the said *Portugalls*, being as they say the kinge Comoditye to pay the souldiers, I iudge that pepper may be brought from *Bantam* to *Suratt* or *Sinday*. for the *Mogores* people

¹ Saker (see note, page 82).

² Chintzes (see note, page 59).

³ See page 462.

and to *Cape Iasqus* for the *Persian* at better rates then they fetch it from the *flemings* in *Messelpotania*,¹ through the kingdomes of *Dekane* being 5 Thousand & odd myles by *Cañell*.

ffourthly I proposed how needfull it was to giue way vnto certaine shipping in the Countrey, for the contenting of the *Gouzerates*, *Cambayans*, and *Lahoares*, in conuey of their shippes for the Red Sea, or oth^r partē, w^{ch} shipping are at *Suratt Barock*, and *Goga*, to the number of 12 sayle of shipping, ech shippe aboue 600 Tonnes w^{ch} dare not stirre for feare of the *Portugalls*, for I haue heard the chief of those M^cchantē saye that the Trade of the *English* is not the wipeing away of y^e Thousand part of their Comodities w^{ch} vented when they had peace wth the *Portugalls*, wherby I iudge that it was better to find out some trade in those partē for the employing of shipping then that 4 or 5 shippes should stay from October vntill March at the Barre of *Suratt* for those 2 Comodities w^{ch} I haue found their Ambassadors and ffryars at *Agra* desire might come to passe when I terrefied them wth the ioyning of our Nation and the *Holland^r* when they should haue more then their handē full.

ffiftly, I proposed for a water worke, w^{ch} might giue the Chief Cittye of the *Mogores* content, vent Lead, and bring both ou^r land proffitt to the wo^r Company w^{ch} is to be don vppon the *Riuer Ieminy*² w^{ch} passeth by *Agra*, from w^{ch} Riuer the whole Cittye is supplied, although they haue great toyle in fetching it on *Cañells*, horses, Chariotte, Oxen, mens backē, to their houses; for water in those hott partē is verry comfortable, and I doubt not but eith^r the king will giue a good gratification or the people of that Cittye pay quarterly or yearly for yt, as of that of *Broken Wharff*,³ and this contenting the *Megor*, wilbe meanes to furth^r any oth^r buisines in his Countrey; yf this water worke go forward, it is fitt the Iron and Brasse worke and many wheelles be provided here, for it would be too toilsome, in those hott

¹ The Dutch had established a factory at Mosulpatam in 1614.

² Jumna

³ A name familiar to Londoners of the time as the site of one of the forcing engines that supplied the city with water. — One other new forcier was made near to

Broken Wharf, to convey Thames water into mens houses of West Cheap, about

Pauls Church Street, &c. by an English gentleman named Devis Bulmer, in the year

1594. (Stow's Survey)

Countrys for our people to worke by fier, the tyme is short, and therefore yf this worke proced this yeare, it is tyme to thinke of yt, I haue proposed these thinge, w^{ch} in my iudgment may one day take effect, although ther ar little hopes this yeare, yet I doubt not but ere next fleet, ther may be such a carefull preparacōn made in the Countrey, by the honest industrey of yo^r seruante, that those parte shalbe better discouered then at present, and if in case yo^r wo^{lde} should giue way to the proceeding into *Persia* this yeare, for an Introduction or begining, w^{ch} may well be perfourmed wth smale chardge (to wit) yt is likely godwilling that this fleet ariue in October at *Suratt*, wher they may set forward that buisines and afterward proced for *Cape Iasqus*; for neith^r the daung^r nor chardge wilbe more in Coasting that 14 daies sayle, then lyeing expecting the retourne of *Indicoes*, and *Calicoes*, from *Amadcharrs*, and in case this take effect, that yt would please yo^r to appoint *S^r Thomas Roe* as Embassado^r from our king to the *Sophey of Persia*, whose credit and entertainment wilbe well esteemed the rath^r for that he hath bene wth the great *Mogor*, and somewhat made fitt for businesses of those parte, I shall willingly keepe him Companye in so worthey buisines, and be a help for obteyning many fauou^r from the said *Sophey*, for the agreemente and giueing way to some part of his silkes may come for *England* vppon our securitye being resident wth him.

I presented my seruice to yo^r wo^{lde} at 200^{li} p Añ wage to serue 5 yeares, and in case of proceeding for *Persia* or any other buisines, I haue proposed to haue the setting on of it, in that I thinke my self not ignorant of the Language of those parte, and peoples Natures, and willing to encount^r the daung^rous heates & treacheryes of the Iesuite and *Portugalls*, for the seruice of my Countrey; I desire also to be permitted to put in 300^{li} venture in the water worke of *Agra* or oth^r buisines I shall pfourme in the Countrey, w^{ch} godwilling I will manadge, wth my best and honest endeuo^r, for the dischardge of my dutye in a good conscience, towarde my worthy employers, and vpright dealing before god, who giueth a blessing to mens honest desires. And forasmuch as since May that I came home, I haue not disposed my self for any other gen^{all} or pticler employmente w^{ch} I might haue had, but depended vppon yo^r wo^{lde} seruice and in mainteyning the *Mogors*

name so giuen me at *Court*, I haue not altogeth^r bene s^o prouident of my estat as I might haue bene, that if it shall pleas^e yo^u to remember me toward^e my prouisiō I shall rest most thankfull, and remaine yo^r wo^rth seruant in all obeidience.

Richard Stell.

A bricf tareg¹ of Persia.

Ther may vent in *Persia* yearly 500 Broad Cloathes of 13 or 14^h Cloathes being light Colored as *Vennice Redds*, *Stamell Purples*, *Violets*,² *Light Watshats*³ *Greens* both *Grass* and *Popengeys* at 3^{do} riad^e p Couetto of 37 ynches and 2000 Coloured kerseys at 25^{do} riad^e p pece.

Tyn worth p *Mahan* 80 *Shahies* the *Mahan* being 10^h *English* weight w^{ch} is 2^h 8^d p pound.

Lead worth p *Mahan* 20 *Shahies*, being 8^d p pound.

Iron worth p *Mahan* 25 *Shahies*, being 10^d p pound.

Pepper worth p *Mahan* 40 *Shahies* being 16^d p pound.

Sinamond at 36 *Shahies* p *Mahan*, being 14^d p pound.

Cloues worth 55 abasses p *Mahan* ech abasse 4 *Shahies* or 10^d w^{ch} is 7^h 4^d p pound.

The retournes or inuestment^e w^{ch} may be had from *Persia* is principally in Raw silke at 7^h 6^d our pound of 16 ounce, brought downe to *Cape Jasques* w^{ch} lyeth 18 daies Iourney from *Spahan* the chief Cittye of *Persia* of this Comoditye the *Persian* Countrey yearly yealdeth 7700 Camells load^e of 50 *Mahans* p load ech *Mahan* 10^h *English*, This peell of Rawsilke goeth for vent through *Turkey* by meanes of the Customes wherof the *Turk* keepes 4 thousand men in armes against the *Persian*, w^{ch} when the *Persian* shall haue hopes of venting his silkes by *Sinicus Persicus* will on of doubt giue faire Capitulaçons and agreement^e.

¹ Tariff, or rate list, literally "explanation." "Riad" is a mistake for "riah." "Couetto" is the Portuguese "cova do," which was reckoned to be about an English ell. *Shahies* and *Tabrees* are still current, and are now worth about one halfpenny and two-pence respectively. "Mahan" is made up the Indian *manas*, of which there are now three principal kinds, viz. the *manas tabree* (*Tabrees minas*) equal to about 24 lbs., the *manas hashem* (*Hashem minas*) equal to about 15 lbs., and the *manas hashem* (*Hashem minas*) equal to 110 lbs.

² These are all determinations of stuffs of the red blue series (see page 96).

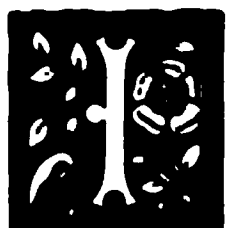
³ See page 97, note.

⁴ See page 97, note.

Rubarbe, groweth in *Persia*, and is worth 40 *Shahies* p *Mahan* w^{ch} is 16^d p pound.

Wormseed¹ groweth in *Persia*, and is worth 20² *Shahies* p *Mahan* or 12^d p li.

Carpet^e of all sort^e ar bought by the eye,³ both of silke, and silke & gould, silke & Cotten, and of all Cotten, wherof the *Persian* Country haue plenty.



JAMES⁴ by the grace of God king of England Scotland
ffrance and Ireland, Defend^r of the faith &c. TO our
trustye and welbeloued Subiect and Seruant Beniamyn
Ioseph and to our trustye & welbeloued Subiecte,
Henry Pepwell of Londō Gent. WHEREAS dyuers of o^r louing
Subiect^e, by the name of the Gouern^r and Com-
panie of the M^{ch}^e of Londō trading into the
East Indy^es, at their owne aduentures, cost^e and charge, for the
hono^r of this o^r Realme of England and for the encrease and
aduauncem^t of Trade, and m^{ch}andize wthin the same, haue set
forth sundrye voiag^e to the East Indies, and haue alreadye
discouered and begunne to settle a Trade, into those part^e, And
intending the contynuing therof aswell by frequenting of plac^e
alreadye settled, as by furth^r discoueries of oth^r part^e, w^{ch} may be
fit, for enterchanging of the Comodities of o^r kingdomes wth the
Comodities of those plac^e, such as may be of sp^{iall} vse and
benefit to vs and o^r Subiect^e, hauing to this purpose now p^rpared,
and set forth fyve good shippes, called the *Charles*, the *Vnycorne*,
the *Iames*, the *Globe* and the *Rose*, to the said
East Indies, and the plac^e adioyning therunto.

AND wheras our said Subiect^e the Aduenture^r of those voiag^e,
haue chosen Beniamyn Ioseph Captaine and Cheif Comaund^r of

¹ See page 199. note.

² 30?

³ i.e. for their beauty.

⁴ There is a minute of this commission in the Public Record Office, under date 21st December, 1615. Joseph commanded the 1616 fleet, but was slain on the way out in a fight with a Portuguese carrack. 6th August, 1616. Pepwell, who succeeded him, carried the fleet to Surat, and thence to Bantam, but did not live to return to England, dying, it would seem, in the early part of 1618.

all the m^rchant^e, maryners and oth^r our Subiect^e, wth shalbe shipped in the said fyve shippes, WEE graciouslye fauouring their intended voiage, and approuing and allowing of their choise of yo^u to the same place of Captaine and Cheif Comaund^r, being wylling to furnishe yo^u wth all fitt and conuenient power and aucthoritye to rule and gouerne all and euerye our Subiect^e employed in this voiage, by a due obedyence to be by them yeilded vnto y^u in the obseruing and executing of all such good orders and constitucons as y^u shall thinke conuenient to ordeine and make for the furtherance of the said voiage, according to such p^rict^r direccons and institucons, as y^u shall receiue fro the said Gouern^r and Companie of M^rch^e the Aduenture^r, in this voiage: wth direccons and instruccons, our intencon is. And so wee wyll and require y^u, that y^u punctuallye obserue in all thing^e, WEE do therfore straictlye charge and comaund all and euery person and persons employed in this voiage, and shipped in those said fyve, shippes, to giue all due obedyence and respect vnto y^u, during the said voiage, and to beare themselves one toward^e anoth^r in good ord^r and quietnes, for auoyding any occasion that might breede mutinye quarrell or dissencion amongst them to the hinderance of the good successe (w^{ch} is to be hoped for by God^e prouidence) of this said voyage. And in default of such duitye and obediencie to be p^rfourmed toward^e y^u, for the correcting and quenching of all such mutinyes, quarrells or dissencion, that may arise by the euill and disorderlye disposicon of any such p^rsons whatsoeu^r, wee do herby aucthorize y^u the said Beniamyne Ioseph during the said voiage, or during so long time as y^u shall lue in the said voiage, to chastice correct and punishe all offend^r and transgresso^r in that behalf according to the qualite of their offence, wth such punishm^te as are conionlye vsed, in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not capitall. And for Capitall offence, as wilfull murth^r, (w^{ch} is hatefull in the sight of God) or Mutinye, w^{ch} is an offence, w^{ch} may tend to the ouerthrowe of the said voiage, wee do herby giue vnto y^u the said Beniamyne Ioseph, during all the time of the said voiage, or during so long time as y^u shall lue, in the said voiage, full power and aucthoritye to vse and put in exeⁿcion our lawe called Marciall lawe in that behalf, but that therein y^u doe ex^rcisye, vse the aduise and

councell of y^e two principall maisters, and of the two principall m^{ch}'e, appointed for the time being, or of any two of thē, And theis o^r tres shalbe vnto y^a suffic^t warrant and discharge, for the doing and executing of all and singuler the p^rmisses. AND FORASMUCH as at this p^rsent tyme, wee are in amitye wth all Christian Prince, And are vnwylling that any o^r Subiecte, should giue occasion of breach or hindraunce therof, towardē any our Confederate friende or Allyes, And because we are not ignorant of the emulacōn and enuye, w^{ch} doth accompanie the discouerye of Countrys and Trades: and of the quarrells and contencōns w^{ch} do many times fall out, betwene the Subiecte of dyuers Prince, when they meete the one wth the oth^r in forreyne and farre remote Countrys, in prosecuting the course of their discou^ryes, and being desirous that o^r Subiecte should forbear to moue or beginne any quarrell or Contencōn, vppō the Subiecte of o^r Confedate, friende, or Allyes, eith^r in their going forth, or retourning from any of their voiage, WEE therefore do herby straightlye charge and comāund y^a the said Beniamyne Ioseph, and all oth^r vnd^r yo^r gouernm^t, That neith^r in yo^r voyage, outward or homeward, or in any Countrie Island, Port or place wher y^a shall abide or come, during the time of yo^r being abroad, out of our kingdomes or dominions, wheer y^a meete, wth any the Subiecte, of the king of Spaine, or of any oth^r our Confederate ffriende or Allyes, or of any oth^r Nacion or people, their Shippes, vessells, goodē, or M^{ch}andizes, y^a do not attempt, or go about to set vppō take or surprise their psons Shippes vessells goodē or m^{ch}andizes, or offer any iniurye or discourtesie vnto thē (Except y^a shalbe by them first therunto prouoked or driuen, eith^r in the iust defence of yo^r owne persons, Shippes vessells, goodē or m^{ch}andizes, by any their disturbaunce or hinderance whatsoever in yo^r quiet course of Trade, or for recompence and recouerye, of the personnes Shippes, goodē or m^{ch}andizes of any of our Subiecte, that are or haue bene alreadye in or neare the East Indies, or for any oth^r iust cause of yo^r defence, or recompence of losses sustayned[)]; In w^{ch} cases so excepted, if y^a attempt surprize and take the personnes Shippes and goodē of any Prince or State, by whose Subiecte y^a shall susteyne any wrong or losse, in manner as aforesaid, y^a

shall not for any such act or acte, grounded vppō the occasion abouemenconed, be in daung^r or subiect to the perill and penalties of our lawes. AND WHEREAS by o^r tres Pattente,¹ graunte to the said Gouvern^r and Companie of M^chante of Londō, trading into the East Indies, wee haue straightlye charged and prohibited, all oth^r our Subiecte of what condicōn soeuer, to trade visite or frequent, by way of m^cchandize into the said East Indies, or into any of the Islande or Portē therof vppō paine and forfeiture not only of their goodē and m^cchandizes, but also of their Shippes and furnytur therof. WEE therefore by this theis p^rsente, do also giue full power and aucthoritye to y^e, in this yo^r voiage both outward and homeward, y^e do meete wth any of the Shippes or goodē of any our Subiecte, oth^r then such as are set out, or spiallye lycensed or pmitted therunto by the Govern^r and Companie aforesaid, And p^rictierlye if y^e chance to light on, S^r Iohn ferne² knight, or any of that Companie, or the Shippes or goodē of any of them, [(who disobeyed latelye o^r Comaundm^t of desisting their intended voiage, signified vnto them in ffraunce, by our Roiall tres vnd^r our Priuie Seale) to arrest, take, and seize, the Shippes and goodē of all and euery of them, and of all oth^r our Subiecte, so offending, the one half or the value therof, vppon indifferent appraisem^t to be reserved to o^r vse, and the oth^r half to be conuerted to the vse of the Govern^r and Companie aforesaid, And as for the pson or pson of the said S^r Iohn ferne and Consorte, and of all oth^r offending as before is said, we do also authorize y^e to deteyne them in yo^r custodie and to bring them, or so many of them as y^e shall apprehend, safelye back into England wth y^e, here to aunswere such matters as shalbe objected against them, for doing contrary to o^r Comaundm^t, expressed in o^r said tres Pattente, and for their contempte and offence, comytted and done against o^r Roiall lawes. AND whereas the Govern^r and m^chante aforesaid haue

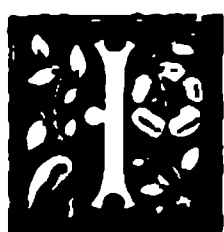
¹ The charter of 31 May 1609.

² One of the interlopers who from time to time troubled the Company's peace. Rumours were spread in 1615 of his intended voyage to the East Indies from Bristol and Pepwell was reported to be one of those engaged in the expedition. Ferne seems to have set sail in spite of a positive command to the contrary from James I., but what success he met with is not known.

furth^r purpose aft^r the accomplishing of yo^r said voiage into the East Indies, to vse yo^r furth^r seruice for some time, in visiting their seu'all plantacons and place of residence, and in setting such Orders both in the same, and in such oth^r place, as they shall direct y^e vnto, for the benefit of their Trade and Traffique WEE also allowing of their intencons and purposes therin, do herby straictlye charge and comaund y^e to followe such Instruccions and direccons in that behalf, as y^e shall receiue from the said Gouern^r and m^chante^r aforesaid, and in no wise to contrarye the same, as y^e will aunsw^r the contrarye at yo^r pills. AND forasmuch as o^r said Subiect^r the m^cch^re and oth^r the Gouern^rs of this voiage, out of prouidence, and foresight, if any mortalitye, either by sicknes or oth^rwise (w^{ch} God forbid) should befall the said Beniamyne Ioseph, haue made choise of our trustye and louing Subiect Henry Pepwell, to succede the said Beniamyne Ioseph in the charge of Cap^{tn} and Cheif Comaund^r of all the persons employed in this voiage, as aforesaid, we do also in case such an accydent should happen, allowe and approue of their choise in that behalf, And do herby giue full power and authoritye vnto y^e the said Henry Pepwell, to do and execute all and euery thing incydent to the charge of Captaine and cheif Comaunder of all the persons employed in this voiage aforesaid, in as ample manner and forme to all intent^r and purposes as is before comytted and employed vppō the said Beniamyn Ioseph, And theis our tres shalbe also sufficient warrant and discharge to y^e the said Henry Pepwell, for the doing and executing of all and singuler the p^rmisses as aforesaid. IN WYTNES wherof we haue caused theis our tres to be made Patent^r. WYTNES our self at Westm^r the twentieth day of December, in the Thirteenth yeare of o^r Raigne of England ffrance and Ireland, And of Scotland the nyne and fortith.¹

per breue de priuato Sigillo. Coppin.





JAMES¹ by the grace of God King of England Scotland
ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c, TO
THE Threr Chauncellor Vnderthr̄er, and Barons of
our Exchequer, for the time being, to all our Iustices
Officers and Ministers for the time being, To all Customers,
Comptrollers ffarmoⁿ of Customes Searchers and Wayters, in any
of our Portē for the time being, And to all the Officers Ministers
and subiectē of vs our heires and Successoⁿ for the time being,
to Whome it shall or may appertaine greeting WHEREAS Wee by
our L^res Pattente sealed wth our greate Seale of England, bearing
date the One and Thirteth daie of May in the Seaventh yeare of
our raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland the
Twoe and ffortith, of our espetiall grace certen knowledge and
meere Mo^on did for vs, our heires and successoⁿ graunte vnto
the Gouvernor and Company of Merchante of London, trading
into the East Indies and their Successoⁿ, That yt should and
might be lawfull to and for the said Gouverno^r and Company and
their Successoⁿ to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of
England, or the Domynions of the same in any their voyages
to or towardē any the parte in our said L^res pattente men^oned,
All such forraigne Coyne of Siluer, Spanish or other forraigne
Silver or other Ballion of Silver, as they should bring or cause to
be brought, into this Realme of England, from the parte beyond
the Seas either in the same kinde, sort, stampe, or ffashion,¹ to be
coyned wthin our Mint, wthin our Tower of London, at their
pleasure, Soe as the Whole quantety of Coyne or Moneyes, by
them to be transported in any their said voyages, should not
exceede the value or Some of Thirty Thousand poundē in any

¹ There is a minute of this grant in the Public Record Office (see *Cal of State Papers, E. India*, 1514-1616 p. 449). It would be interesting to trace the circumstances in which this important patent was applied for and granted, but unfortunately just at this point there is a break in the Court Minutes, owing to the loss of part of the volumes of the series. Finally the following entry, which occurs in the minutes of the last meeting recorded in this year (16th Nov., 1515) relates to the subject: "Mr. G. Vernon signified vnto this Courte that the cause of his absence at there last meetinge was, by reason of his attendance wth my Lord Chauncellor and Mr. Sec. relative in procuringe the Bill for in his Ma^{ty} for the pattent w^{ch} as last wth greate difficultie hee obtained, and this Courte gaue him thanks for his greate paynes taken therein."

² Some words have been omitted here (p. page 455).

one voyadge, as in and by the said L^res P^{at}tent^e (amongest diuers Coven^{nt}e graunte powers privilidges auctorities and other thinge, therein conteyned[]) more at lardge appeareth. AND WHEREAS by our royall proclama^{ti}on, given at Whitehall the Thre and Twentith day of March last past before the Date hereof, Reciting as therein is recited (for the considera^{ti}ons therein expressed, and by the advise of our privie Councell[]), Wee did publish and declare and straightly charge and co^mmand as well our Th^rer of England, Chancellor of our Exchequer, and Warden of the Cinque Port^e or his Deputie, as all other our Iudges, Barons of the Exchequer Iustices officers and ministers, and more especially our Customers Comptrolers and searchers, and their Deputies and Waighters, and alsoe the ffarmo^r of our Customes in any of our Port^e, and their Deputyes or Waighters, and all other our officers and Mynisters, to Whome it might apptaine, and all our Subiect^e in generall, That all statutes made and in force against the exporta^{ti}on of Golde or Siluer in Coyne, Jewell plate or vessell, or howsoever, should be straightly and duely kept, and observed, and diligently and carefully prosecuted, and putt in execu^{ti}on, vpon paine not onely of the Penalties, and forfeitures in the said Statutes or any of them conteyned, but alsoe of our high Indigna^{ti}on and displeasure, and such prosecu^{ti}on and censure as should bee fitt in a cause of State, and alsoe upon paine of our high Indigna^{ti}on, losse of Office and other condigne censure, against such our Officers and Mynisters, as should bee remise or negligent in the execu^{ti}on of our said Lawes, or in the p^{er}formance of that our royall Co^mmandement AND WEE did further by the said Proclama^{ti}on, straightly charge and co^mmand all Merchant^e and their ffacto^r Maisters of Shippe, Marriners Passengers, and all other our loving subiect^e, whatsoever, that should haue any notice of gould or siluer in Coyne Jewells Bullyon Plate or vessell, or otherwise howsoever, w^{ch} had beene then exported by the space of Twoe yeeres last past before the date of our said Proclama^{ti}on, or should bee thereafter exported or should be shipped for exporta^{ti}on (reasonable charges for the voyage onely excepted[]) or should be gathered and gott togeather, by change or otherwise, wth inten^{ti}on to export, or wth inten^{ti}on to put it into the handes, of them w^{ch} should export it, That they forthwth should reveale, the same to

our Thēr of England, or vnderthēr for the time being, Or to the Warden, or Deputy Warden of the Cinque Port, To our Attorney gen^{all}, or some other of o^r Learned Councell, for the time being, for w^{ch} their discou^y they should receiue in reward the one halfe of the said Gould or Siluer or the value thereof, And on the other part, if they should not discover the same, they should incurr and receiue such punishment, as by our Lawes and Statutes, or otherwise by our prerogatiue Royall, should be meete to be inflicted vpon them for their offence and contempt in that behalfe, as by our said Proclama^{cion} more at large appeareth KNOWE YEE nowe That wee being resolved by all the waies and meanes we maie to further the worthie endeavors of the said Company for the Contynewance and enlargment of Trade into the *Indies* and other remote part^e as alsoe for their better encouragement therein, finding by the experience of that Trade for diuers yeeres nowe last past, That there groweth noe Detryment or inconuenience, in this our Common welthe by such their transporta^{cion} of forraine Coyne and Bullion, but on the other side That an extraordinary benefitt, groweth to our kingdome through the said Trade, by carrying foorth and venting the natine Comodities of this our Realme into the Countreyes and Territories of many greate and powerfull Princes, not form^{ly} knowne, or traded vnto by any of our subiect^e, w^{ch} tendeth to the greate renowne and dignitie, of our Royall person and gouernment, to the greate honour and enrichment of our Subiect^e and State, which benefitt to vs and our Subiect^e, is likewise encreased by the bringing into this our Realme of many rich and necessary forreine Comodities, w^{ch} are to be bought by our Subiect^e in greate plenty, and at reasonable rates, and doe much encrease our Customes and Reuenue, and the plenty of such forreine Comodities is soe greate, That a Staple of them beginneth to settle in this our kingdome; Soe as besides the Store w^{ch} abundantly serueth our owne Subiect^e, a greate pte thereof is carried, out into Germanie Italie Turkie and other places, to supplie the want of our Neighbor^e, and other Countreyes. In w^{ch} course many greate Shipes, and expert Marryners, are from time to time employed not onely to their ptiuler good, but likewise to the honour and benefitt of our kingdome in generall And

although we thought it not convenient, to make an excep̃on thereof in our Proclamãon yet wee were allwayes resolved, not to countermaund or restraine the said exportãon as aforesaid, but to continue it by waie of reconfirming our said L̄res Pattente, wth a *Non Obstante*, of our said Proclamãon THEREFORE, out of our Princely disposĩon, not intending the said Company should receiue any preiudice, by reason of our said Proclamãon or any thing therein conteyned, but that they should be at full Liberty, to transport such Coyne and Silver as aforesaid in as ample manner, as they haue done maie might or ought to doe by force of our said Royall graunt to them in that behalfe made, and the rather for that the Coyne and Bullion of Silver soe to be transported, is onely of forreine Silver and such as shalbe by the said Company brought into the Realme, or by them or any of them procured, to be brought from the parte beyond the Seas. and of that alsoe in such reasonable quantity and propor̃on as hath bene thought fitt and convenyent, and is in our said L̄res Pattente expressed, of our especiall grace certaine knowledge, and meere mõon, haue granted and confirmed, And by theis presentē for vs our heires & Successo^rs doe graunt and confirme, vnto the said Governor and Company of Merchante of London trading into the *East Indies*, and theire Successo^rs, That it shall and may be lawfull to and for the said Governor and Company, and theire Successo^rs, to Shipp and transport, out of this our Realme of England, or the Dominyons of the same in any theire voyages to or towardē any the parte in our forsaid L̄res Pattente meñoned or expressed, all such forreine Coyne of Silver, Spannish or other forreine Silver, or Bullion of Silver, as they haue heretofore sithence the Date, of our said L̄res Pattente before meñoned, brought or caused to be brought into this Realme of England, or shall at any time or times hereafter, bring or cause to be brought into our said Realme from any parte beyond the Seas, either in the said kind sort stampe or fashion, wth it had or shall haue, when it was or shall be brought in as aforesaid, or in any other forme stampe or fashion, to be coyned wthin our Mynt, wthin our Tower of London, at theire pleasure in as lardge and ample manner, as they heretofore haue done, or might or ought to haue done, or hereafter can may might or

ought to doe by vertue or force, and according to the true intent and meaning of our said Lres Pattente; before menconed or of any thing therein conteyned; Our said Proclamacon before menconed, or any Lawe Statute Acte of Parliament Proclamacon or Provicon, heretofore had made enacted, sett forth or provided, or any other matter or thing whatsoeuer to the contrary notwithstanding WHEREFORE wee doe by theis present for vs our heires and Successors, straightly charge and comaund you the said Threr Chancellor Vnderthrer, and Barons of y^e Exchequer the Warden of the Cinque Port and his Deputie, The said Iudges Attorney generall, and the rest of our learned Councell, and all other Iustices, Customers, ffarmors of our Customes and other Officers Mynisters and Subiecte of vs our heires and Successors for the time being, to whome it shall or may apptaine, That you and every of yo^r, doe from time to tyme & at all tymes hereafter, quietly permit and suffer the said Governour and Company of Merchant of London, trading into the East Indies, and their Successors, to shipp lade and transport such Silver, or Bullion of Siluer as aforesaid according to the true meaning of our said former Lres Pattente and of theis present, And theis present or the Inrolement, or exemplificacon thereof shallbee vnto you and every of you to whome it shall or maie apptaine a sufficient warrant & discharge in that behalfe. WILLINGE alsoe and comaunding, by theis present for vs our heires and Successors That the said Governor and Company and their Successors, or any of them for any Transportacon, of such Silver or Bullion of Silver as aforesaid at any tyme or tymes sithence the Date of our said Lres Pattente, and according to the true meaninge in the same expressed, made or hereafter to be made, be not by yo^r or any of yo^r in any wise molested troubled sued ympeached hindered or disquieted; AND WHEREAS wee are given to vnderstand, the said Governour and Company of Merchant of London trading into the East Indies, at their owne aduentures, coste and charges, for the honour of this our Realme of England, and for the increase and aduancement of Trade and Merchandize w^{ch} in the same haue sett foorth sundry voyages, to the East Indies, and haue already discovered and begun to settle a Trade into those parte, and intending the contynewing thereof aswell by

frequenting of places already settled, as by further discoveries of other pt̃e, wth may be fitt for interchaunging of the Cõmodities, of our Kingdomes, wth the Cõmodities of those places such as may be of especial vse and benifitt to vs and our Subiecte AND for that wee are likewise credibly informed, that in such and the like enterprizes and voyages, greate losse and hinderance hath happened, by the Mutinous and disorderly carriage of the Marriners and Saylor^s shipped, and employed in the said voyages, because none amongst them haue beene sufficiently aucthorized to punish the offendo^r, according to their desert: ffor reformation whereof the said Gouvernour and Company of Merchant^e of London, trading into the East Indies haue beene humble suite^r, vnto vs that they might haue Power, and aucthoritie from time to time hereafter to elect and choose a Captaine or Captaines or cheife Cõmaunders to be employed by them in any of their voyages, whoe alsoe might haue power and aucthority for the better governing & ordering of their people in their seuerall voyages, and to vse and exercise Martiall Lawe, vpon such mutinous and disordered psons as shallbe amongst them. WEE graciously tendering the good successe of their voyages, and to the end, that such as should goe and be imployed therein, may bee the better ordered and governed of our espetiall grace certen knowledge, and meere mo^{ti}on, haue given and graunted, and by their present^e for vs our heires, and Successo^r, doe giue and graunt vnto the said Governor, and Company of Merchant^e of London, trading into the East Indies and their Successo^r. That it shall and maie be lawfull, to and for the Gouvernour of the said Company, or his Deputie and Cõmittees, or the greater number of them, that shallbe soe assembled by the appointment, of the said Gouvernour or his Deputie, for the time being, at all time and tymes hereafter, to nominate elect and choose, and to employ in any and every of their voyages hereafter to be made, one or more Captaine or Captaines, or principall Cõmaunder or Cõmaunders to rule and governe all and every our Subiecte, in such voyages in a due obedience to be by them yealded vnto, The said Captaines or Principall Cõmaunders in the observing and executing of all such good orders and constitu^{ti}ons, as the

said Company shall thinke good to ordeine and make for the furtherance of such voyages AND the said Captaynes or principall Comaunders, for any good cause, to amove and displace, at the will and pleasure of the said Gouvernour and Company, or his Deputy and Comittes, or the greater number of them that shalbe soe assembled, by the appointment of the said Gouvernour or his Deputie for the time being AND for the better effecting of our will and pleasure herein, wee doe by theis pntē for vs our heires and Successo^r giue and graunte full power and aucthority vnto all such Captaines or principall Comaunders, as shalbe soe as aforesaid nomynated and chosen and employed to goe in any such voyage, having Comission and Direcōn, from the said Gouvernour or his Deputy and Comitties and the greater number of them that shalbe soe assembled by the appointm^t of the said Gouvernour or his Deputy for the time being, vnder the Seale of the Company appointed for that purpose, vnto [whom] wee doe likewise hereby, for vs our heires and Successo^r, giue full power and aucthority to graunt Comission or Comissions or Direcōns and instrucōns vnto theire Captaines or principall Comaunders for the punishing of Offences and executing of Martiall Lawe vnder theire said Seale according to our pleasure, hereafter in theis pntē declared, to chastice correct and punish all and every of our Subiecte, or other persons to be employed in any such voyage w^h shall not giue due obedience, and respect towardē the said Captaynes, or principall Comaunders, or not beare themselves one towardē another in good order and quietnes for avoyding of any occaōn that might breede, quarrell or dissention amongst them to the hinderance, of the good Successe w^h is to be hooped for by Gods providence in any such voyage, according to the quality of there offences, w^h such punishmentē, as are comonly vsed in all Armyes at Sea, when they are not Cappitall, and for Cappitall offences, as wilfull murder, w^h is hatefull in the sight of God, or mutynie w^h is an offence w^h maie tend to the overthrowe of such voyadge, The same being duly and iustly proved, against any of the pson or psons aforesaid to vse and put in execuōn the said Lawe called Martiall Lawe AND nevertheless by the verdict of Twelue of the Company, sworne therevnto, for the tryall of such offenders, as in such a case apperteyneth, And

theis our Lres Pattente, or the enrollment thereof, shalbe aswell vnto the said Gouvernour and Company of Merchant^e of London trading into the East Indies for the time being, as vnto the said Captaines, or principall Commaunders for the time being, and to all others whome it shall concerne, a sufficient warrant and discharge for the dooing and effecting of all and euery the premiss^s, according to the true intent & meaning of this our Graunt, Notwthstanding our pleasure is, That the said power vse and exercise of Martiall Lawe, shall continewe onely, vntill the same shall by any Six or more of our privie Councell, whereof the Lord Threrer for the time being to be one vpon good cause to be revoked WILLINGE and comaunding hereby the Captaines or principall Comaunders soe to be nomynated and chosen as aforesaid, to followe, and principally to observe in all thing^e such Comission instruccon and direcons, as they shall receyve, from the said Governor or deputie and Comitties aforesaid vnder the foresaid Seale, and in noe wise to contrary the same as they will answere the Contrary at theire pills AND THEREFORE our will and pleasure is, And wee doe by theis pnt^e, for vs our heires and Successo^r graunt vnto the said Governor and Company of Merchant^e of London trading into the East Indies And to theire Successors, That they shall and maie haue and vse, from tyme

Seale appointed.

to tyme one Seale engraved on the one side wth the representa^on, of our pson in our Roabes and on the other side, The said Seale to be engraved wth a Portcullis supported by twoe Lyons,¹ AND, wee doe hereby will and comaund, That all and every Comission, and Comissions w^{ch} shall hereafter, be made forth by the said Company or any of them by vertue of theis present^e shallbe sealed wth the said Seale, AND foras much as at this present tyme, wee are in amytie wth all Christian Princes, and are vnwilling that any our subiect^e, should giue occa^on of breache or hinderance thereof, toward^e any our Confederates frind^e or Allies, And because wee are not ignorant,

¹ No other description can be traced of this special seal of the Company, and no impression of it is known among the India Office Records. Possibly, however, a specimen may one day be brought to light, either in a public or private collection, for there would presumably be many occasions for its use. Such a discovery would be deeply interesting.

of the emulac̃on and envie, w^{ch} doth accompany the discoverie of Countryes and Trades, and of the quarrells and contentions, w^{ch} doe many tymes fall out betweene the Subiecte of diuerse Princes, when they meete the one wth the other in forraine and farr reemote Countryes, in prosecuting the course of their discoveries And being desirous that our Subiecte, should forbear to move or beginn any quarrell or conten^{ti}on vpon the subiecte of our Confederat^e, frinde or allies, either in their goeing forth or retorning from any of their voiajes WEE therefore doe hereby straightly charge and comaund the said Gouvernour and Company of Merchant^e of London trading into the East Indies and all Captaines or principall Comaunders, by them at any time hereafter to be employed in such Voyages and all others, w^{ch} shall be vnder their Gouvernement that neither in their voyages or any of them outward or homeward or in any Country Island Port, or place where they shall abide, or come during the time of their being abroad, out of our kingdomes or dominions, where they meete wth any the subiecte of the King of Spaine or of any other of our Confederates, frinde or allies, or of any other Na^{ti}on or people, their shippe vessells good^e or merchandizes, they doe not attempt or goe about, to sett vpon take or surprize, their psons shippes vessells, good^e or merchandizes, or offer any Iniurie or discourtesie vnto them, except they shall be by them first therevnto, iustly provoked or driven either in the iust defence, of their owne psons Shippes vessells good^e or merchandizes, by any their disturbance or hinderance whatsoever in their quiett course of trade, or for Recompence and recovery of the psons Shippe goodes or merchandizes, of any our Subiecte, that haue beene already in or neere the East Indies, or for any other iust cause of their defence, or recompence of losses susteyned; In w^{ch} cases soe excepted, if the said Capptaines or principall Comaunders, or any others vnder their gouernment, shall attempt surprize and take the persons Shippes and good^e of any Prince or State, by whose subiecte they shall susteine any wronge or losse in manner as aforesaid, The said Gouvernour and Company or their Captaines and Comaunders shall not, for any such act or acte grounded vpon the occasions aboue men^{ti}oned, be in danger or subiect to the pill and Penalties of

our Lawes, AND to the end That the said Gouvernour and Company, maie from time to tyme be truely informed, of the successe and event of such voyages, as shallbee sett foorth to the places aforesaid, and nothing maie be concealed from them, w^{ch} maie be fitt for them to knowe, either touching the said discovery and trade, or touching the goodē that shallbe exported, and imported by reason thereof, the carriage and demeanour of any, merchant, ffactor Marriner or other pson or psons to be employed by the said Company or¹ any of the said voyages or otherwise, touching any accident or Circumstance Materiall, happening in or about any such voyadge WEE doe hereby for vs our heires and Successo^r, give full power and aucthority, vnto the Governour of the said Company for the time being, or his Deputie or any Six of the Co^mittees of the said Company, for the time being to examyn vpon oathe any cheife Co^mmaunder Captaine m^r merchant ffacto^r Marryner or any other pson employed in or about any of the said voyages, vpon any such Interrogatories Articles or questions, as to them shall seeme meete and convenyent concerning the said voyage discovery trade or goodes. or any other materiall circumstance, tending to the true and certaine informacon of the said Gouvernour and company, And if any pson or or psons, being therevnto called or required shall refuse to take such oath, or having receyved the same, shall receiue² or neclect to answeere, directly and effectually, to such questions and Interrogato^ries concerning the premisses as he shallbe examyned of. Then to co^mitt all and every such pson and psons soe refusing to take such oath or refusing or neclecting to answeere such questions or Interrogatories, to any our Prisons w^hin the *Cittie of London*, there to remaine w^hout bayle or Mainprize, vntill such pson shall conforme himselfe and be sworne and examyned as aforesaid **ALTHOUGH** expresse men^{ti}on of the true yeerely value or certainty of the premiss^{es} or any of them or of any other guifte or grantē, by vs or any of our progenito^r or p^rdecesso^r to the foresaid Gouvernour and Company of Merchantē trading into the East Indies, or any of them heretofore made in the theis p^{ar}tē is not made or any Statute Acte Ordinance provi^{si}on Proclamacon or

¹ This should be "in."

² A mistake for "refuse."

restrainte to the contrary thereof, heretofore had made ordeyned or provided or any other thing cause or matter whatsoever to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding IN WITNES whereof wee haue caused theis our Lrēs to be made Pattente WITNES our selfe at Westm^r the ffourteenth Daie of December in the Thirteenth yeere of our raigne of England ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the Nyne and ffortith.¹

p bre de Privato Sigillo

Coppin.

examinat p me *Thomam Marten.*



W^{TO} a kinge rightly descended from his *Ancestors*, bred in millitary affaires, and clothed wth honour and Iustice.

Translation of the
Grant Magesse
to his Majesty
Sent by Mr Steele
& 11th May, 1615.

A Commaunder worthie of all comaund strong and constant in the Religion, wth the greate Prophett *Christ* did teach, *King James*, whose love hath bred such impression, in my thoughte, as shall never be forgotten, but as the smell of Amber, or as a garden of fragrant flowers, whose bewtie and odor is still increasing soe be assured my Loue shall growe and increase wth yo^r.

Your Lre wth yo^r sent me in the behalfe of your merchante. I haue receyved whereby I rest satisfied, in your Tender Loue toward me, and desire yo^r not to take it ill, for not having writt vnto yo^r heretofore, for this my present Lre I send to renewe our Loues, and herewth doe certifie yo^r, that I haue sent forth my firmaunde, through all my Country to this effect, That if any English Shippes or Merchante, shall arive in any of my Portes my people shall pmitt and suffer them to doe what they will, freely in their merchandizing causes ayding and assisting them, in all occaſion of Iniuries, That shallbe offered them, and that the least cause of discourtesie be not done vnto them, as alsoe that

¹ 1615

² This letter is printed by Purchas (Lib IIII ch 16. § 10)

they bee as free, and freer, then myne owne people, & as nowe and form'lie I haue receyved from yoⁿ diuers tokens of your Loue, soe I desire yo^r mindfullnes of me, by some Nouelties from yo^r Country as an Argument of frindship betweene vs, for such is the Custome of Princes here.

And for yo^r merchante I haue giuen expresse order through all my Countreyes to suffer them to sell by transport, and carry away at their pleasure, wthout the lett or hinderance of any pson whatsoever, all such goodē and m'chandize or other thinge as they shall desire to buy, And lett this my L^re as fully satisfie you, in the desired Peace and Loue as if my owne sonne had bene the messenger to ratifie the same

And if any in my Country not fearing God nor obeying their Kinge, or any other voide of Religion, should endeavor or be an Instrument to breake this league of frindship I will send my sonne *Sultan Corome*¹ a Souldier approued in the warres to cutt him of. That noe obstacle maie hinder the continewance and increasing of our affecōns



JAMES² by the grace of [God] king of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland Defend^r of the faith &c To our high Trear and Admirall of England and to all other our Admiralls Vice admiralls Captaines and others serving vpon the Seas, And to all Mayors Iustices sheriffe Bailiffe Cunstables Customers Comptrowlers Surveyo^r keepers of our Porte Creekes and passages, and to all other our officers ministers & subiecte whatsoever to whome in that behalfe it shall or may appertayne, and to eu^y of them gretinge Whereas in the first Session of our Parliament holden at Westm^r in the first yeare of our Raigne of England ffraūce and Ireland, and of Scotland the Seaven and Thirteth. One acte of Parliam^t

¹ Khurram, third son of Jahangir, and afterwards the emperor Shah Jahan.

² There is a minute of this grant in the Public Record Office (see *Cal. of State Papers: E. India*, 1513-1616, p. 469)

was made Intituled an acte for the well garbling of Spices,¹ whereby it was ordeyned and enacted, that from and after the last day of September then next ensewing the end of that Session of Parliament, All Spices Wares Druggē and other m'chandizes Garbleable, That is to saie Pepper Cloues Mace Nutmugge Sinamon Gynger, Long Pepper Wormescedes Comynseedē Anni-seedes Culliander seedē, Bynney Pepper, Almonde Dates Galls Gumes of all sorte and kinde Garroway seedē and all other Spices Druge wares & other merchandizes that had beene garbleable Spikenard Ballingall Turmarick Setwell Cassia fistula Binny pepper Seny Barbaries Rice Ireos Stauesacre, Calamus ffennecreeke Cassia Lignea graines² vsually garbled or ought to be garbled clensed seu'ed sorted or devided in the Citty of London and the Libertyes thereof, should for the fees vsually allowed in that behalfe be sufficiently clensed seu'ed garbled and devided & afterwarde sealed by the Garbler therevnto appointed for the time being, or by his sufficient Deputie or Deputies servant or servantē, before that the same or any parte thereof should be sould vpon paine of fforfeiture, of all and euery such druggē, wares and other merchandizes or the value thereof wth should be sould, As by the said Act more at lardge appeareth. And whereas the true intent and meaning of the said Act was that none of the said Spices druggē wares and merchandizes brought into this Realme should be vttered or sould to the end to be vsed in meate drinke and other needefull occasions amongst our Subiectē wthin this realme before such time as the same were sufficiently clensed seu'ed garbled and devided as is aforesaid And the true meaning of the said Act did not in any sorte extend to the clensing seu'ing garbling and deviding of any such the said Spices druggē wares and m'chandizes as should be transported out of this Realme in such sort as they were brought into the same, or ells should³ in whole Packe Caskes or sacke to any person or psons to remaine vntill it come to be after vsed by our subiectē

¹ See p. 10, 11, 12, 13.

² This list has a little confusion. All the words between "kinder" and "beene" should really come between "graines" and "vsually." The list, for corrections in spelling, may be compared with that on page 192.

³ "Should" appears to be meant.

w^hin this realme or any other our Dominions *And whereas* it is found that by some gen'all woord^e that passed in the said Acte noe ware in'chandizes or Coñodities, that are garbleable being brought into this realme can be sould betweene Merchaunt & Merchaunt vngarbled to the intent to transport the same into the parte beiond the Seas, or to be sould againe in whole sale, But the Seller thereof by the strict Lrē of the said Statute, shall thereby be in Danger to forfeite all the said Spices Drugge Wares and Merchandizes w^h he shall soe sell vngarbled or the value of them And whereas wee are certenly informed, That our loving subiect^e, the Gouvernor and Company of merchant^e of London, trading into the East Endies, haue already heretofore in their severall voyages made into the East Indies brought from thence into this our Realme of England greate quanteties of Spices wares merchandizes and coñodities, garbleable more then could be vttered or spent, within this our said Realme in many yeares and shall still from time to time in the continewing of their said Trade to the East Indies, bring from thence greate quanteties of such Spices wares merchandizes and commodities, garbleable more then can for present vse of our subiect^e be vttered or spent within our realmes or Dominions, And haue beene therefore humble Sutoⁿ, to vs, to haue our Licence to sell from tyme to time in whole pack^e Sack^e and Caskes such quanteties and soe much of all such Spices Wares Merchandizes and Coñodities, garbleable w^h they shall bring or haue retorned in any of their voyages or Shippes from the said East Indies, into our said Realme of England, as to them should seeme good or as may most tend to their proffitt^e and benefitt^e in groce and vngarbled, w^h by reason of the said Statute they make doubt to doe, w^hout our spetiall Licence in that behalfe which ffavor if we graunt them not, greate quanteties of their said Shippes¹ Wares and Merchandizes, will continewally ly vpon their hand^e to their greate losse and damage *And whereas* wee haue formerly by our Lrēs Pattente² dated the Twoe and Twentieth daie of May in the Seaventh yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the Twoe and ffortith

¹ A. J. p. 1 r. "Spices"

² Now in the India Office, among the "Parchment Records" (No. 4).

graunted to our welbeloued subiecte the Gou'nor and Companie
 of Merchāte trading into the East Indies and their successo^r
 dispensa^{ti}on and Declara^{ti}on with and of the said Statute in the
 case aforesaid, w^{ch} neu^thelesse is defectiue, and attayneth not
 the full Libertie of our royall inten^{ti}on towarde them. Now
 knowe yee therefore that wee graciously tendring the wellfaire
 Comodities of our said louing subiecte the Gouerno^r and Companie
 of Merchante of London trading into the *East Indyes* and their
 Successo^r, And to the End they may be the better enabled to
 maintaine and continewe their trade and Traffique in the East
 Indies of our espetiall grace certaine knowledge and mee^r
 mo^{ti}on, haue giuen and graunted, And by this presente do
 giue and graunt full and free Libertie Licence power and
 auctority vnto the said Gouernor and Company of Merchante of
 London trading into the East Indies, and to their Successo^r
 That it shal^l and may be lawfull to and for them, and euery
 person and persons being free of the said Company at all tymes
 hereafter and from tyme to tyme at their owne free wills and
 pleasures to vtter sell and put to sale such quantityes, and so
 much of all or any sortes of Spices, wares and merchandizes and
 Comodities w^{ch} they shall bring and haue returned in any of their
 voyages or shippes from the said East Indies into this our said
 Realme of England, or any part thereof; as to them or any of
 them shall seeme good, or as may most tend to the profitt and
 benefitt of them or any of them in whole greate Packe Sacke or
 Cask vngarbled, and not clensed severed sorted or devided to
 any merchant or merchaunte or other pson or psons aswell our
 naturall borne subiecte as aliens denizons or strangers wthout any
 danger damage losse forfeiture or penaltie vnto the said Gouernor
 and Company of Merchante of London trading into the East
 Indies, and their Successors, or any person or psons being free
 of the same Company or vnto any of them, by vs or to our
 behalfe to be had taken lost forfeited or incurred, and without
 any manner of Lett trouble interrup^{ti}on or disturbance of any
 other pson or psons whatsoever. The said Statute before recited
 or any other Statute Acte Lawe Custome vsage restraint pro
 hibiti^on or thing to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwith
 standinge And wee farther for vs our heires and Successors

our like espetiall grace certaine knowledge and meere moõn, doe giue and graunt full and free Libertie, power Licence and anuthority vnto all and every merchānt and merchantē person and psons whatsoeuer aswell our naturall borne subiectē as Alyens Denizons or strangers that they and eu'y or any of them shall and lawfully may bargaine for buy receiue and take of the said Gou'no' & Company of merchantē of London trading into the East Indies, and their Successo^r for the time being and of all and every person and of all and euery person and psons being free of the same Company or of any of them any such spices drugg wares merchandizes, and coĩmodities in whole greate Packē Sackē or Caskes, as aforesaid before the same be garbled clensed seuered or devided wthout any damage losse florfeiture or Penaltie against them or any of them by vs or to our vse and behoofe to be had taken lost forfeited or incurred, and wthout any manner of Lett trouble interrupcōn or disturbance of any person or psons whatsoeuer The said Statute or any other statute, acte lawe custome vsage restraunte prohibicōn or thing to the Contrary thereof in any wise notwithstanding Paying vnto vs our heires and Successors from time to time all and eu'y such Customes Subsidies soĩes of money, and other duties, as are or ought to be answered and paid to vs our heires and Successors for or by reason of the transportacōn of any the said Spices Drugg wares merchandizes and Coĩmodities soe to be transported as is aforesaid, *Provided allwaies* that if any merchaunt or merchantē or other person or persons whatsoever aswell naturall borne subiectē, as alyens denizons and strangers, w^{ch} shall bargaine for buy of the said Gouernor and Company of Merchantē of London trading into the East Indies or their Successo^r for the time being or of any person or persons beinge free of the same Company any such spices drugg wares or m'chandizes soe bought as aforesaid in whole greate Packē Caskes or Sackē vgarbled and not clensed seuered sorted or devided as is aforesaid shall at any time afterwarde put any of the said drugg wares or merchāndizes soe bought as aforesaid to sale or otherwise vtter the same wthin the Realme of England or any other our kingdomes dominions or Territories, w^{ch} Spices shall not be afterwarde exported but sould wthin this our Realme for inward

vse That then eu'y such person shall incurr and fall into the
 Lesse penaltie and forfeiture in the said recited acte conteyned
 This our present graunt or any thing therein expressed to the
 contrary notwithstanding: *And further* of our more abundant
 grace certaine knoweledge and meere Mo^{ti}on, wee doe for vs our
 heires and Successo^rs graunt p^{ro}lon remise and release vnto the
 said Gouverno^r and Company of merchant^e of London trading
 into the East Indies S^r Thomas Smithe knight nowe Gouverno^r
 the same Company Morrice Abbot Deputy and William Harrison
 Tresorer to the said Company, And to Robert Offley Robert
 Johnson, Robert Bell William Holliday Reynold Greene
 Lawrence Greene Thomas Westrowe Nicholas Leate Hugh
 Hammersley Humphrey Hanford^e Christofer Cletherowe Robert
 Bateman Nicholas Crispe Jeffrey Kirby Henry Garraway William
 Russell Thomas Mun William Burrell Robert Salmon, William
 Stone and Humfrey Smith the present Committees of the said
 Company and all other p^{er}sons nowe free of the said Com-
 pany, All and eu'y of them all offences contempte and ac-
 heretofore done or Comitted by them or any of them against the
 said recited statute, in case where the sales so questioned
 impeached or to be questiond or impeached, haue bene the
 whole greate sale Packe Sacke or Cask^e vngarbled as aforesaid and
 not clenched seued sorted or devided and not otherwise, and all
 forfeitures losses penalties, and somes of money w^{ch} hath doth
 may growe due belong or appertaine to vs our heires or successo^rs
 for or by reason of the same acte offences and Contempte or any
 of them, in the case aforesaid, And all accous suites informac^on
 and Demaundes, whatsoever for touching or concerning the same
 Acte offences and contempte and euery of them, See that neither
 they the said Gouverno^r, and Company of merchant^e of London
 trading into the East Indies S^r Thomas Smith Morrice Abbot
 William Harrison Robert Offley Robert Johnson Robert Bell
 William Holliday Reynold Greene Lawrence Greene Thomas
 Westrowe Nicholas Leate Hugh Hammersley Humphrey Handley
 Christofer Cletherowe Robert Bateman Nicholas Crispe Jeffrey
 Kirby Henry Garraway William Russell Humfrey Brown
 Thomas Mun William Burrell Robert Salmon William Stone
 and Humfrey Smith nor any other p^{er}son being nowe free of the

said Company or any of them shall at any time hereafter be sued troubled or molested for or by reason of the same offences or any of them in the case aforesaid. *And whereas* wee by our Lres pattente sealed wth our greate seale of England bearing date the one and Thirteenth daie of May in the Seaventh yeare of our raigne of England ffrance and Ireland and of Scotland the Twoe and fortieth of our espetiall grace certen knowledge and meere mecon did for vs our heires and Successo^r graunt vnto the Gouvernor and Company of merchantē of London trading into the East Indies and their Successo^r, That it should and might be lawfull to and for the said Gouverno^r and Company and their Successo^r to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of England or the Dominions of the same in any their voyages to or towarde any the parte in our said Lrēs pattente menconed, All such foreigne Coyne of Siluer or Bullion of Siluer as they should bring or cause to be brought into this realme of England from the partes beyond the Seas either in the same kind sort stamp or fashion w^{ch} it should haue when they brought it in or any other forme stampe or fashion to be coyned wthin our Mint wthin our Tower of London, at their pleasure, Soe as the whole quanteties of Coyne or moneyes by them to be transported in any their said voyages should not exceede the value or some of Thirtie Thousand pounde in any one voyage as in and by the same Lrēs Pattente amongst diuerse Covenante Graunte Powers previlidges auctorities and other thinge therein conteyned more at large appeareth. *And whereas* by our Royall pelamacon given at Whitehall the Thre and Twentieth daie of March, in the Twelueth yeere of our raigne of England ffrance and Ireland, Reciting as therein is recited for the consideracons therein expressed, and by the abuse of our privie Councell, wee did publish and declaire and straightly charge and comaund aswell our Treas^r of England Chancellor of our Exchequer and Warden of the Cinque portē or his deputy as all other our Iudges Barons of our Exchequer Iustices officers and mynisters, and more especially our Customers Comptrowlers and searchers, and their deputies and waighto^r. And alsoe the farmo^r of our Customes, in any of our Portē and their Deputies or Wayters and all other our officers to whome it might appertaine, and all our Subiectē in Generall, That all

Statute made and in force against exportation of Gould or Silver in Coyne Jewells plate or vessell or howsoever should be straightly and duely kept, and observed and diligently and carefully prosecuted and put in execution, vpon paine not onely of the Penalties and forfeitures, in the said Statutes or any of them conteyned, But alsoe of our high Indignation and displeasure and such prosecution and Censure, as should be fitt in a cause of State, and alsoe vpon paine of our high indignation, loss of office and other condigne Censure against such our officers or ministers as should be remisse or negligent in the execution of our said lawes, or in the performance of that our Royall Comaundement: And wee did further by the said proclamation straightly charge and commaund all Merchant, and their ffactors, Maⁿ of Shippe Marriners passengers and all other our loving subiecte whatsoever that should haue any notice of Gould or Silver, in Coyne Jewells Bullions plate or vessell or otherwise howsoever w^h had beene then exported by the space of Twelue yeres then last past before the date of the said proclamation or should be thereafter exported or should be shipped for exportation, (reasonable Charges for the voyage onely excepted) or should be gathered and gott together by change or otherwise w^h intent to export or w^h intention to put it into the hands of them w^h should export it, That the fourthwith should reveal the same, to our Thier of England or Underthier for the time beinge, or to the Warden or Deputy Warden of the Cinque Ports to our Attorney Generall or some other or some other of our Learned Councell for the time beinge, for w^h their discovery they should receive in reward the one halfe of the said Gould or Silver or the value thereof, And on the other pt if they should not discover the same should incur and receive such punishment as by our lawes and statutes or otherwise by our prerogative Royall should be meete to be inflicted vpon them for their offence & contempt in that behalfe, as by our said proclamation more at large appeareth. And whereas we by our Lres p^{at}ented sealed wth our greate Seale of England, bearing date at Westminster the fflowertenth daie of December in the Thirteenth yere of our Raigne of England fraunce and Ireland and

¹ See page 475

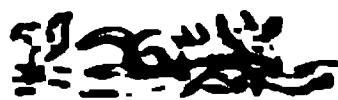
Scotland the Nyne and flortith, Reciting therein that wee beeing resolved, by all the Waies and meanes wee might, to further the woorthie endeavors of the said Company for the Continewance and enlargement of Trade into the Indies and other remote partē as alsoe for their better encouragement therein, finding by the experience of that Trade for diuerse yeares then last past, That there did growe noe detriment or inconvenience to this our Coñon Welth by such there transportaçon of forraygne Coyne and Bullion But on the other side that an extraordinary benefitt did growe to our kingdome through the said Trade by carrying out and venting the Natiue Coñodities of this o^r Realme into the Countreyes and territories, of many greate and powerfull princes not formerly knowne or traded vnto by any of our subiectē w^{ch} Tendeth to the greate Renowne and Dignity of our royall pson and gouernement, to the greate honour and enrichment of our Subiectē and State, w^{ch} benefitt to vs and our subiectē¹ in greate plenty and at reasonable rates and did much encrease our Customes and Revenue, and the plenty of such forraine Coñodityes was soe greate that a Staple of them begun to settle in this our kingdome, Soe as besides the Store w^{ch} abundantly served our owne subiectē, a greate pte thereof was carried out into Germany Italie Turkie and other places to supplie the want of our neighbo^r and other Countreies in w^{ch} Course Many greate Shippes and expert Marriners were from tyme to tyme ymployed, not onely to their p^ticuler good, but likewise to the honor and benefitt of our kingdome in generall, And although wee thought it not convenient to make an excep^{ti}on thereof in our proclamaçon, yett wee were alwayes resolved, not to Countermaund or restraine the said exportaçon as aforesaid, but to continewe it by waie of reconfirming our said L^res pattentē with a non obstante of our said proclamaçon, And therefore out of our princely disposiçon not intending the said Company should receiue any preiudice by reason of our said Proclamaçon or any thing therein Conteyned but that they should be at full liberty to transport such Coine and Siluer as aforesaid in such ample manner as they had donn might or ought to doe, by force of our said former royall Graunt to them in that behalfe made, and the

¹ Some words have been omitted here (cp. page 470).

rather for that the Coyne, and Bullion of Siluer soe to be transported was onely of forraigne Siluer and such as should be by the said Company brought into this Realme or by them or any of them procured to be brought from the parte beyond the Seas and of that, And of that also in such reasonable quantety and proporcion as had beene thought fitt and convenient and was in our Lres pattente expressed, of our espetiall, grace certain knowledge and meere mocion, did graunt and confirme, vnto the said Gouvernor and Company of Merchante of London trading into the East Indies and their Successors, that it should and might be lawfull to and for the said Gouvernor and Company and their successo^r to shipp and transport out of this our Realme or England or the Dominions of the same in any their voyages to or towarde any the parte in our foresaid Lres pattente mencioned or expressed, All such forraigne Coyne of Siluer spanish or othe forraigne Silver or Bullion of Siluer as they had theretofore since the date of our said Lres pattente bearing date the foresaid one and Thirtieth daie of Maie in the Seaventh yeare of our raigne or England fraunce and Ireland brought or caused to be brought into this realme of England or should at any time or times after the date of our said Lres pattente bearing date the foresaid ffoureteenth daie of December in the foresaid Thirteenth yeare of our raigne of England fraunce and Ireland bring or cause to be brought into our said Realme from any the parte beyond the sea either in the same kind sort stamp or fashion w^{ch} it had or should have, when it was or should be brought in as aforesaid, or in any other forme stampe or fashion to be coyned w^{ch} in our Mint w^{ch} in our Tower of London at their pleasure in as large and ample manner as they theretofore had done or might or ought to have done or then after could might or ought to doe by vertue or force and according to the true intent and meaning of our said Lres pattente before mentioned or of any thing therein conteyned our said petition before mentioned or any Lawe Statute acte or Parliament petition or provision theretofore had made enacted sett forth or provided or any matter or thing whatsoev^r to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding, as by our said Lres pattente bearing date the said ffourteenth Daie of December amongst other our private powers authorities and other things therein conteyned more at large appeareth And W^{ch} we

wee are informed that by the blessinge of Almighty God the said Trade into the East Indies is likely still more and more to encrease and our said Subiecte the Gouvernour and Company of merchante of London trading into the East Indies, are like wthin the time and Compasse of one yeare to make and sett forth diuerse seuerall voyages into the said East Indies, wherevpon some question and doubt maie arise vpon our true meaninge, and intent, as by the woordes of our foresaid graunt and L^res patente. Namely whether our said Subiecte the Governo^r and Company of Merchante of London trading into the East Indyes, may in every of their said voyages and at every severall time of setting forth of Shipp or Shippe in Trad of merchandize, vnto the said East Indies, carry forth the said some and quantety of Thirtie Thousand pounde of such forraigne Coyne of Siluer Spanish or other forraigne Silver or Bullion of Silver as aforesaid, for avoyding of wth Doubte and Scruple, and for more full declaracon of our true meaning therein wee doe hereby signifie and declare. And doe of our spetiall grace, certaine knowledge, and meere mo^oon for vs our heires and Successo^r graunt vnto the said Gouvernour and Company of merchante of London trading into the East Indies, That it shall and may be lawfull for them and their Successo^r yearlyly and eu'y yeare in all the voyages, w^{ch} they shall yearlyly make in or vnto the said East Indies to shipp and transport out of our Realme of England from the parte beyond the Seas either in the same kinde of stampe or fashion, w^{ch} it shall haue when they brought it in or any other forme Stampe or fashion to be coyned wthin our Mint wthin our Tower of London. at their pleasure, permitting them to carry more or lesse of their said Bullion or Siluer in any of the said yearlyly voyages as shall serue their occa^sions, and shalbe thought most convenient, soe as the same doe not excede the some of Threescoore thousand poundes in the whole in all the said voyages in any one yeare to be made as aforesaid accounting, and reckoning euery single Spanish Ryall, for at and after the value of Six pence sterling. every Spanish peece of Twoe Rialls for and at the value of Tweluepence sterling, Every peece of flower spanish Rialls, for and at the value of Twoe shillinge sterling and eu'y peece of Eight spanish Rialls for and at the value of ffoure shillinge sterling any Lawe statute ordinance

or proclamaçôn to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding. And we doe hereby straightly charge and cōmaunde the said Gou'nour and Company of m'chantē of London trading into the East Indies and their Successorⁿ, and euery of them, That they shall not carry out any Coyne Silver or Bullion of Siluer, whatsoever in all their voyages or times of sending forthe Shippes into the said East Indies, in any one yeare, over and aboue the said quantety of Threescore Thowsand poundē in manner and forme aforesaid. *Although* expresse mençôn of the true yearly value, or Certenty of the premiss^s or of any other guiste or graunte by vs or any of our progenitoⁿ or predecessoⁿ to the foresaid gouernor & Company of m'chantē of London trading into the East Indies heretofore made in theis pñtē is not made, or any statute acte ordinance Proviçôn Proclamaçôn or restraunte to the Contrary thereof heretofore had made ordeyned or provided or any other thinge cause or matter whatsoever to the Contrary in any wise notwithstanding *In Witnes* whereof wee haue caused theis our L^{res} to be made Pattente *Witnes* our selfe at Westminster the Eleaventh day of Iuly in the flourteenth yeare of our Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland and of Scotland the Nyne and ffortith.¹



RIGHT² trustie and welbeloved cozen and councillor, and right trustie and welbeloved Councello^r wee greete you well, having found by experience the greate good that ariseth to this our kingdome spetially importing the aduancement of Navigaçôn, by reason of some Companyes erected for traffiquing in the East Indies Greenland Muscovia and such like remote places, where fewe or none would aduenture to travill, before theis Companyes, were established.

¹ 1610

² This interesting document relates to the patent granted by James I. to Sir James Cunningham about November, 1617, for the establishment of a Scottish East India Company. As this concession promised a formidable competition with their trade, both the East India and Muscovy Companies bent all their efforts to get the patent withdrawn. In this they were successful (March, 1618), but at some expense, as Sir James and his associates had to be compensated for the loss of their expected profits.

wth such p^rvilidges as were thought expedient, prohibiting all others whoe were not allowed by the p^rvilidged vndertakers, and subiect to the orders appointed by them, to haue Co^merce wth those part^e, out of the earnest regard to the weale of that our kingdome, that it may enioy the like benefitt for good considerations moving vs therevnto, wee are desirous that a Company be established likewise wth yoⁿ, wth sole power to trafique in the places abouenamed in the same manner, and wth the like conditions, as were graunted in theis our kingdomes for the said cause, And because that S^r Iames Cunningham of Glegarnock knight hath procured sundry frindes and assosiat^e of his, to concurre wth him for the accomplishing of the said enterprize, wee haue made choise of him to be gouernour of the said Company, willing that he should haue all the right^e and prerogatiues belonging therevnto to him his heires and assignes during all the time that wee or our successors, shalbe pleased to continewe the said Company wthin this our kingdome And that it shallbe lawfull for him and his associates to transport vtter vent, and sell all such co^modities, wares or merchandizes, as by him or them shallbe brought home, in any kingdome that they thinke, in as ample manner, and as the Company of London doe or may doe, by vertue of their p^atent graunted vnto them, Therefore our pleasure is having considered the course that is taken wthin this our kingdome, and what by differences of Lawes and customes is fitt to be abstracted added or altered thereanent, That ymediately thereafter a P^atent be graunted for that our kingdome to the said S^r Iames and his associates, wth as lardge Liberty and favourable conditions, as (when yoⁿ haue consulted therevpon[]) can conveniently be graunted. Soe not doubting of your affec^{ti}on, for the furtherance of such a good worke, wee bidd yoⁿ hartely farewell, from the Courte at .

This is a true coppie of the
L^re signed by his ma^{ty}: to S^r
Iames Cunningham of Glegarnock
knight his heires assignes and
associates for an East India
Company p S^r William Alexander
Clerke of the signet for Scotland

William Alexander

A Lrē from the Gouvernour and all the principall states of the Ilande *Banda* called *Pulaway Puluwane* and *Nera* sent vnto generall Keeling and the principall ffactor of the English at Bantam &c¹



WE haue all heard even from farr Countryes, of the greate Loue and peace, that the kinge of England hath wth all the world from Europe to India, even from the former ages vntill this present, onely the king of England doth helpe all the world, and hath donn noe hurt to any of our Religion, or doth seeke to overthrowe, our Lawe, and doth not by force attempt to overcome any mans kingdome but onely by peace and frindshipp doth seeke trade wthout violence, theis causes onely doe make vs to loue and affect the king of England, because (as yett) we haue never heard any hurt, that he hath donn to any Nacon. Therefore wee all desire to come to an agreement wth the kinge of England, because that nowe the Hollanders doe practize by all meanes possible to conquer our Country and destroy our Religion by reason whereof all of vs of the Islande of Banda doe vtterly hate the very sight of theis Hollanders, somes of Whores, because they exceede in lying and villany and desire to overcome all mens Country by Trechery. Theis are the occasions whie wee soe extreamely hate them, Wee haue nowe therefore wth one gen'all consent, resolved never hereafter to trade wth them, but allwayes to esteeme, but allwayes to esteeme them our vtter Ennmyes, wherefore wee all thought good to send this Lre to gen'all Keeling, and the principall factor of the English at Bantam. That if soe be the kinge of England out of his loue toward vs will haue a care of our Cuntry and Religion and will helpe vs wth Artillary powder and shott and helpe vs to recover the Castle of Nera, whereby wee may be able to make warrs wth the Hollanders, by Gods helpe all the spce, that all our Ilande shall yabbe, wee will onely sell to the king of England, and to noe other nacon in the world, whetefore if you shall please to accept

¹ This letter was first printed in 1601 by the ambassador who arrived in England in 1600, and was reprinted in 1615 sent by the East India Company with the terms of Bantam concerning conditions of agreement between themselves and the English (p. 340).

of what yo^u have here written, Wee doe all intreat to make to make agreement wth the king of England, that there be noe discontent betwixt vs even from this tyme forth *for evermore*² to the end of the world.

And if it should soe happen, that in small matters the Bandanezers should giue occaſion of Discontent to the English, or the English doe that wth might be distastfull to the Bandanezers that then wth mutuall consent like frinde they would beare, wth each others erro^r onely wee all desire that yo^u doe not seeke to overthrowe our religion, and that you doe not comitt offence wth our Weomen, because theis Twoe onely wee are not able to endure, Yf therefore the king of England out of his Loue shall please to assiste vs, wee doe all then earnestly request that you would come vnto vs, wth what convenient speede may bee.



Of all to whome this present writinge shall Come to be scene read or heard The Gouverner and Companie of Merchante of London tradinge into the *East Indies*, send greetinge in our Lord God everlastinge Whereas our most gracious Sovereaigne Lord James by the grace of God of England Scotland ffraunce and Ireland Kinge defend^r of the faith &c, duely waighinge and Consididringe that noe voyage or enterprize wherein multitude of menne of seu'all qualities and dispositions are to be vsed and employed, Can bee performed and accomplished wth hope of good successe except some amongst them bee sufficientlie anthorized to restraine and punish mutinous and disorderlie persons accordinge to their desert by his Highnes Leres patent^e bearinge date

¹ A mistake for "we"??

² Underlined in the original

³ By Letters Patent of 14th Dec., 1615 (see page 468) the Company were empowered to grant commissions to their commanders (under a seal expressly appointed for that purpose) conferring upon them power to punish offenders, &c. It was not until the necessity of obtaining a royal commission for this purpose for each voyage was fully firmly been the practice. The present document shews the form in which these commissions were issued

⁴ See page 412 note

the fourteenth daye of December in this Thirteenth yeere of his Raigne of England ffraunce and Ireland, and of Scotland the Nine and fortieth, At the humble suite of the said Gouverner and Companie grationslye tenderinge the good successe of their voyages into the said *East Indies*, hath giuen and graunted vnto the said Gouverner and Companie full power and authoritye at all tyme and tymes then after to nominate Chuse and employ in any and every their voyages then after to bee made, one or more Captaines or principall Commaunders to rule and governe all and everie his highnes Subiecte in such voyages in due obeidience for the observinge and executinge of all such good orders and constitutions as the said Companie shall thinke meete to ordaine and make for the furtherance of such voyages and to give Comission direction and Instruction vnto the said Captaines and Comaunders for their owne Carriage as also for punnishinge of offenders in the said voyage, And that such Captaines and Comaunders so nominated Chosen and employed to goe on the said voyage haueing Comission and direction from the said Gouverner and Companie vnder the seale of the Companie appointed for that purpose shall haue full power and authoritye for punnishinge offences and executinge of Marshall Lawe namely to Chastize Correct and punnish all and every such person to be employed in such voyages w^h shall not giue dewe obedience, and respect towards the said Captaines and principall Comaunders, or not beare them selues one towards another in good order and quietnes, for avoydinge of any occasion that might breed quarrell or dissention amongst them to the hindrance of the good successe, w^h is to be hoped for by Gods providence in any such voyage accordinge to the qualitie of their offences w^h such punishm^t as are comonlye vsed in all Armyes at sea when they are not Capitall, and for Capitall offences as wilfull murder and mutinye w^h may tend to the overthrowe of such a voyage the same being iustly and truly proved against any the person or persons aforesaid to vse and put in execution the Law Called Marshall Law, And notwithstanding by the verdict of twelve of the Companie sworne therevnto for the tryall of such offender, as to such a case appertaineth And the said Letters patents to bee a warrant, and discharge for the doinge of all and evrie the premises: His Maiestye thereby

strictly charginge and Comaunding the said Captaines or principall Commaund^r so to bee Chosen and employed to followe and punctuallie to obserue in all thinge such Comission instruction and directions, as they shall receaue from the said Gouverner, and Company vnder the foresaid seale and in noe wise to Contrarie the same as they will answeare the Contrary at their perrills, And his Ma^{ty} by the said Lerēs patentē doth strictly Charge and Comaund the said Gouverner and Companie and all Captaines and Principall Commaunders by them to bee employed in such voyages that whether in their voyages outward or homeward or in any Countrey Iland Port or Place where they shall abyde or Comme duringe the tyme of their beeing abroad out of his Highnes kingdomes or dominions where they meete wth any the Subiecte of the Kinge of Spaine or of any other his Highnes Confederate, ffriende or Allies, or of any other Nation or people their shippes vessils Goodē or M^cchandizes, they doe not attempt or goe about to sett vppon take or surprize their persons shippes vessels Goodē or Merchandizes or offer any Iniurye or discourtezie vnto them except they shall bee by them first therevnto instlye prouoked, either in the iust defence of their owne persons shippes vessels Goodē or Merchandize, [¹or offer any Iniurye or discourtezie vnto them, except they shalbee by them first therevnto iustly prouoked either in the iust defence of their owne persons shippes vessells Goodē or M^cchandizes]¹ by any their disturbance or hindrance whatsoeuer in their quiett Course of Trade, or for recompence and recou^rie of the persons shippes goodē or M^cchandize of any his highnes subiecte, that haue bene already in or nere the *East Indie[s]* or for any other iust cause of their defence or recompence of Losses sustayned In wth cases so excepted, yf the said Captaines or principall Comaunders or any others vnder their government shall attempt surprize or take the psons shippes and Goodē of anie Prince or State by whose Subiecte they shall sustaine any wronge or losse in manner as aforesaid the said Gou^rner and Companie or their Captaines and Comaund^r shall not for any such Act or Acte grounded vppon the occasions menconed bee in daunger or subiect to the perill

¹ These brackets have apparently been inserted in the MS. by someone who had noticed the duplication of this passage.

or penalties of his highnes Lawes as in and by the said *Leres* patent^e more at large may appeare: Nowe knowe yee that wee the said Gou'ner and Companie of M'chant^e of London Tradinge vnto the *East Indies* Intendinge by the helpe and assistance of Almighty God this instant month of _____ to sett out a voyage of _____ shippes sufficiently victualed manned and fraught wth m'chandize to goe in Course of Trade into the said *East Indies* haue out of the good opinion wth wee hold and Conceyue of **A B** his experience Iudgment Skill and discretion in matters of Trade and Nauigation and of his abilitie and wisdome to gouerne and direct *so great a flecte of*¹ Shippes and number of men to bee therein employed and of his care diligence and faithfulness about the same haue nominated chosen and appointed the said **A B** to bee *Captaine and principall Gou'ner*¹ in the said voyage of the said shippes and persons. And accordinge to the said power to vs gyven² by the said *Leres* Patent^e doe hereby give warrant & aunch thority to the said **A. B.** to doe execute and performe all and eu'ye thinge wth to the place and office of a *Captaine and a principall*³ Comaunders appertaineth as well in punishing and Correctinge of offenders in all kinde in and duringe the tyme of the said voyage, as also for the iust and lawfull defence of the said persons Shippes goods and M'chandizes against the offence violence and Inurye of Enemies or euill disposed persons as also for the recoveringe backe and getting recompence for all losses wrongfullie receued or sustained by any such meanes as aforesaid. And likewise for doing and performinge such other matters thinges directions and Comandements wth hee the said **A B** doth or shall herow⁴ receive in charge by writinge from the said Gou'ner and Company touching the said voyage or the busines thereof. So as the said **A B** in doinge and executinge the p'mises doe in all thinges followe and obey his Ma^{ties} will and directions herein before expressed to bee conteyned in the said recited *Leres* Patent^e, and such orders and Constitutions as the said Gou'ner and Companie haue made ordeyned and

¹ The word *fleet* is here used in the original

² *As it is written*

sett in writinge vnder their Seale and herewth deliu^{ed} to the said **A B** and not otherwise And whereas his Ma^{ty} by his le^{tes} Patent^e bearing date the 31th day of May in the 7th yeare of his highnes raigne of *England France and Ireland* and of Scotland the 42th Hath further bene graciouslye pleased streightlye to charge, and prohibite all his Subiect^e of what condicon soeu^r, To trade visite or frequent into the said *East Indies*, or into any of the Island^e or Port^e thereof, vppon peine and forfeiture not onely of their goode and M^cchandizes, but also of their shippes and furniture thereof. Now knowe yee. That wee the said Gou^r and Comp^{ny} aforesaid, by the lyke power to vs given by the said Leres Patent^e, doe hereby giue warrant and aucthortie vnto the said that if in his voyage outward or homeward, hee shall meete wth any of the shippes or goode or any of his Ma^{ty} Subiect^e (other then such as are set out by our appointment[]), To arrest, take and seize the persons Shippes and goode of all such offenders and to deteyne them in his Custodye, and bringe them saufelye back into *England* wth him ; here to answer such matters as shalbe obiected against them for doeing contrarye to his *Highnes* Comaundm^t, expressed more largely in his said le^{tes} patent^e

In Wittnes whereof The said Gou^rner and Companie haue herevnto putt their Seale thearevnto appointed the day of
in the yeare &c.



TO^l all to whome theise present^e shall Come to bee scene read or heard, The Gou^rner and Company of the Merchant^e of London tradinge to the *East Indies* send greetinge, whearas o^r Sovereigne Lord the King^e Ma^{ty} by his Leres Patent^e vnder the greate Seale of England made and dated the fourteenth day of december in the

¹ The preceding document (see note) is a specimen of the commission issued to the commander of the Company's fleet; the present one appears to shew the form adopted for the captains of the separate vessels.

thirteenth yeere of his Raigne over this Realme of England Hath graunted to vs the said Governor and Companye full power and aucthoritye at all tymes then after to nominate and ymploy in every of o^r voyages then after to bee made into the said *East Indies*, One or more Captaynes or Principall Comaund^r to rule and governe his Ma^{ties} subiecte in such voyages in dewe obedience for the observinge and executinge of all such Orders and Constitucōns as wee the said Gou^rner and Companie shall thinke fitt to make and ordayne for the furthrance of such vyage His Ma^{tie} thereby streightly Chargeinge and Comaundinge the said Captayne and Principall Gou^rn^r so to bee ymployed to follow and punctually to obserue in all thinges such Commission Instruction and directions, as they shall receive from the said Governor and Companie and in no wise to contrarie the same as they will answeare the contrary at their perills. Now know yee That wee the said Governor and Companie tradinge to the *East Indies* intendinge by the assistance of Allmightie God this present Month of to sett out one or more Shippes sufficiently victualled manned and laden with Merchandizes to goe in Course of Tradinge into the said *East Indies* out of the good opynion w^{ch} wee hould and Conceyve of **A B** have Chosen and appoynted the said **A B** to bee chief Comaunder and principall Governor in the said voyage of the good Shippe Called the. And according to the power to vs given by his Ma^{ties} said Leres Patente doe hereby give warrant and aucthoritie to the said **A B** and to such other person and persons w^{ch} duringe the said voyage vpon or after the death or removall of the said **A B** the said Companye have named and appoynted to bee Captaine or principall Comaunder of the said Shippe to doe execute and performe all and every thinge w^{ch} to the place and office of a Captaine or principall Commaunder appertaneth, accordinge to the Directions and Commaundm^t w^{ch} the said **A B** hath or shall herew^t receiue in Charge by writinge from vs the said Gou^rner and Companie touching the said voyage, and the busines therof. So as the said **A B** and such other person or persons w^{ch} shall succede in his roome as aforesaid in doeing and executinge of

the premisses doe in all thinges followe and obey such ordⁿ and Constitucōns as wee the said Gouverner and Companie haue made ordayned and sett in writinge and herewth delivered to the said **A B** and not otherwise In witnesse whereof wee the said Gouverner and Companie have herevnto put our Seale the day of in the yeares &c.



James Rex¹



RIGHT trustie, and right welbeloued Counsaylor wee greet yow well; These are to will and require yow forthwith to deliuer to our trustie, and welbeeloued St. Thomas Smith Knight Gouvernor of the East Indya Companye of Merchante, or to any whome hee shall apoynt, one Brass Demye Culueringe of ffue and twentie hundred weight or thereabout; to be presented in our name to the Kinge of Macassar in the East Indyes, from whome wee haue receyued manye present of farr greater value heretofore. And for your soe doeing, this shall bee your warrant. Geuen vnder our Signet at Whitehall this 13th. of Ianuary 1616.

To our right trustie and right welbeeloued Counsayler
the Lo : Carew² M^r of our Ordinance



¹ This letter explains itself. There is no reference to the matter in the Court Minutes.

² George Carew, Baron Carew of Clopton, and afterwards Earl of Totnes (b. 1555, d. 1629) was a fine example of the many sidedness which characterized the men of his day. He had made a voyage with Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and had held a captaincy in the royal navy; as Lieutenant-General of the Ordnance, he had taken part in Essex's expeditions to Cadiz and to the Azores; he had been for a short period ambassador in France; he had rendered most important services in Ireland, both in a military capacity and in administrative posts; as a courtier, he had the good fortune to enjoy the favour of three successive occupants of the throne; and he is still remembered with gratitude by students for his extensive collection of documents bearing on Irish history, a subject in which he took the liveliest interest. He was appointed Master of the Ordnance on the 26th June, 1608, and held the post until the 11th May, 1617 (see *Dict. of National Biography*, s. n.)



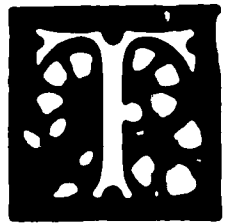
JAMES¹ by the grace of God Kinge of England Scotland
ffraunce and Ireland defendor of the faith &c, TO
the Treasurer Chauncellor Vnderthrer and Barons
of our Exchequer for the tyme being. To the
Warden of the Cinque Portes, or his deputy for the tyme
being. To all our Iudges for the tyme being. to our
Attorney generall, and the rest of our learned Counsell, for the
tyme being. To all our Iustices, Officers and Ministers for the
tyme being. To all Customers Comptrollers, ffarmors of
Customes. Searchers and Wayters in any of our Portes for the
tyme being. And to all the Officers Ministers and Subiecte of vs
and our Heires and Successors for the tyme being; to whome it
shall or may appertaine, Greeting; WHEREAS we by our lres
Patente sealed with our greate Seale of England bearing date the
one and thirtith day of May in the seaventh yeare of our Raigne
of England ffraunce and Ireland. and of Scotland the two and
fortith. Of our espetiall grace certaine knowledge and meere
motion did for vs our heires and Successors graunt vnto the
Gouernor and Companie of M'chantz of London trading into the
East Indies and their Successors. That it should and might be
lawfull to and for the said Gou^r & Companye and their Succes-
sors to shipp and transport out of this our Realme of England or
the dominions of the same in any their voyages to or towardz
any

[The rest is wanting]



¹ It is difficult to assign a date or subject to this fragment, but there seems to be some reason for concluding it to belong to the Royal Grant of 16th January, 1600, by which the Company were empowered to export foreign coin to the value of 100,000 yearly [see Shaw's *Charter of the East India Company* (Madras, 1807) page 287 and a reference in No. 6 of the charters calculated on page 263 of a *Report on the Affairs of the India Company* (W. H. Allen & Co., 1891)]. A copy of the petition leading up to this grant is preserved among the records at the India Office (B.R. 11. III. 19), but of the document itself no copy can be traced.

Condiçions¹ propounded and agreed vppon the fifth of May 1618 betwixt the Gouern^r and Companie of M^ch^re of London trading into the East Indyes on thone part and George Hall of Deptford Stroud in the Countye of Kent Ancho'smith on thother parte



HAT George Hall shall whollie employe himselfe in the Companies busines, and not to meddle wth any other mens wthout leave first had from the Companie in writing nor keepe any other Shopp or Shoppes in the Towne or else where.

That the said George Hall shall not make any Ironworke whatsoeu^r (as Anchors, boult^e Ring boult^e, Carriage worke, Ruther Irons, Pumpe chaines, Plates &c) wthout order from the Companie or their Deputyes, and to receaue direccions from them both for the waight and sizes And if that any such worke being made, shall not be approued of, it shall then be returned backe againe vnto the said George Hall, who shall make all his worke as is said according to direcçon for the sizes and waight by the patterne and noe otherwise Nor that Bradshowe receaue any Iron worke made but such as he shall first acquaint, M^r Burrell wthall, to be according to the said direcçon.

That the said George Hall, shall not alter nor change, any of the said Iron that is laid in by the Companie for their vse about any other mens worke, but onely for the Companies seruice nor to carrie away or wast any of the Companies coales, but to cause them to be spent onelye about their busines. And shall worke noe other Iron then such as he shall receaue from the Companie.

And that the said George Hall, shalbe answerable in accompt for all such Iron and coales as shalbe deliu^{er}ed to him from the Companie according to the direcçon given by the M^r of the worke.

And for the prices of eu^{er}y^e pticuler sort of Iron worke, the said Gouernor and Companie doe cou^{en}[t] to paie vnto the said

¹ This agreement is entered on the Court Minutes, under date 5th May, 1618.

George Hall as followeth being according to a former agreem^t made wth Iohn Martyn, the 17th of October 1615.

	li	s	d	
ffor Anchors from ... 100 to 1000 th ...	1	10	0	p Cent
ffor Anchors from ... 1000 to 2000 ...	1	13	0	p Cent
ffor Anchors from ... 2000 & vpward ^e ...	1	15	0	p Cent
ffor Ruther Irons and Pumpe chaines ...	0	0	4	p pound
Boate Hookes and Leech hook ^e ...	0	1	4	p peece
Gromette and Staples poz 4 ^l p doss ¹ ...	0	2	0	p doss
Muskett Hook ^e ...	0	0	2 ²	p peece
Carriage fore lock ^e ...	0	0	2	p peece
Shutting of ould boulte ^e ...	0	0	2	p shut
Boate Ruther Irons ...	0	4	0	p paire
Stiffe ³ Ruther Irons ...	0	3	4	p paire
Pinchers of all sort ^e well steeled ...	0	0	5	p pound
Murthering peeces standing to tryall ...	0	0	5	p pound



THE¹ order of Accompt^e to be kept by Richard Mountney Husband for the Companie of M^chant^e of London trading to theast Indies, together wth Certayne other diligences to be obserued by the said Husband for the faithfull and plaine effecting of those Affayres wth haue byn and hereafter shalbe Comitted to his Charge by the Gouvernor Deputye and Comittees for the said Companie concerning the second Ioynt Stock.

I first fforasmuch as heretofore yo^r haue not kept the accompte of the said Companie in such order and forme as we expected, and is need^d full to be vsed in a busines of soe great trust, and consequence. Wee doe therefore order and appoint yo^r, for the Reformatiō of that wth is alreadye pas^t and for the better

¹ Doren² ² In the copy entered in the Court Minutes ³ Or "wille"

⁴ The order in this case was drawn up at a Court held 15th December, 1619, and will be found entered upon the minutes under that date. For a note on Richard Mountney, see page 504.

Informaçon of the said Companie in tyme to come That yo^u fforthwth prepare and keepe the said acco^te orderly in a ffayre Iornall and lidger

2 And yo^u shall Intitle the said booke in the name and for the vse of the said Companie

3 And in the begining of the said Iornall yo^u shall sett downe by way of Inventarie all and eu^{er}ye p^ticuler Comodities, Stores, p^{ro}visions, some and somes of money or victualls w^{ch} did Remayne in yo^r Charge apptayning vnto the ffirst Ioynt Stocke, and are sithence transferred vnto the vse of the second Ioynt Stocke.

4 And yo^u shall keepe an acco^t of all and euerye p^ticuler some and somes of money w^{ch} yo^u haue or shall receaue by warrant of the Tresorer, or of any other p^{er}son by w^h meanes soeuer for and to the vse of the said Companie

5 And yo^u shall keepe seu^{er}all Acco^te for each Comodities, Stores p^{ro}visions or victualls w^{ch} yo^u haue or shall hereafter p^{ro}uide and buy to Ishew forth to the shippes of the said Companie, or to ther yarde, or in whatsoeuer other mannor to their vses

6 And forasmuch as their doeth pase thoroughe yo^r hande many pettye matters in p^{ro}visions of smale valewe, w^{ch} cannot require nor easilye be accommodated into seu^{er}all accompt^e, yo^u shall therefore keepe one accompt for them all, vnder the name of pettye p^{ro}visions, and in yo^r Iornall yo^u shall sett downe all the p^ticulers, w^{ch} being Colected into grosse somes yo^u may the more easilye pase the p^{er}cells into yo^r Lidger.

7 And wheras yo^u doe often receaue many thinge of great valew for the w^{ch} yo^u make noe disborsm^t but haue onely the Custodie or charge to receaue, and Ishew them to the vse of the Comp^y. As namely the Comodities bought by the Com^{it}tees w^{ch} yo^r receaue by waight Measure or number, to shippe forth. And alsoe many p^{ro}visions, Stores, and victualls w^{ch} haue byn and hereafter may be retorned home in the Shipps of the ffirst and second Ioynt Stocke ; yo^u shall therefore bringe all the said thinge

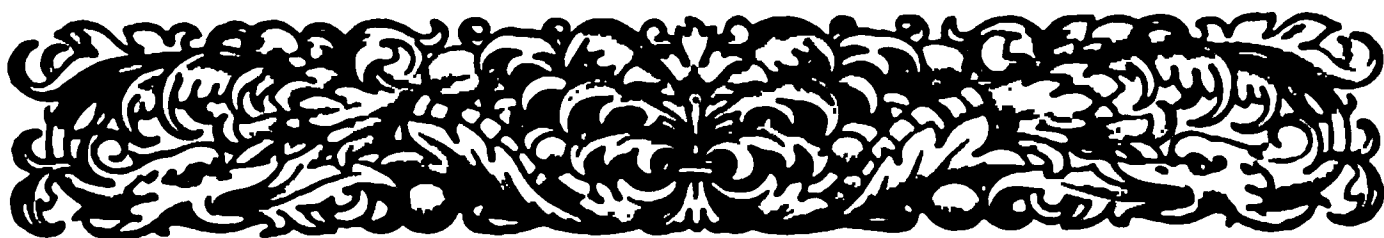
whatsoever vnto the aboue written acc^t. wherby the Comp^y may at all tymes plainely, knowe and p^rceave in what manno^r haue, Ishewed forth ther said Good^e.

8 And yo^r shall take a bill of pcells subscribed by the par^t of whome you buy any thinge for the said Companie. ffor in Auditt of yo^r accompt^e that shalbe required of yo^r to vouch pcell.

9 And yo^r shall not furnish nor lade anything wha[t]soever the Companies Shippes or yard^e or otherwise w^out Rece^pt from those seu^rall officers, whome that shall concerne to Rece^pt and to be accomptable for the same, for in the Auditt of accompt^e yo^r shall not be discharged w^out the said receap^t.

10 Lastlye yo^r shall vse diligence and prepare all the booke to be Audited once eu^rye moneth at the least. And shall haue a speciall care and inspection to those officers who are employed vnder yo^r in the Affayres of the said Companie they be skilfull true and ffaithfull in their seu^rall place^s employment^e.





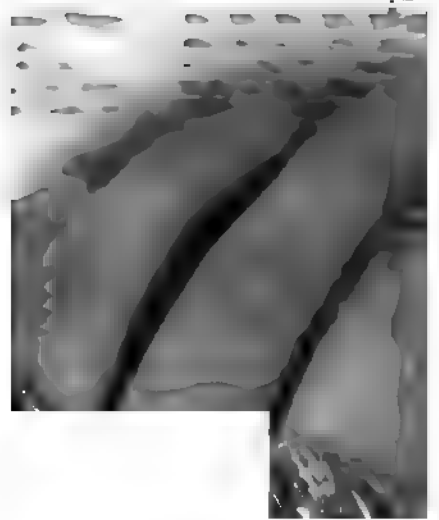
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